

Class No.....

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HARIJAN

8 Pages
& Index

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POONA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1940

[ONE ANNA

THE OLD GAME ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After my return from Delhi I have had a letter redirected from New Delhi. It is from a valued co-worker. I must share with all concerned the most important paragraphs in it :

" Everything that has happened during the last month or so confirms me in the belief that there is not the slightest ground for hope that the British Government will accept our position. In fact many things have happened which demonstrate that they are following a very definite imperialist policy. You must have seen that the British Parliament has just passed a Bill amending the Government of India Act which limits the powers of Provincial Governments in regard to taxation. This was specially in view of the Professional Tax in the U. P. which is thus vetoed. Apart from the demerit of such a decision which reduces the powers of the Provincial Assembly, the time and the method chosen for it are eloquent of the imperialist outlook of the British Government and indicate that the outlook has in no way changed.

It is not at all encouraging to find that you are going to New Delhi to interview the Viceroy. The same old game is played again, the background is the same, the various objectives are the same, the actors are the same, and the results must be the same.

There are, however, some unfortunate indirect results also. An atmosphere of approaching compromise pervades the country when, in effect, there is no ground for it. It is enervating and depressing because it does not come out of strength but, in the case of many individuals, from the excessive desire to avoid conflict at all costs and to get back to the shreds of power which we had previously. Conflict is undesirable, but obviously conflict cannot be avoided at all costs, for sometimes such avoidance itself is a more costly and harmful affair. For the moment, however, there is no immediate question of conflict. The question is of maintaining our position with dignity, and not weakening it in any way. I fear that the impression is widely prevalent in England as well as in India that we are going in no event to have any conflict and therefore we are going to accept such terms as we can get. This kind of impression is demoralising. I have noticed during the last fortnight that even our Congress delegates' elections have been influenced by this. Many people who, for fear of possible conflict, were keeping in the background, have now pushed themselves in front again when the possibility of enjoying the plums of office and power seems to dangle again in front of them. The effort of several months to

keep undesirables out of the Congress has partly failed because of this sudden change in the Indian atmosphere which led them to believe that the compromise was imminent.

The British Government is also reacting in a way unfavourable to us, though it may use soft language. Of course, it wants to come to terms with us because it wants our support in the war. But it is much more certain that it does not wish to give up any shred of real power or change its fundamental imperialist policy in order to come to terms with us. It is carrying on and will carry on its old intrigue on the communal issue, though occasionally it uses a few critical words against the Muslim League in order to soothe the Congress. So far as it is concerned, it will try to win us over, keeping its present position intact. If this is possible, well and good for it. If this does not take place, as seems likely even to it, then to carry on from time to time conversations with Indian leaders, to prolong the issue, to make it appear that we are on the verge of a compromise, and thus to soothe both world opinion and Indian opinion. This second policy has the additional advantage, from their point of view, of exhausting our energy and toning us down, so that, if ultimately a conflict does come, the requisite atmosphere is lacking for it. It is the general belief among official circles in England that their policy of parleys and postponement has had this result and the situation in India, which was threatening when the Congress ministries resigned, is much easier now and no dangers are to be feared.

It seems to me that while we cannot and must not precipitate a conflict, and while we need not bang the door to a possible and honourable compromise, because your methods are never to bang the door, still we must make it crystal clear that there can be or will be no compromise except on the conditions stated by us previously. As a matter of fact even these conditions have to be slightly reviewed from the point of view of developments in the war. We cannot now say, as we then said, that we want to know whether this war is imperialist or not. The British Government's answer to us as well as their consistent policy in the war and in foreign affairs has been one of full-blooded imperialism. We must, therefore, necessarily proceed on this admitted fact that it is an imperialist war, any profession to the contrary notwithstanding. The war and British policy grow more and more sinister every day, and I would hate to see India entangled in any way in this imperialist adventure from which India can only lose, not only materially but spiritually. This point seems to me of vital importance today.

Thus it seems to me that the most important thing for us to do is to make our position perfectly clear to the world, to the British Government and to the Indian people. There is too much misunderstanding on this issue of compromise, and this misunderstanding is entirely to our disadvantage and to the advantage of British imperialism which meanwhile is exploiting our resources for the war and even pretending to have a large amount of our goodwill. Approach by us to the British Government or to the Viceroy increases these misunderstandings and lead the British Government even further away from a right compromise."

The warning is sound. Perhaps I did not need it. But such warnings are never superfluous. It is unwise to be too sure of one's own wisdom. It is healthy to be reminded that the strongest might weaken and the wisest might err. And then, so far as I am concerned, I am so ignorant even of current events that I feel thankful when co-workers keep me posted with things I ought to know.

But whilst I value the warning given and admit the force of the argument advanced, I do not repent of my having visited H. E. the Viceroy and having had the prolonged talk. It has given me added strength. It is of great value to an army that its general gains added strength. I should therefore repeat the performance every time the Viceroy summons me, i. e. so long as I have faith in his sincerity. And every time I shall come out with greater strength than I go with. The method of Satyagraha requires that the Satyagrahi should never lose hope so long as there is the slightest ground left for it. For he never despairs of being able to evoke the best in his opponent, his mission being to convert the opponent, not humiliate or defeat him. He therefore even knocks at his opponent's door if it becomes necessary, as I did often with General Smuts. It so happened that the last opening, when even I had the least hope, proved the prelude to success.

There ought not to be demoralisation among the ranks. It is up to the lieutenants to be in constant touch with them and explain to them the reason for, and the bearing on the struggle of, each step. For whether there is actual battle or merely preparation, the education of the masses continues without interruption. It is a great mistake to suppose that the revolutionary instinct will die, if the garnered energies of the people have no outlet. This may be true of violent revolution but it is utterly wrong of non-violent revolution. I am quite convinced that we would put ourselves in the wrong if in our impatience we precipitate the battle or, which is the same thing, bang the door on negotiations. The battle will come at the right time when it is clear beyond doubt that there is no escape from it. Misunderstanding created in Britain or the world outside need not perturb us much for, being foundationless, it is sure to disappear in the face of our truth.

Nor need the prospect worry us, of the negotiations proving insincere in the sense of their being used as a screen to cover Britain's plans to consolidate her strength by misleading world opinion and creating and strengthening divisions among us. What does matter is our own weakness for which we alone should be to blame.

Segaon, 11-2-40

OCCASIONAL NOTES

Pacifism on Trial

I gave the other day two visitors' impressions of the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunals in England. Their working is not so simple as it looked then, and there is plenty of adverse criticism of their methods. The young men between 20 and 23 who come before these tribunals mostly come from humble homes and most of them have had little more than elementary education. They are put through the rack by highly educated men of legal and dialectical acumen, and it speaks volumes for the strength of faith of these young men that stand these judges' cross-examination. In many cases it becomes an obviously unequal game. 'What makes you think that Christ condemns war? He has never said so, has He?' are the questions put to everyone, and the answers give rise to numerous casuistical questions and cross-questions. Whatever may be said of this treatment of men with honest convictions, there is no doubt that the pacifist movement must have brought plenty of popular education in its train. Besides, the implications of pacifism are being discussed threadbare. Evidently the conviction that man ought not to kill brother man does demand a high price. The very first price to pay is to be treated like a prisoner in the dock and questioned and cross-questioned as though one was an ordinary felon. And then there are tribunals and tribunals. The South Western Tribunal gave 41 per cent unconditional exemptions as against 4 per cent given by the London Tribunal!

To remedy these discrepancies an Appellate Tribunal has been appointed with Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Oxford, as Chairman, and Sir Arthur Pugh, a former Trade Union Chairman and Sir Leonard Costello, a former High Court Judge of Calcutta, as members. It is reported that Mr. Fisher asks all kinds of questions to establish a man's pacifism, including what sacrifices he has made for his pacifism, and often asks a man whether he is a teetotaler! The relevance of this may not be understood in England, but it would be understood here where a man's pacifism may well be challenged by asking him if he is a vegetarian. There is no doubt that pacifism is on its trial and, whatever the consequences, all true pacifists must welcome the circumstance.

"Political" Pacifists

The most intriguing case that has come before the Appellate Tribunal is that of people who

are described as 'political' pacifists, as distinguished from the type described as religious or ethical. There were two cases in which the Government were the appellant. Mr. Fisher, the Chairman, explained the distinction between the two types. "The legal point," he said, "is that under the terms of this Act protection is given to the pacifist, the honest, conscientious pacifist, that is to say, the man who objects to war as a thing evil in itself. That was the intention of the statute, not to protect every form of conscientious objection," of which last he gave as instances that of a fascist who may have "conscientious objection" to fighting for parliamentary government, or of a socialist who may have an objection to fighting for a capitalist State. "The issue," he added, "is not the quality of the conscience, but its character. Does a non-pacifist political objector come under this Act?" Mr. Fenner Brockway, who appeared for one of the objectors, contended that "the pacifist's supreme loyalty is to his conception of God or of the universe. The socialist's supreme loyalty is to the workers of all lands with whom he feels a unity equivalent to the unity which a patriot feels with his nation. To a political objector it would be morally wrong to kill his fellow-workers in the interests of the possessing class. It is a matter of conscience to him no less than to the pacifist." Moreover he tried to show, by quoting from two Cabinet Ministers' speeches, that "it was the intention of those who drafted the Act to cover *all* classes of conscientious objectors." The former Calcutta Judge in his peremptory manner said: "The Tribunal is not concerned with what *some politicians* have said. It is concerned only with the Act itself." The objection was ruled out, and both the objectors were ordered to be struck off the register of the exemptees. Mr. Brockway has now protested against the Tribunal's refusal to consider the Prime Minister's and Labour Minister's statements in the House of Commons, and asked if the assurances they gave were scraps of paper. The Prime Minister had said that the Act was meant to exclude "only shirkers" and the Labour Minister had said that "conscientious objection is not defined in the Act, and local tribunals have to use their own judgment in deciding whether an application, on whatever ground it is based, is or is not of a conscientious nature." In reply to a question: "Can the Minister say that he agrees that this House, in giving the right to conscientious objectors, meant to do so on all those grounds—ethical and political?" he said: "That is still the idea."

If "conscientious objection" is not defined in the Act, the two applicants ought to have been exempted. But taking a detached view, it would appear that a pacifist is only he who objects to all war as an evil in itself, whether it is fought by a Government that has or has not his allegiance.

A Satyagrahi

There will always be a difference between Indian and European Satyagrahis and pacifists. An instance which will surprise the West may be cited. Even Gandhiji's fast at Rajkot against what he knew to be a grave breach of a solemn pledge by the ruler of Rajkot was little understood, and when he renounced the Gwyer Award many people, especially in the West, failed to understand the reason and believed that the Award was renounced because Gandhiji had realised that his fast was coercive or immoral. But Gandhiji had never doubted the purity of the fast; only he rejected the Award because he felt that his seeking of the Viceroy's intervention had vitiated the fast. Shri Shambhushankar, a humble worker of Palitana State, is now on a similar fast. He underwent a fast of 15 days some months ago against what he felt was a breach of promise by the Thakore Saheb of Palitana. The Dewan then persuaded him to break the fast on certain assurances. There was no allegation of coercion as the Satyagrahi was on the best possible terms with the Thakore Saheb and the Dewan. Then he was in jail. Now he has begun a fast unto death for breach of the assurances given to him by the State. Today—11th—is the 21st day of his fast. He is perfectly happy and cheerful, his statements are free from the slightest expression of anger against the State, and his motive is only to rouse the conscience of the Thakore Saheb and the Dewan. In a letter I have received from him today he writes:

"After the hammering I received last year at Pachhegam and the hammerings received before at Dharasna and Rajkot, my body is far from being what it used to be. Last time I fasted in the Palitana Jail I fainted as early as the third day. This time the beautiful spiritual atmosphere about me has sustained me, and even on this the eighteenth day though I am weak I have enough energy in me. Yesterday, for instance, I span two thousand yards, and I mean to keep this up so long as God vouchsafes the strength to me. Fatiguing as it is, it gives me joy. The whole thing has become a kind of ritual—spinning and devotional songs—in which young and old, men, women and children join cheerfully. I should be content if, by the time I breathe my last, the whole village without a single exception pledges itself to spinning and khadi-wearing. It would be our humble contribution to Bapu's great task. Please let not Bapu worry about me. His silent blessings are enough to lead me on."

My heart bows in silent prayer to the intrepid spirit of Shambhubhai. Whether he lives or dies, he will win, and his victory will have blazed a trail that will light the path of many a Satyagrahi still to come.

Segaon, 11-2-40

M. D.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As.

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NOTICE

The Index of Volume VII, covering 10 pages, is being given, free of charge, as a supplement to this issue.

Issues of Vol. VII will now be available at *three annas* per copy, including postage. MANAGER

Harijan

Feb. 17

1940

IS IT WAR ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Builders of the British Indian Empire have patiently built its four pillars—the European Interests, the Army, the Princes and the Communal Divisions. The last three were to subserve the first. It is clear to the realist that the Builders have to remove the four pillars before they can claim to have given up the Empire or the Empire spirit. But they say to the nationalists or the destroyers of the Empire spirit, "You have to deal with all the four pillars yourselves, before we can treat India as an Independent Nation instead of being our Dependency." They say in other words, "Guarantee the European interests, make your own army, treat with the Princes and with the communalists otherwise known as minorities." The Destroyers retort: "You imposed the European interests on us, for their defence you built an army and kept it a close preserve, you saw that you could use the then existing Princes for your own purpose, you made them and unmade them, you created new ones, you armed them with powers they could not enjoy before with safety, in fact you partitioned India so that it could never rise against you in one mass. You saw again that we were cursed with the caste spirit, you took advantage of our weakness and refined it till at last claims are made which, if they were satisfied, there would be no single Indian nation and no independence. Add to all this the fact that by your policy of disarmament you have emasculated a whole nation. But we do not blame you for the past. On the contrary we admire your bravery, skill and spirit of adventure. You have copied other Empire Builders who preceded you. You have improved upon them in a variety of ways. But if you profess, as you have professed, that you have decided to give India her due, then you have to remove from our way the obstacles you have created. You are entitled to ask us to recognise the difficulties in the way of your making delivery and even to help you. If you are honest, you will leave us to do the best. You must trust our sense of justice, not your strong arm, to make us do what is right and proper. Hitherto you have determined our fate for us. Now if you are earnest, you will not only let us

determine the method and manner of governing ourselves but even help us to do so, if we want your help."

Lord Zetland has given the answer to the Destroyers which I paraphrase as follows: "We mean to hold on to what we have. Within that orbit, we will let you have such freedom as we think is good for you. This war that we are fighting is to prevent the disruption of our Empire. We want your help, if you will give it on these terms. It is good for you and us. But we will do without your help if you will not give it. You are not the only party we have to deal with. There are many in India who recognise the benefits of British Rule and *pax Britannica*. We propose to win the war with the help we can command from India through the loyal agencies. Their services we shall recognise by the grant of further reforms when the time comes. This is what we mean when we say we shall make the world safe for democracy. For we are the most democratic power in the world. Therefore, if we are safe, so are those who are with us. Those like India who are under our tutelage will be initiated into the art of democracy in gradual stages so that their progress may be uninterrupted and they might not have to go through the travail we had to go through." I hope the paraphrase does no injustice to Lord Zetland. If it is fairly correct, the issues are quite clear. Between the two—the Nationalist and the Imperialist—there is no meeting ground. If, therefore, Lord Zetland represents the British Government's considered view, it is a declaration of war against nationalist India. For all the four pillars stand firm, rock-like. The more the nationalists try to deal with them as if they were problems for which they were responsible, the firmer they must become. I cannot conscientiously pray for the success of British arms if it means a further lease of life to India's subjection to foreign domination. I write this last sentence with a heavy heart.

Seagon, 13-2-40

BANGING THE DOOR

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the press:

Lord Zetland's recent pronouncement, if reported correctly, sets at rest all speculation regarding the Government's attitude towards the nationalist demand. I have been taught to believe that Dominion Status after the Statute of Westminster pattern is akin to Independence and includes the right to secede. Therefore I had thought there would be no difficulty about Britain allowing India to determine her own status. But Lord Zetland makes it clear that Britain, not India, has to determine it. In other words, the British hold on India must remain. He also puts the burden upon the nationalists of solving the minorities question and the like. I have shown how impossible this is without previous recogni-

tion of India's Independence, no doubt subject to safeguards. His Lordship thinks that, because some Indians have received the boon of English education and have learnt ideas of freedom from British writers, they will want always to be under British tutelage, euphemistically called partnership. This is what I call banging the door upon the nationalist position. Does it mean a pact deadlier than was announced at the last Round Table Conference? If it does, it is a declaration of war against nationalists who are out to destroy the empire spirit. I submit that it is wrong to dismiss the Indian claim by accusing the nationalists of losing realities in idealism. I suggest that it is he who refuses to face realities and is wandering in a forest of unrealities. I cannot accuse him of idealism. I assure him that Nationalist India is dreadfully in earnest.

Segaon, 14-2-40

Notes

India without the British

A retired English collector thus cables from England :

"Please consider that India without British troops and the sure shield of the British navy would be at the mercy of Pathans, Afghans and Japan. The Constituent Assembly would all be in a concentration camp very quickly or killed. Satyagraha only works with civilised people who are gentlemen."

These are honest fears of an honest Englishman. But the fears are only imaginary. The English friend gives little credit to Indian nationalists when he thinks that they contemplate a Constituent Assembly in a vacuum which can be blown to pieces by any power. If there is an honourable settlement, the Constituent Assembly will meet in the presence of the British but without any interference from them. If there is no settlement, it will meet after a successful rebellion, in which case India will have made herself ready to face any emergency. There is no other contingency possible in which a Constituent Assembly can meet. These fears reflect no credit on the British regime in India. Whose fault is it that India has no army and navy of her own? But the absence of army and navy will not deter an awakened people from throwing over domination, foreign or indigenous. My friend's ignorance of the working of Satyagraha is quite excusable. I have no finished example of a nation having modelled her life on the basis of Satyagraha. I can only assure him that it is not the sob-stuff he believes it to be. It is of little use if it can work only among the so-called civilised people. The partition separating the civilised from the uncivilised is very thin. Both act almost alike when their passions are roused.

Segaon, 12-2-40

A Curious Situation

The Secretary of the Valmiki Mandal, Ludhiana, says in a letter :

"Under the Poona Pact, eight seats were allotted to the Punjab Hindu Depressed Classes on the Punjab Legislative Assembly. These seats were deducted from Hindu seats. Sikh and other Depressed Class people were counted amongst their own co-religionists. The Sikh Harijans are fighting with their own high caste Sikh brethren for separate seats and we wish them full success. But we also wish that they should not encroach upon what has been allotted to us."

Consequently the Mandal has sent a petition to the Punjab Government, from which I take the relevant extracts :

"It has been published in the papers that orders have been issued to Deputy Commissioners for the preparation of the voter's lists for the coming elections of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In that very connection, we beg to approach you with the following :

1. That, according to the Poona Pact, made between the High Caste Hindus and Depressed Class Hindus, ratified by the Government, eight seats were allotted in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to Hindu Depressed Classes or Hindu Scheduled Castes as they are called.

2. That these seats were deducted from the total number of Hindu seats.

3. That the Sikh and Muslim Depressed Classes or Scheduled Caste people, for instance Sikh Chamars or Sikh Valmikis, having been counted amongst their own co-religionists, could not become voters or members in the above-named eight constituencies.

4. That great confusion is prevalent regarding the third point.

5. That to ensure the right interpretation, and to avoid objection petitions on a large scale, instructions may very kindly be issued, not to enlist Sikhs as voters in the above-named constituencies, or a column of religion may also be added."

The petitioners' objection is quite sound. But why should there be Sikh, Muslim or Christian untouchables? Has the bait of power made the converts repent of their conversion? If the problem is not carefully and justly handled, with all-round growing consciousness it may give rise to embarrassing complications. There need be no surprise if to be classed among the chosen Scheduled Classes becomes a coveted privilege instead of being a sign of reproach. Time was when those who were regarded by the Government or society as untouchables resented the appellation and were trying to avoid it. Now the emphasis is the other way. Let it be remembered in this connection that it is only Hinduism that has the dishonour of having untouchables legally known as Scheduled Classes.

Segaon, 12-2-40

Adulteration of Ghee

Dr. Kailas Nath Katju writes :

"I have read with great interest in *Harijan*, of 20th January your note on adulteration of ghee.

It may interest you to know that before we resigned office in the U. P. this problem had engaged our closest consideration. Adulteration is rampant and must be stopped. The misfortune is that it is not only the ghee-dealer and the middleman who have taken to adulteration, but even the ghee producers in the villages are resorting to adulteration in their own homes before they bring ghee to the market. The cheap *vanaspathi* and other vegetable ghee so-called make adulteration such an easy process. We considered the question of compulsory admixture of vegetable oils with some edible colour or flavour, but the difficulty is to discover some such harmless colour or flavour. In the hot climate of India there is a danger of injury to health by the use of such fast colour.

We had drafted and introduced in the U. P. Legislature a comprehensive bill to stop this mischief. It was at the committee stage when we resigned. The bill confers power on the Provincial Government to prescribe colouring or flavouring of artificial ghee or vegetable oils. But I think the more useful and really important provision in the bill for the purpose in hand is that which arms the Provincial Government with the power to prohibit sale of artificial or vegetable ghee in ghee-producing areas. I have known of rural areas where ghee is produced on a large scale and where practically no one consumes vegetable ghee, yet vegetable ghee is sold in huge quantities and purchased by people for purposes of adulteration. We thought that in such areas where vegetable ghee is really sold for these universal purposes the only proper method is to prohibit its sale altogether, and thus protect and foster the genuine ghee industry.

I hope this measure will meet with your approval. Agriculture without dairy industry cannot flourish. In the U. P. we also encouraged the formation in large numbers of ghee co-operative societies, and I insisted that the bye-laws of such societies must have stringent regulations to stop and check adulteration by its members. That was also proving efficacious.

I am writing this to you in the hope that it may interest the readers of *Harijan*."

The suggestion made by Dr. Katju about specially dealing with ghee producing areas is worthy of consideration. Indeed the question of adulteration of this important article of national diet is so important that it requires all-India treatment. It need not wait for disposal of the so-called higher politics.

On the way to Delhi, 5-2-40

M. K. G.

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart. If I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Segaon, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

REDISCOVERING RELIGION

II

"One Fraternity"

But what really shall we rediscover? To rediscover Christianity is to rediscover Religion. When Gandhiji asks the Hindus to eradicate from Hinduism the blot of untouchability he appeals to them apparently to rediscover Hinduism but really to rediscover Religion. It was an agreeable surprise to me to find a lay poet like John Drinkwater quoted in a Christian manifesto the other day:

"We know the paths wherein our feet should press,
Across our hearts are written Thy decrees:

Yet now, O Lord, be merciful to bless

With more than these.

Grant us the will to fashion as we feel,

Grant us the strength to labour as we know,

Grant us the purpose, ribb'd and edged with steel,

To strike the blow.

Knowledge we ask not — knowledge Thou hast lent,

But, Lord, the will — there lies our bitter need,

Give us to build above the deep intent

The deed, the deed."

That prayer of Drinkwater can be adopted by people of all creeds. The poet in these and the earlier stanzas expresses the feelings of us all. Man is not so much in need of "a clearer vision", or of "a fuller knowledge of the end", or of "the high perception" of "when to refrain and when fulfil" or of "the understanding to sift the good from ill". All these, men learned in religious lore—Christian lore, Hindu lore, Islamic lore, Jewish lore—have in an ample measure. What most of us lack, however, is the will 'to fashion as we feel', the 'strength to labour as we know', what most of us lack so badly is 'the deed, the deed'.

And here I am reminded of the story of Rabbi Cohen, whom Woodrow Wilson called the first citizen of Texas, told in an issue of the *American Readers' Digest*. At the age of 75 he spends his time scurrying through the streets of Galveston intent on errands of goodwill, "precisely as he has been from morning to night for more than 50 years." His hobby is to help people, no matter what their race or creed. He seeks out men released from prison, he seeks out unthrifty people, patients in hospital, and helps them. He rushes out of his office meeting the waifs and strays. He has got their names scribbled on the cuff of his sleeve which he calls his note-book, and never retires to bed until the last name is crossed off. "But Rabbi," his interviewer asks, "there didn't seem to be many Jews on that list." The Rabbi looks at him and says: "Why, no. There wasn't one. What difference does that make? In this town there is no such thing as Methodist mumps, Baptist domestic troubles, Presbyterian poverty or Catholic broken legs." If he was in India, he might have added: "Hindu plague, Muslim poverty, Jain cholera and so on."

A Russian revolutionary, who had escaped from Russia as a stowaway and was now in a Galveston prison, sent a message to Rabbi Cohen to say that he had learnt that his family was starving and that he was to be deported on the next ship, and that in Russia he would have to face a firing squad. The immigration officer in Galveston could do nothing, Washington could do nothing, and yet something had to be done. Rabbi Cohen bikes to the jail to see him, bikes back, stops at a friend's, borrows a hundred dollars and catches a train for Washington. He peddles down to the Department of Labour, where the Secretary politely says nothing could be done. He then rushes to President Taft who says to him: "No exceptions. You Jews are wonderful. I don't know of any people who will do as much for their own race and creed as you do." "My own creed!" exclaims Rabbi Cohen. "What do you mean, Mr. President? This man is *not* a Jew! He is a Greek Catholic!" President Taft jumps. "A Greek Catholic! You came all the way from Texas to intercede for a Greek Catholic?" "Certainly," says the Rabbi. "*He is a human being*, isn't he?" Taft is moved, he immediately gives orders for the Russian revolutionary's release and for his being put in the custody of Rabbi Cohen. The Rabbi gets him a job in a boiler factory, and he eventually gets his family out of Russia.

This humanitarian work to which the Rabbi devotes a third of his time has prompted the citizens of Galveston to build him the Cohen Community House at a cost of 100,000 dollars. Not that he has neglected his own community. He has worked for Jewish refugees as none else has done, and "his refugee work was so successful that during the trouble with Mexico in 1913, Congress, on the recommendation of the American Red Cross, voted 75,000 dollars to the care for refugees from Mexico, to be administered by Rabbi Cohen entirely at his discretion."

He has revolutionised the prison conditions in Texas and has even helped in setting aside wrong convictions. He investigated the case of a man called Sidney Porter, appealed to the Governor, and months afterwards a man appeared at Cohen's door saying: "I am Sidney Porter. I can't do anything now to pay you for what you have done for me. But I am a writer. I will write things to help your people." He was the distinguished story-writer O'Henry!

Rabbi Cohen goes to his congregation and preaches too. But *any* great text is good enough for him. "Look at the golden rule in Confucius," he says. "I would as soon preach on a text from Confucius as the Talmud *if the truth is there*." And so he is asked to speak in the Protestant churches of Galveston, and "every Protestant minister, and Catholic priest, too, have spoken in the synagogue and the Henry Cohen Community House." And his example has been infectious. The Jews are less than two

per cent in Galveston, and yet hundreds of Catholics voted for a Jewish mayor. This Catholic priest said to the writer of the sketch of Rabbi Cohen: "Why is it we judge a man in this town not for his race or his creed, *but for what he is himself*? The answer is Rabbi Cohen."

That indeed is rediscovering Religion. When we have rediscovered Religion by the grace of God, then indeed will J. A. Symonds' dream be fulfilled. Then shall arise a loftier race of men who

"Shall be gentle, brave and strong
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship's firm
On earth and fire and sea, and air.
Nation with nation, land with land
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.
New arts shall bloom of loftier mould
And mightier music thrill the skies
And every life shall be a song
When all the earth is paradise."

Gandhiji did not touch this aspect of the rediscovery of Christianity when talking with Mr. Smith, but when he asked him and his co-workers to help in reconstructing future civilisation on surer foundations he meant all this.

New Delhi, 5-2-40

M. D.

THE QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Untruth in Law Courts

Q. I have followed with interest the controversy that has grown round your article in *Harijan* "The Fourfold Ruin". Whatever one may say about the arguments used on either side in this controversy, one thing I am in a position to assert without fear of contradiction, from my experience as a judicial officer of the present system of our law. Courts and the institution of lawyers are mainly responsible for the moral and spiritual degradation of our village peasantry in particular and the public in general. Even 'respectable' people, whom one has learnt to regard as the soul of honour in their ordinary every-day life, will tell barefaced lies for a trifle in a law court and think nothing of it. The canker is eating into the vitals of our village life. Would you suggest as to what a person in my position (*viz.* a judge), who has to record evidence and give judicial decisions, can do to check this evil?

A. What you say is too true. The atmosphere round law courts is debasing as any visitor passing through them can see. I hold radical views about the administration of justice. But mine, I know, is a voice in the wilderness. Vested interests will not allow radical reform unless India comes into her own through truthful and non-violent means. If that glorious event happens, the administration of law and medicine will be as cheap and healthy as it is today dear and unhealthy. The heroic advice will be for

you to descend from the bench, embrace poverty and serve the poor. The prosaic will be for you to do the best you can in the very difficult circumstances in which you find yourself, reduce life to its simplest terms and devote your savings for the service of the poor.

Ahimsa v. Self-respect

Q. I am a university student. Yesterday evening some of us went to a cinema show. During the performance two of us went outside leaving our handkerchiefs behind on our seats. On our return we found that two British soldiers had taken possession of these seats unceremoniously in spite of the clearest warning and entreaty by our friends. When requested to vacate the seats they not only refused but showed an inclination to fight. They browbeat the cinema manager who, being Indian, was easily cowed down. In the end the garrison officer was called and they vacated their seats. If he had not appeared, there would have been only two alternatives before us, either to resort to violence and maintain our self-respect, or to allow ourselves to be browbeaten and quietly occupy some other seat. The latter would have been too humiliating. How would you apply the principle of non-violence under such circumstances?

A. I must admit the difficulty of solving the riddle. Two ways occur to me of dealing with the situation non-violently. First, firmly to stand the ground till the seats are vacated; secondly, deliberately so to stand as to obstruct the view of the usurpers. In each case you run the risk of being beaten by the usurpers. I am not satisfied with my answers. But they meet the special circumstances in which we are placed. The ideal answer no doubt is not to bother about the usurpation of the personal right but to reason with the usurpers and, if they do not listen, to report such cases to the authorities concerned and, in case of failure, take them to the highest tribunal. This is the constitutional method which is not taboo in a non-violent conception of society. Not to take the law into one's own hands is essentially a non-violent method. But the ideal has no relation to reality in this country because the index of expectation of justice for Indians in cases where white men and specially white soldiers are concerned is almost zero. Hence it is necessary to resort something like what I have suggested. But I know that when we have real non-violence in us a non-violent way out is bound, without effort, to occur to us when we find ourselves in a difficult situation.

Students and the Coming Fight

Q. Although a college student I am a four anna member of the Congress. You say I may not take any active part in the coming struggle whilst I am studying. What part do you expect the student world to take in the freedom movement?

A. There is a confusion of thought in the question. The fight is going on now and it will continue till the nation has come to her birth-right. Civil disobedience is one of the many methods of fighting. So far as I can judge today, I have no intention of calling out students. Millions will not take part in civil disobedience. But millions will help in a variety of ways.

1. Students can, by learning the art of voluntary discipline, fit themselves for leadership in the various branches of the nation's work.

2. They can aim not at finding lucrative careers but at becoming national servants after completing their studies.

3. They can set apart for the national coffers a certain sum from their allowances.

4. They can promote intercommunal, inter-provincial and intercaste harmony among themselves and fraternise with Harijans by abolishing the least trace of untouchability from their lives.

5. They can spin regularly and use certified khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth as well as hawk khadi.

6. They can set apart a certain time every week, if not every day, for service in a village or villages nearest to their institutions and, during the vacation, devote a certain time daily for national service.

The time may of course come when it may be necessary to call out the students as I did before. Though the contingency is remote, it will never come, if I have any say in the matter, unless the students have qualified themselves previously in the manner above described.

Segaon, 12-2-40

TO AGENTS

Agents at times ask us to send books, paper, etc., in book post packets or railway parcels containing copies of *Harijan*. This is not possible in view of the fact that these packets and parcels, being sent under concession rates, can contain nothing but copies of a registered newspaper. Agents will, therefore, please not repeat this request nor expect us to send them individual replies to this effect.

Manager.

Swadeshi — True and False

By Gandhiji & Others

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[ONE ANNA

COMMUNAL DECISION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my brief stay in Bengal I have been overwhelmed with questions on the Communal Decision. I have been told that neither the Working Committee nor I have pronounced decisive opinion on it. The Working Committee's decision is written in its records and has been published. It has neither accepted nor rejected the Decision. There can be neither acceptance nor rejection of an imposed thing. A prisoner is not required to accept the sentence pronounced against him. His rejection would be meaningless. For he would soon find himself undeceived. The Communal Decision has been imposed upon India not for her own good but for strengthening the British Imperial hold on India. The Working Committee has, therefore, as much accepted and as much rejected the Decision as Bengal has. There is this difference, however, that the Working Committee has not agitated against it like Bengal.

For me, I detest the Decision. It has benefited no single party in India but the British. If the Muslims flatter themselves with the belief that they have profited by it, they will soon find that they were sadly mistaken. If I could alter the Decision and make it what it should be, I should do so this very moment. But I have no such power. The power can only come if there is unity. Bengal is the most glaring instance of injustice. I can conceive of no just reason for putting the wedge of the tremendous European vote between the two major communities. Their number is insignificant. Their interest is protected by the British bayonet. Why should that interest have added strength given to it by its introduction in the legislature? I can understand its representation without vote so as to enable it to put its case before the legislature. So long as it has the protection of the British bayonet, its over-representation on the legislature is a wholly unjust imposition. The whole face of the Bengal legislature would be changed if the European vote was withdrawn. Today that legislature is not wholly responsible to the people, the real voters. The European bloc gives peace neither to the Muslims nor the Hindus. Muslim ministers may flatter themselves with the belief that they are safe with the European vote. They may be safe as individuals, but the national interest cannot be safe if a body of persons who are numerically insignificant

are given an artificially decisive voting strength in a democratic assembly. It deprives the latter of its democratic character.

Thus the evil contained in the Decision I know. But I do not know how to deal with it except by patient endeavour. This I do know that there can be no real Swaraj so long as that Decision stands. Bengal is a glaring instance of the inequity. Assam is another. A critical examination of the Decision would show that it has very little to recommend itself from the national standpoint. It can be altered either by the British Government redressing the wrong or by successful rebellion. I was going to add by mutual agreement. But that seems an impossibility even if Hindus and Muslims agreed. Europeans have also to agree, and they have to agree to self-abnegation — an event unknown in politics. If there was self-abnegation, there would no European interest in India which is hostile to the national interest. He will be a bold man who will assert and hope to prove that there was in India no European interest hostile to the nation.

On the train to Calcutta, 19-2-40

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Unity v. Justice

Q. In your article 'Unity v. Justice' you say that, if you give more than his due to your brother, you neither bribe him nor do you do an injustice. You say: "I can disarm suspicion only by being generous. Justice without generosity is done at the expense of the very cause for which it is sought to be done." I submit that justice and generosity cannot go hand in hand. As Dryden has rightly observed, "Justice is blind, it knows nobody." Besides, you can be generous to the weak, meek and the humble, not to one who in the arrogance of his strength seeks to coerce you into submission. To give more than his due to such a person is not generosity but cowardly surrender. Though Hindus are numerically stronger, their majority, as you yourself have pointed out, is only fictitious and actually they are the weaker party. Besides, if generosity is to be shown to the Muslims, the only organisation that is competent to offer it is the Hindu Mahasabha. What right has a third party to be generous to one of the two parties to a dispute at the other party's expense?

A. In my article referred to by you I have dealt with general principles, not with particular minorities. Even as justice to be justice has to

be generous, generosity in order to justify itself has got to be strictly just. Therefore it should not be at the expense of any single interest. Hence there cannot be any question of sacrificing some minority or minorities, for the benefit of any minority. You are right again in contending that generosity has to be shown to the weak and the humble, and not to the bully. Nevertheless I would say, on behalf of the bully, that even he is entitled to justice, for immediately you brush aside the bully and be unjust to him you justify his bullying. Thus the only safe — not to put it higher — rule of conduct is to do generous justice, irrespective of the character of the minority. I am quite sure that where there is strictest justice the question of majority and minority would not arise. The bully is a portent and is an answer to some existing circumstance, as for instance cowardice. It is often forgotten that cowardice can be unjust. The fact is that cowards have no sense of justice. They yield only to threat, or actual use, of force. I do not know that there is any question of choice between a coward and a bully. The one is as bad as the other, with this difference that the bully always follows the coward in point of time.

In a previous issue I have admitted that the proper organisation to enter into settlements is the Hindu Mahasabha, so far as Hindus are concerned, or any such organisation. The Congress endeavours to represent all communities. It is not by design, but by the accident of Hindus being politically more conscious than the others, that the Congress contains a majority of Hindus. As history proves the Congress is a joint creation of Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Hindus, led by Englishmen, be it said to the credit of the latter. And the Congress, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, retains that character. At the present moment a Muslim divine is the unquestioned leader of the Congress and for the second time becomes its president. The constant endeavour of Congressmen has been to have as many members as possible drawn from the various communities, and therefore the Congress has entered into pacts for the purpose of securing national solidarity. It cannot, therefore, divest itself of that function, and therefore, although I have made the admission that the Hindu Mahasabha or a similar Hindu organisation can properly have communal settlements, the Congress cannot and must not plead incapacity for entering into political pacts so long as it commands general confidence.

On the train to Calcutta, 16-2-40

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends? Segaon, 15-1-40 M. K. G.

OCCASIONAL NOTES

All for the Empire

In his recent Mansion House speech the British Prime Minister said :

"It is becoming increasingly clear that the German Government has long planned the successive stages of a programme of conquest, and that its appetite grows by what it feeds upon. Today the members of that Government do not hesitate to say that they desire to achieve the ruin of the British Empire, and no doubt they would rejoice if they could treat us as they are treating the victims already within their grip. We, on our side, have no such vindictive designs. To put it about that the Allies desire the annihilation of the German people is a fantastic and malicious invention which could only be put forward for home consumption. But, on the other hand, the German people must realise that the responsibility for the prolongation of this war and all the suffering that it may bring in the coming year is theirs as well as that of the tyrants who stand over them. They must realise that the desire of the Allies for a social, human, just, Christian settlement cannot be satisfied by assurances which experience has proved to be worthless."

Apart from what "the vile" German Government have done, is it not clear from this statement that the war is being fought for the preservation of the Empire? Germany has devastated Poland and Russia Finland, but neither has yet declared that her intention is to annihilate Britain or the British people. The British Empire is a different proposition altogether. Is "a social, human, just, Christian settlement" compatible with the existence and defence of the Empire and the exploitation that it necessarily means? Also is such "a social, human, just, Christian settlement" possible while Britain retains her Empire and imperialism? Evidently according to Lord Zetland it is possible. So long as imperialism lasts, it must excite the jealousy of the other powers. If imperialism was really given up, there would be no incentive to war on either side. As things are, both the sides are equally to blame for the prolongation of the war. For there must be Christian conduct before a Christian settlement becomes a possibility.

"Not Gandhi or Nehru but Hitler"

This was the heading of an "unofficial note" passed for publication by the Information Officer:

"In a recent issue the *Rheinisch—Westfaelische Zeitung* of Essen (Germany) wrote :

'Poor Englishmen! They still live in the illusion that they can save their Empire. But the Empire is crumbling to pieces.

'India will soon be free from the yoke of the white race. Nehru, the future Gandhi, who went to school in Moscow, has said that England will shortly see it. The fate of India, the fate of the British Empire, will, however, not be decided in the far lands overseas, but in Europe — when Germany has won the war."

It is rather difficult to see the point of this note. We know that the British Government do

not want Hitler to decide the fate of India or of the British Empire. But do they not, or must they not, want India to decide it? If they will permit India to decide her fate, i. e. of the Empire, Hitler may be successfully prevented from taking the task upon himself. But if they will not permit India to do so — Lord Zetland has declared that he will not — the war is automatically prolonged, and God alone knows who will decide the fate of India and the Empire. British arms have not availed to prevent the devastation of Poland or of Finland. Is there any certainty that they will prevail against further ruin? On the other hand, is not the certainty greater of war ending soon if and when Britain has made a voluntary surrender of the Empire?

"An Infernal Nuisance"

But there are all kinds of arguments advanced. India's defence, her minority problem, her divisions, etc., are all obstacles to her being given a free hand to determine her constitution. There were the same problems with respect to the Dominions which now enjoy virtual independence, but they were inhabited by people who had the same colour of skin as the Britishers and so the problems ceased to be regarded as obstacles. What they will not voluntarily yield to a non-violent India, they had to yield to the rebellious whites in the Dominions. But evidently the conscience of the British people has been roused, and they see the justice of India's case. For Mr. Vernon Bartlett wrote in *The News Chronicle* brushing aside all the pleas that are trotted out:

"But the Indian problem is as simple or as complicated as you like to make it. There is no part of this globe where the religious, racial and economic difficulties give more scope to the obstructionist. As against that, few facts are simpler to understand than that the effort by a few thousand white men to keep under control some three hundred and fifty million brown men is a lasting and dangerous cause of unrest....."

How would you feel about it if you were to learn from the newspapers that your Government had suddenly involved you in a war at the request of some people on the other side of the globe, from whom you differed in race, language, religion and even the colour of your skin?

There are millions of Indians ready to fight for India, but why should we expect them all to be ready to fight for British rule over India?

Because so many of them fought in the last war? But their effort then has not brought them self-government, although, while that war was still in progress, the other Dominions achieved Home Rule.

We have — and let us admit it frankly — very little more right to demand that the Indians should fight for us than Hitler has to demand the self-sacrifice of the Czechs.

And yet we very much need Indian help, for, man power apart, India is among the world's largest producers of a whole range of important supplies — manganese, mica, shellac, jute, cotton, rice, tea are only some of them.

Almost more important is the effect of Indian help on the neutrals. The largest meeting I ever attended in New York was one to protest against British rule in India.

It may be unfair, but it is undeniable that immense harm would be done not only to our military strength, but also to our hope of winning ever-increasing neutral support in this war if the Chamberlain Government were to put into execution those threats of force at which Sir Samuel Hoare so unfortunately hinted in his speech from the Treasury Bench.

That Indian help can be obtained. How, it is not for me to suggest in detail. But we start off with a valuable fact in our favour. The leaders of Congress Party claim independence for India on the principle of democratic self-determination — that means that they are, *ipso facto*, allied to us against Hitlerism.

Or they will be as soon as they have any evidence from the Viceroy's treatment of their own case that the British Government itself believes in that principle. There is nothing like a common foreign policy for smoothing out domestic differences.

Congress does not represent all India? There are minorities that must be protected? But what party anywhere represents a whole population? Where are there no minorities? The Hindu-Moslem disputes undoubtedly make the problem much more difficult, but the difficulty will never be lessened if we in Great Britain make Home Rule of India dependent upon their disappearance.....

The obvious truth about India is that she will be an infernal nuisance until she has self-government. She is growing up as a political entity in the modern world. She has reached that stage when she would rather make a mess of things by governing herself than be better governed by others. Any people passing through that stage needs sympathy, and is grateful for it.

If our Government would shorten the period of strain, then there would be a million Indians anxious to help the British Empire in its gravest struggle."

Why Not Dominion Status?

No one will accuse Shri Ramananda Chatterji, the veteran journalist, of extreme views. This is what he says on the issue of Dominion Status in *The Modern Review* for February:

"If any person were to ask the present writer, 'Would you be satisfied with Dominion Status?' he would be constrained to answer 'No'. For a large and ancient country like India with a civilization of its own to become the Dominion of another country inhabited by a different people with a different civilization, culture traditions and history, cannot be admitted as a natural, or right development. The white people of Australia or New Zealand may agree to their countries being Dominions of *their* Mother country. The people of Canada of British stock may have similar feelings. As people of European extraction the French Canadians may not be dissatisfied with being the citizens of a British Dominion.....We who are neither of British nor of any other European extraction cannot be accused of any unnatural sentiment if we be not satis-

ANDREWS MEMORIAL

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

A friend, who is himself trying to collect for the Andrews Memorial, has written a letter from which I take the following relevant paragraphs:

"As I read it there are four objects of the appeal (you will kindly correct me, if I am wrong):

(i) Ensuring the permanence of the present established work by an endowment to enable Santiniketan to fulfil Andrews' high hopes for it, unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened.

This is obviously the first need, for it would be doubtful wisdom to add new developments to an institution which itself is insecure. At the same time the amount required for this purpose is nowhere specified.

If there is a sufficiently generous response to the appeal, providing more than is required for this first need, then it will be possible to go on to the other three parts of the scheme, viz.

(ii) A small but properly equipped hospital;

(iii) The provision of 'Deenabandhu wells' in the district;

(iv) The provision of the Hall of Christian culture.

Now, if I am right in this, it must surely occur to the reader of the appeal that, if, as seems likely, the institution requires a considerable sum for its endowment fund, the chances that any contributions made now will actually be available for either of the second, third or fourth part of the scheme are somewhat remote. It is not stated whether contributors are allowed to earmark their gifts for any of the special objects in the scheme; and obviously, if a large proportion of contributors did so, the primary object of the appeal—the placing of Santiniketan on a sound basis financially—may be defeated.

My second difficulty was about the statement of the aims, and I had in view particularly those of the proposed hall of Christian culture, in which I am naturally interested.

That is first described as providing for India's thought contact with the Western world, on the analogy of the 'Cheena Bhavan' and China. This suggests a doubtful identification of 'Christian culture' and 'Western culture.'

The statement then goes on to speak of (a) the application of the teaching and character of Christ to international problems, and (b) the task of interpreting in Eastern modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ.

What we have, therefore, seems to be three rather different aims, all very important and relevant. Perhaps it may be necessary to leave it in this rather wide form; and yet I cannot help thinking that a more careful wording might make clear the relation of the other two aspects of the aim to that which is described as the 'central purpose'.

Thirdly, I raised the question of trustees and a sound basis for confidence in the future running of the scheme. If I understand your letter rightly, the trustees of this special fund are to be the trustees of Santiniketan and Sriniketan, mentioned at the end

of the appeal. The appeal itself does not seem to make this clear.

Does this imply that the disposal and allocation of the special fund raised is directly in the hands of these trustees of Santiniketan, so that, in effect, the fund becomes an additional part of the corpus of the Trust?

It seemed to me that for a scheme of the importance and magnitude of that contemplated in the appeal there would be a place for some special committee or body of trustees related a little more definitely both to the special objects and to the wider interests to which the appeal will extend."

The enquiry is pertinent and deserves a proper answer. As I happen to be one of the signatories to the appeal for funds, what I write may be taken as authoritative. The present trustees have made a rough calculation of the expenses in connection with the three definite additions to Santiniketan. After providing for them, a surplus is expected to be available which will go into the general funds. But naturally these three items will have precedence. Nevertheless it is open to donors to earmark their funds for any of the three additions, and the money will be so used. Therefore there need be no apprehension about the additions, whether donations are earmarked or not. If I may let out a secret, I may say that the general appeal was my idea. Gurudev, who first thought of the memorial being identified with Santiniketan, had in mind only two things—the hospital and the hall, the latter being the suggestion of a Christian friend. Deenabandhu wells were to be built out of Santiniketan funds. Taking the cue from Gurudev, I felt there should be no hesitation whatsoever in identifying the whole of Santiniketan with Andrews' memory. The Poet is a host in himself. He has an established international fame which will grow with time. Nevertheless Andrews was its best advertiser. Gurudev has no advertising ability. He simply works, wishes, and then leaves his wishes to fate. Not so the practical Englishman. He felt attracted to the Poet, and found his peace and permanent abode in Santiniketan. England was his birth-place; he never tore himself away from her. But his soul found its full expression and home in Santiniketan, and I know, because I was his co-worker, that he went literally from door to door in order to get funds for Santiniketan. And he would often say to me: 'Never mind Santiniketan, but you must get so much money for me. You know what Santiniketan means to me and what the Poet means to the world.' And I succumbed to his advance whenever he made it, even though I could ill afford the time. His love for Santiniketan was greater—I say this without any offence to anyone living in Santiniketan—than theirs. It was certainly as great as the Poet's, and Santiniketan, as it is at present, is due as much to Andrews as to the Poet. Probably Andrews was the more persistent of the two.

With this knowledge at the back of my mind I had no hesitation in suggesting that the appeal should be general. Hence I would say to would-be donors that they would miss the central fact of the memorial if they detached the three additions from Santiniketan. For the three together would be a poor memorial to Deenabandhu if Santiniketan were no more. And let me say at once that Santiniketan will never owe its permanence to the five lakhs that may be collected. It will be permanent because the Poet has breathed life into it and the spirit of Andrews hovers over it. If it keeps up the character imparted to it by its founders, including Andrews, it will never die.

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Finally I may mention that the response hitherto made through the memorial appeal has been very poor. I know that the organisation of the fund rests principally upon my shoulders. I have done nothing in the hope that Deenabandhu's solid work for submerged humanity would need no organised effort, and that it would evoke spontaneous response. I have not yet lost that hope. I publish the meagre list of donations hitherto received. The reader will notice, as I have noticed, that as yet there is no collection from the student world nor any coppers from the labour world.

Sevagram, 27 8 40

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NON-VIOLENT CRAFTS

The joint meeting of the A. I. S. A. and the Gandhi Seva Sangh that was held last June discussed several questions relating to a wider understanding of the economics of khadi. At one sitting Gandhiji spoke at length about the non-violent aspect of the development of handicrafts. "As," he said, "a non-violent man's actions will all be coloured by non-violence, his occupational activity will necessarily be non-violent. Strictly speaking, no activity and no industry is possible without a certain amount of violence, no matter how little. Even the very process of living is impossible without a certain amount of violence. What we have to do is to minimise it to the greatest extent possible. Indeed the very word non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to abandon the violence that is inevitable in life. Therefore whoever believes in ahimsa will engage himself in occupations that involve the least possible violence. Thus, for instance, one cannot conceive of a man believing in non-violence carrying on the occupation of a butcher. Not that a meat-eater cannot be non-violent — there are many among meat-eaters who are better observers of non-violence than those who abstain from meat, e. g. Deenabandhu Andrews — but even a meat-eater believing in non-violence will not go in for shikar, and he will not engage in war or war preparations. Thus there are many activities and occupations which necessarily involve violence and must be eschewed by a non-violent man. But there is agriculture without which life is impossible, and which does involve a certain amount of violence. The determining factor therefore is — is the occupation founded on violence? But since all activity involves some measure of violence, all we have to do is to minimise the violence involved in it. This is not possible without a heart-belief in non-violence. Suppose there is a man who does no actual violence, who labours for his bread, but who is always consumed with envy at other people's wealth or prosperity. He is not non-violent. A non-violent occupation is thus that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others.

"Now I have no historical proof, but I believe that there was a time in India when village economics were organised on the basis of such non-violent occupations, not on the basis of the rights of man but on the duties of man. Those who engaged themselves in such occupations did earn their living, but their labour contributed to the good of the community. A carpenter, for instance, ministered to the needs of the village farmer. He got no cash payment but was paid in kind by the villagers. There could be injustice even in this system, but it would be reduced to a minimum. I speak from personal knowledge of the life in "

Harijan

Sep. 1

1940

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

"You say non-violence is for the brave, not for cowards. But, in my opinion, in India the brave are conspicuous by their absence. Even if we claim to be brave, how is the world to believe us when it knows that India has no arms and is therefore incapable of defending herself? What then should we do to cultivate non-violence of the brave?"

The correspondent is wrong in thinking that in India the brave are conspicuous by their absence. It is a matter for shame that because foreigners once labelled us as cowards we should accept the label. Man often becomes what he believes himself to be. If I keep on saying to myself that I *cannot* do a certain thing, it is possible that I may end by really becoming incapable of doing it. On the contrary, if I have the belief that I *can* do it, I shall surely acquire the capacity to do it even if I may not have it at the beginning. Again it is wrong to say that the world today believes us to be cowards. It has ceased to think so since the satyagraha campaign. The Congress prestige has risen very high in the West during the past twenty years. The world is watching with astonished interest the fact that although we have no arms we are hoping to win Swaraj, and have indeed come very near it. Moreover, it sees in our non-violent movement rays of hope for peace in the world and its salvation from the hell of carnage. The bulk of mankind has come to believe that, if ever the spirit of revenge is to vanish and bloody wars are to cease, the happy event can happen only through the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress. The correspondent's fear and suspicion are, therefore, unfounded.

It will now be seen that the fact that India is unarmed is no obstacle in the path of ahimsa. The forcible disarmament of India by the British Government was indeed a grave wrong and a cruel injustice. But we can turn even injustice to our advantage if God be with us, or if you prefer, we have the skill to do so. And such a thing has happened in India.

Arms are surely unnecessary for a training in ahimsa. In fact the arms, if any, have to be thrown away, as the Khansaheb did in the Frontier Province. Those who hold that it is essential to learn violence before we can learn non-violence, would hold that only sinners can be saints.

Just as one must learn the art of killing in the training for violence, so one must learn the art of dying in the training for non-violence.

Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He reckes not if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise ahimsa to perfection. The votary of ahimsa has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the *Atman* that transcends the body; and the moment one has a glimpse of the Imperishable *Atman* one sheds the love of the perishable body. Training in non-violence is thus diametrically opposed to training in violence. Violence is needed for the protection of things external, non-violence is needed for the protection of the *Atman*, for the protection of one's honour.

This non-violence cannot be learnt by staying at home. It needs enterprise. In order to test ourselves we should learn to dare danger and death, mortify the flesh and acquire the capacity to endure all manner of hardships. He who trembles or takes to his heels the moment he sees two people fighting is not non-violent, but a coward. A non-violent person will lay down his life in preventing such quarrels. The bravery of the non-violent is vastly superior to that of the violent. The badge of the violent is his weapon — spear, or sword, or rifle. God is the shield of the non-violent.

This is not a course of training for one intending to learn non-violence. But it is easy to evolve one from the principles I have laid down.

It will be evident from the foregoing that there is no comparison between the two types of bravery. The one is limited, the other is limitless. There is no such thing as out-daring or out-fighting non-violence. Non-violence is invincible. There need be no doubt that this non-violence can be achieved. The history of the past twenty years should be enough to reassure us.

Sevagram, 27-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A. I. S. A. Employees

Q. The Secretary of the Bhiwani Congress committee asks: Is there a ban on A. I. S. A. employees as far as signing the satyagraha pledge is concerned? They fulfil all the conditions of the pledge, but they may not offer themselves for jail without the permission of the A. I. S. A., and therefore they cannot sign the form. Is it then permissible for them to retain their membership of Congress executive committees, or should they resign from them?

A. Your interpretation of the rule of the A. I. S. A. is correct. No one can work in two spheres at the same time. The work of the A. I. S. A. too is Congress work. None

of its employees can be allowed to court imprisonment. His absence must harm khadi. Therefore, granted that the rule is necessary, it is plain that no A. I. S. A. employee may remain a member of a Congress committee. The entire committee may be arrested, or if the committee so desires, it can order any of its members to court imprisonment.

(Translated from Hindustani)

Uncertified Khadi

Q. The Secretary also asks: Members of Congress local executive committees sometimes sell uncertified khadi. They give the same wages to spinners and weavers as the A. I. S. A. Only their khadi is not certified. According to Congress rules are they entitled to remain on Congress committees or should they resign from them?

A. In my opinion they are not entitled to membership of Congress committees. The official answer must be officially secured. If it is correct that they give the same wages to spinners and weavers, why do they not get the necessary certificate from the A. I. S. A.?

(Translated from Hindustani)

How to Convert Atheists

Q. How can one convert atheists to belief in God and religion?

A. There is only one way. The true servant of God can convert the atheist by means of his own purity and good conduct. It can never be done by argument. Innumerable books have been written to prove the existence of God, and if argument could have prevailed, there would not be a single atheist in the world today. But the opposite is the case. In spite of all the literature on the subject, atheism is on the increase. Often, however, the man who calls himself an atheist is not one in reality; and the converse also is equally true. Atheists sometimes say, "If you are believers, then we are unbelievers." And they have a right to say so, for self-styled believers are often not so in reality. Many worship God because it is the fashion to do so or in order to deceive the world. How can such persons have any influence on atheists? Therefore let the believer realise and have the faith that, if he is true to God, his neighbours will instinctively not be atheists. Do not let him be troubled about the whole world. Let us remember that atheists exist by the sufferance of God. How truly has it been said that those who worship God in name only are not believers but those who do His will!

(Translated from Hindustani)

Living Wage

Q. You once wrote in *Harijan* to the effect that villagers are at liberty to buy yarn spun in their own villages without reference to the living wage, and that the A. I. S. A. should let them go their way in this matter. Are those who wear khadi woven from such yarn eligible as Congress delegates? And what is the village worker to do in this regard? He natur-

ally does propaganda in favour of a living wage. There are always a certain number of villagers who buy A. I. S. A. khadi, but at the same time there are many who cannot afford to do so. And even if they pay less than the living wage, there is no doubt that the spinners get some relief and khadi finds a certain place in village life too. Is the village worker there to encourage such khadi?

A. If we were always careful enough not to read into a writer's sentences a meaning which defeats his very purpose, such questions would rarely arise. Where no wages are paid and the yarn is self-spun, no ban of any kind can be applied. It is of course assumed that the A. I. S. A. rule is not broken on a false plea of self-sufficiency. The same applies to the village worker.

But there is one important issue raised in your questions. The A. I. S. A. worker in a particular village cannot pay a living wage if he is to use the village khadi. Therefore he will buy yarn at a lesser rate and give some work to the spinners who would otherwise get nothing. But he may not become a member of the Congress. He will serve the Congress from without. Sometimes such persons serve the Congress far better, and they are moreover saved from the ambitions that membership often carries with it. It is clear that such khadi cannot be sold outside the village. It should all be absorbed locally. The moment uncertified khadi is put into the market the A. I. S. A. law is broken and real khadi receives a setback. The A. I. S. A. is labouring under great stress in trying to raise the spinners' wages. Never in the world have I heard of wages being increased from one or two pice to 8 or 12 pice per day without the wage-earners having asked for a rise in pay. The A. I. S. A. has done monumental work in this matter.

(Translated from Hindustani)

Will It Fail?

Q. You say that the Congress is not cent per cent non-violent today. If that is so, will not a satyagraha movement launched by it be unsuccessful?

A. It is not possible for a large popular organisation like the Congress to be wholly non-violent, for the simple reason that all its members cannot have attained a standard level of non-violence. But it is perfectly possible for some of its members, who truly understand the implications of pure ahimsa and observe its law in their lives, to lead a successful satyagraha movement. This truth has even been demonstrated so far by the Congress.

Sevagram, 27-8-40 (Translated from Gujarati).

Mahatma Gandhi

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Empire or Democracy? by L. Barnes.
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ANDREWS MEMORIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend, who is himself trying to collect for the Andrews Memorial, has written a letter from which I take the following relevant paragraphs:

"As I read it there are four objects of the appeal (you will kindly correct me, if I am wrong):

(i) Ensuring the permanence of the present established work by an endowment to enable Santiniketan to fulfil Andrews' high hopes for it, unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened.

This is obviously the first need, for it would be doubtful wisdom to add new developments to an institution which itself is insecure. At the same time the amount required for this purpose is nowhere specified.

If there is a sufficiently generous response to the appeal, providing more than is required for this first need, then it will be possible to go on to the other three parts of the scheme, viz.

(ii) A small but properly equipped hospital;

(iii) The provision of 'Deenabandhu wells' in the district;

(iv) The provision of the Hall of Christian culture.

Now, if I am right in this, it must surely occur to the reader of the appeal that, if, as seems likely, the institution requires a considerable sum for its endowment fund, the chances that any contributions made now will actually be available for either of the second, third or fourth part of the scheme are somewhat remote. It is not stated whether contributors are allowed to earmark their gifts for any of the special objects in the scheme; and obviously, if a large proportion of contributors did so, the primary object of the appeal—the placing of Santiniketan on a sound basis financially—may be defeated.

My second difficulty was about the statement of the aims, and I had in view particularly those of the proposed hall of Christian culture, in which I am naturally interested.

That is first described as providing for India's thought contact with the Western world, on the analogy of the 'Cheena Bhavan' and China. This suggests a doubtful identification of 'Christian culture' and 'Western culture.'

The statement then goes on to speak of (a) the application of the teaching and character of Christ to international problems, and (b) the task of interpreting in Eastern modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ.

What we have, therefore, seems to be three rather different aims, all very important and relevant. Perhaps it may be necessary to leave it in this rather wide form; and yet I cannot help thinking that a more careful wording might make clear the relation of the other two aspects of the aim to that which is described as the 'central purpose'.

Thirdly, I raised the question of trustees and a sound basis for confidence in the future running of the scheme. If I understand your letter rightly, the trustees of this special fund are to be the trustees of Santiniketan and Sriniketan, mentioned at the end

of the appeal. The appeal itself does not seem to make this clear.

Does this imply that the disposal and allocation of the special fund raised is directly in the hands of these trustees of Santiniketan, so that, in effect, the fund becomes an additional part of the corpus of the Trust?

It seemed to me that for a scheme of the importance and magnitude of that contemplated in the appeal there would be a place for some special committee or body of trustees related a little more definitely both to the special objects and to the wider interests to which the appeal will extend."

The enquiry is pertinent and deserves a proper answer. As I happen to be one of the signatories to the appeal for funds, what I write may be taken as authoritative. The present trustees have made a rough calculation of the expenses in connection with the three definite additions to Santiniketan. After providing for them, a surplus is expected to be available which will go into the general funds. But naturally these three items will have precedence. Nevertheless it is open to donors to earmark their funds for any of the three additions, and the money will be so used. Therefore there need be no apprehension about the additions, whether donations are earmarked or not. If I may let out a secret, I may say that the general appeal was my idea. Gurudev, who first thought of the memorial being identified with Santiniketan, had in mind only two things—the hospital and the hall, the latter being the suggestion of a Christian friend. Deenabandhu wells were to be built out of Santiniketan funds. Taking the cue from Gurudev, I felt there should be no hesitation whatsoever in identifying the whole of Santiniketan with Andrews' memory. The Poet is a host in himself. He has an established international fame which will grow with time. Nevertheless Andrews was its best advertiser. Gurudev has no advertising ability. He simply works, wishes, and then leaves his wishes to fate. Not so the practical Englishman. He felt attracted to the Poet, and found his peace and permanent abode in Santiniketan. England was his birth-place; he never tore himself away from her. But his soul found its full expression and home in Santiniketan, and I know, because I was his co-worker, that he went literally from door to door in order to get funds for Santiniketan. And he would often say to me: 'Never mind Santiniketan, but you must get so much money for me. You know what Santiniketan means to me and what the Poet means to the world.' And I succumbed to his advance whenever he made it, even though I could ill afford the time. His love for Santiniketan was greater—I say this without any offence to anyone living in Santiniketan—than theirs. It was certainly as great as the Poet's, and Santiniketan, as it is at present, is due as much to Andrews as to the Poet. Probably Andrews was the more persistent of the two.

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"Now I have no historical proof, but I believe that there was a time in India when village economics were organised on the basis of such non-violent occupations, not on the basis of the rights of man but on the duties of man. Those who engaged themselves in such occupations did earn their living, but their labour contributed to the good of the community. A carpenter, for instance, ministered to the needs of the village farmer. He got no cash payment but was paid in kind by the villagers. There could be injustice even in this system, but it would be reduced to a minimum. I speak from personal knowledge of the life in Kathiawad of over sixty years ago. There was more justice in

people's eyes, and more life in their limbs, than you find today. It was a life founded on unconscious ahimsa.

"Body labour was at the core of these occupations and industries, and there was no large scale machinery. For when a man is content to own only so much land as he can till with his own labour, he cannot exploit others. Handicrafts exclude exploitation and slavery. Large scale machinery concentrates wealth in the hands of one man who lords it over the rest who slave for him. For he may be trying to create ideal conditions for his workmen, but it is none the less exploitation which is a form of violence.

"When I say that there was a time when society was based not on exploitation but on justice, I mean to suggest that truth and ahimsa were not virtues confined to individuals but were practised by communities. To me virtue ceases to have any value if it is cloistered or possible only for individuals."

Sevagram, 26-8-40

M. D.

Notes

Sindh

The position of Congressmen in Sindh is by no means enviable. They have a most difficult time before them. Their non-violence, if they have it in them, has not benefited those who live in fear of their lives. It is true that no one else has helped them. I warned them at the very outset that they must learn the art of helping themselves as others do, or by non-violence as Congressmen are supposed or expected to do. In some places they are organising national guards. Those who do, look up to Congressmen for help and guidance. For the latter have been their helpers and guides hitherto. Some Congressmen feel that without any intention themselves of taking up arms they can put courage into the people, if they train them in the art of self-defence whether with or without arms. The question has attained importance and demands immediate answer in view of the unequivocal resolution of the A. I. C. C. recently held at Poona. I am quite clear that no Congressman, so long as he is even a four anna member of the Congress, can take part in organising or aiding self-defence groups without committing a breach of the Poona resolution. But I am equally clear that it is the duty of those Congressmen who feel the need for helping self-defence groups and have the capacity for doing so, to go to the rescue of the terror-stricken men. This they can do by resigning their membership of the Congress. By doing so they will enhance the prestige of the Congress and their own usefulness. The fact that they feel the call to help is the decisive factor in determining their course of action.

Peaceful Methods?

A correspondent sends a leaflet published by the Madras Provincial War Committee and printed at the Government Press, which enumerates the seven "great ideals" for which "war is being waged" today by England. The second of the ideals runs thus:

"The ideals for which England is fighting are the ideals of India. Our philosophy of life, our traditions of domestic and international policy have had:

Peace for its ideal—as exemplified in the teaching of the Lord Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.

Peaceful methods and tolerance—as the means of political progress and international relations, as symbolised by the policy of India's ideal king Asoka.

In fighting with England we shall be fighting for what we hold most precious in our own national heritage."

My correspondent says these leaflets are issued in the provincial languages and are widely distributed among the villagers. I suggest to the Madras War Committee that they remove clause 2 altogether as being untrue. For my ideal as put before the British people is well known. If Lord Buddha was on earth in the body at this moment, such a war would be impossible. It is a travesty of truth to call English methods methods of peace. Asoka's is perhaps the only instance of a great king having voluntarily abandoned war and adopted peaceful methods.

It is no reflection on the British people that they do not accept my advice or follow Asoka's way. These things cannot be done mechanically. But it is not right to give them the credit they do not deserve or want. Well may the British people who read the leaflet say: 'Save us from our friends.'

Sevagram, 28-8-40

M. K. G.

NOTICE

Harijansevak (Hindustani), which was hitherto published at Delhi, has now been transferred to Poona and will hereafter be published at Poona every Saturday. Intending subscribers are requested to remit their subscriptions (Rs. 4 for one year, Rs. 2-8-0 for six months inland; Rs. 5 annually for Burma; and Rs. 5-8-0 for foreign countries) to the Manager, *Harijansevak*—Poona 4. The retail price per copy is one anna, and in places where we have agents readers can arrange to get copies through them. Agents who wish to get copies of *Harijansevak* also will please write to the Manager as early as possible.

MANAGER

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

AHIMSA IN DAILY LIFE

A Merchant's Story

If we once make up our minds to examine ourselves at every step, we shall find that we frequently infringe the law of ahimsa, and that we should be ever so much happier if we were vigilant. The need for the soft answer that turneth away wrath arises every moment, but we scarcely realise it. Just a little exercise of silence, and you well may quench the wrath that a retort would surely have provoked. I have an annoying letter. I feel like replying to it sharply, but I sit silent over it for a couple of days and don't feel like replying to it at all. That saves me from an unending series of darts and counter-darts.

A merchant, who does not claim to be a "satyagrahi" or to have been a jail-goer, but who reads *Harijanbandhu* carefully, narrates a little incident in his life which has a lesson for every one of us. I summarise his Gujarati letter. "One morning," he says, "my younger brother, who was a stranger to my place, came from the station in a tonga. On asking him what hire was to be paid to the tongawalla, he said he had agreed to pay 14 annas. I was considerably irritated and said to the tongawalla: 'That is how you would deceive strangers. Eight annas is the usual hire, and I am not going to give you a pice more.' But the tongawalla said: 'That is not my concern. The fact is that he agreed to pay fourteen annas.' It made me more angry. There was plenty of altercation, and at last I offered to pay him ten annas which was the hire fixed by the Municipality. But the man refused to budge. I then threatened to take him to the police station. He said: 'I am going to do nothing of the kind. I will have my fourteen annas and not a pie less. Why do you fling the schedule of rates in my face? Supposing I agree to accept six annas to drive you to the station, and at the station insist on the scheduled ten annas, would you give it to me? Would it be proper for me to insist on accepting nothing less than the scheduled rate?' That was an argument to which there was no reply. But anger had blinded me, and I was hurt that a mere tongawalla could get the better of me in an argument.

"My younger brother now intervened and said the tongawalla was entitled by rights to fourteen annas and it was no use my talking of the schedule. But anger had taken full

possession of me. I asked my brother to keep quiet. But if I was ready to waste time over a false sense of right, the tongawalla was not. After about an hour's hot altercation he accepted ten annas and left cursing and swearing at me.

"But my brother was far from happy over the incident. When he found that I had regained my calm, he reverted to the subject, and asked me why I had failed to appreciate the most convincing argument of the tongawalla. Sense had now come back to me, and I was sorry to have given myself to the devil in sheer pride and a false notion of superiority. I decided to find out the tongawalla and to pay him his four annas. For some days I hunted for him in vain. One day at last I found him and asked him to come to my shop. He hesitated, lest I should scold him for that day's conduct. But I told him that I wanted to make amends for my own stupid behaviour. I paid him his four annas and apologised to him. His surprise knew no bounds. He accepted the four annas with some reluctance and left in grateful joy. A sort of remorse had been gnawing into my mind all these days, and I was now at peace with myself. That day I had been guilty of grave himsa. There was not only the disinclination to do the right thing, there was contempt in my mind for the tongawalla who, I thought, was lower in the social scale than I. I was thoroughly ashamed of myself, and am hoping that God may rid me of any sense of high and low that may still be left in me."

A Personal Incident

And here with some apology I propose to revive an incident that happened in my own life in the satyagraha days of 1930. Readers of *Young India* may know the story as told by Miraben, but I shall give it again in my own words. I was on the crest of a wave of popularity, having been 'dictator' for about a month, and crowds followed the prison-van in which I was being taken to the prison after my conviction. Some of them wanted to load me with garlands, but the English sergeant on the back of the van would not stop. I was appealing to the crowds to go back, but they chased the car, and when they found that it was a futile chase they flung a stone at the sergeant. It hit him right on the chin and gave him a nasty cut. "Ah," he exclaimed in agony, catching the stone as it fell from his face. "See what your wretched people do! If

self-sacrificing men and women, why then is there disruption in Bengal? It is a puzzle of which the solution is as difficult as it is obvious. Therefore Gandhiji said to the workers, "All incompatible mixtures are bound to explode. You must resolve to act on the square, and whilst you should be prepared to compromise on non-essentials you should never be in the uncomfortable position of having to compromise truth. You should retire from all such positions. That is the essence of compromise. Let service without near or distant objective be your motto. You are surrounded by poverty on all sides. Serve those that are afflicted whether they are Muslims, Namasudras or others. Satyagraha transcends parties, and divisions of class and creed. It should permeate the whole of our being and society. There is no question before you of enlisting members for the Congress. Give up all thought of gaining members for the sake of swelling your register. That is power politics. I would rather have no register than blacken it with bogus members. If you will thus become silent workers, even one of you will lead the Congress in the province without being in it.

"I hope you will not now say, 'What will happen if the Congress is captured by the opponents?' You know the Upanishad precept तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः—Enjoy by means of renunciation. Give up the Congress in order to 'enjoy' or have it. The moment I set my heart on some kind of capturing I am done for. No manoeuvring to keep your hold on the Congress, no descending from the right path, and you will disarm all opposition. A bogus Congress register can never lead you to Swaraj any more than a paper boat can help you to sail across the Padma."

The Corollary

What he said immediately hereafter to the larger meeting of workers was a kind of corollary to the principle enunciated in the foregoing. If I mistake not, about a furlong away was being heard the slogan 'Down with Gandhism'. "Let us understand," he said, "that there is a kind of poison in the atmosphere. How are we to fight it? Whether the number of those who shout these slogans is 50 or 500, we may not ignore them. We must try to discover their grievance. We may not treat them with contempt, if we are believers in ahimsa. No *argumentum ad hominem* will do. It is no answer to say that they are mercenaries, for you may be sure that not any and every one who is offered a train fare and a wage would consent to come here. They must to an extent believe in their mission. And at the back of their mind is the feeling that 'Gandhism' is out to destroy what they hold dear. If that is the case, they may well desire the destruction of Gandhism. When we see the thing in this light we can afford to keep our temper. We will then try to meet and plead with them and assure them that we do not desire to

obstruct their work. I do not say that you will immediately win them over, but you will certainly check the spread of the poison. Retaliation is counter poison, and poison breeds more poisons. The nectar of love alone can destroy the poison of hate.

"Therefore let not the cries anger you. Let none of you think of drowning those cries in the cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai'. You have done well in not shouting counter slogans. You have thereby sterilised theirs, and very little mischief has been done. If the forbearance is based on ahimsa, I am sure they will ultimately be still.

"It is a delusion to think that it is necessary to be members of the Congress in order to serve it. There are numerous people outside the Congress who are serving it better than those who are in it. Therefore I have told you that he who takes up the charkha with a knowledge of its implications serves the Congress cause better than Congressmen. I was glad to be told that all of you have pledged yourselves to spin at least 60,000 yards a year. If, however, there is the slightest hesitance on your part, I would ask you not to take the pledge but try to do your quota without taking it.

"There is, however, a flaw in self-spinning to which I should like to draw your attention. You will of course spin to make your own cloth, but you will to that extent deprive the poor spinners. The wheel is meant for them. But though there is this flaw in it I am asking you all to spin in order to universalise spinning. Those of you who are too poor to purchase khadi will of course card and spin for yourselves. But such of you as can afford to buy your khadi will send the 60,000 yards to the Spinners' Association, which will thus be able to reduce the price of khadi in its stock by adding to it the gift of your yarn. That will enable poor people, who can neither spin for themselves nor purchase khadi today, to buy the khadi thus made cheaper for them. This is what I call a voluntary labour tax. In Europe there is compulsory military service. Let us have compulsory non-military service here. All that you do, you will do intelligently, of your free will, and out of a spirit of service.

"Along with khadi are the other cottage industries, Harijan service, and other items of constructive work, which, if solidly done, will create the strength that political work, so called, cannot. That may preclude the necessity for civil disobedience and will automatically end the Hindu-Muslim tension, abolish untouchability, abolish the squabbles between the "leftists" and the 'rightists', and break the chains of slavery. This to my mind is *rashtra dharma* par excellence."

Women's Work

I have already mentioned the women workers. Those from Dacca district presented to Gandhiji 100,000 yards of yarn, those from Noakhali 10,000, from Sylhet 13,000, and from Malda 1,000. Notable among these were Shrimatis Lavanyalata Sen

and Ashalata Sen who have been workers in the cause for years. Shrimati Bidhumukhi Some, aged 70, wears clothes of her own yarn and gave to Kasturba a sari woven out of her own yarn. One of the sisters presented to Gandhiji an image of the Motherland carved in a block of wood. She is the daughter of a Vishwakarma and inherits the art from her father. Another sister, whose name too I forget, presented to Gandhiji a beautiful leather case with the picture of Bharatmata brought out in relief on it. She is a student of Shri Nandalal Bose. With workers such as these, work in Bengal should be easier than in any other province. Gandhiji asked them to take up what was specially women's work:

"Menfolk have taken to spinning, but let me confess that the art comes more naturally to you than to them. One of the reasons is that men have many other avenues of employment. And if Swaraj has to come through the charkha, your share in the fight for freedom is going to be greater. Again if Swaraj has to come through non-violence, then too your place in the fight will be in the forefront, for Nature has given you a greater capacity for suffering than she has to men. In order also to wipe out the reproach of inferiority and subjection that man has imposed on woman, you will take your privileged part in the fight and prove to the world that you are better fighters for freedom than men."

There were thousands of women in the mammoth meeting held on the 25th for the presentation of the purse. Gandhiji repeated the same sentiments before them.

The Sangh Lives

As I said in my last article the Sangh has changed, but the Sangh cannot die, and, as Gandhiji has effectively shown in his article on the Sangh, it has to live more purely and nobly than ever before. It was about to be the victim of the faults and flaws that overtake all organisations when they grow unwieldy, especially those with a spiritual object. Shorn of its size the Sangh, especially its conscientious president, is free from the responsibility of watching the conduct of its multitude of members. Such of those as have accepted its ideals will continue to do so even now, and their spiritual bond, as between one another and with Kishorelalbhai, can never be broken. They will still seek and get his advice, and they will without calling themselves members of the Sangh spread the fragrance of their gospel in an unobtrusive way. The committee will address itself to the special work of research with more freedom from administrative burdens. The work of research lies both in thinking and working out the potency of the wheel as a symbol of non-violence and as an instrument of rearing in the country a handicraft civilisation on firm and solid foundations, and in getting in touch with workers along that line. They will examine all the criticism that is levelled against the cult of the charkha with a dispassionate

mind, get in touch with the critics, and try to benefit by whatever may be true in what they say.

As for the concrete activity of the Sangh, it will continue as before. Thus the Ashram at Tiruchengodu with its khadi depot and several thousand spinners, its free dispensary, hospital, Harijan school and bee-keeping; the Utkal centre with its work in ten villages; the Goseva Charmalya (non-violent tannery) at Nalwadi (which tanned last year nearly 4,000 skins of dead animals, sold Rs. 14,000 worth of tanned leather, and Rs. 18,000 worth of manufactured goods) — all these activities will go on without being affected by the altered form of the Sangh.

An Appeal

Friends have drawn my attention to the fact that, whilst I mentioned the acts of *goondaism* at Malikanda and the hostile slogans, I had said nothing about the assaults on two students of Ripon College on the evening of our departure for Malikanda. Shri Manoranjanbabu of Noakhali visited the young men and found that they had received injuries, they also said that they had been assaulted by a vounteer in khadi who was shouting 'Sardar Patel ki Jai'. When I wrote my article for the last week's *Harijan* I knew nothing about these cases. I am grieved, as I know Gandhiji and the Sardar would be both deeply grieved, for those who with their names on their lips assaulted anyone, no matter who he was, whether he carried a black flag or shouted hostile or insulting slogans. If Gandhiji's voice could reach all the people who take part in demonstrations of this character, he would ask them not to go to stations or similar places and, if they go there, to observe absolute quiet and discipline, no matter how much the provocation by word or deed. The cry 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai' when it is without reason is positively unpleasant and hurtful and often so unbearable as to make him stuff his ears, and when combined with an unbecoming deed, it is an insult to him.

Having said this, may I say that those who are responsible for leading the youths of Bengal are doing no service to them if they encourage slogans and indiscipline? May I mention the fact that Gandhiji and the Sardar are the recipients of letters couched in unprintable language, from those who sign themselves "youths of Bengal". Pamphlets which were unworthy of anyone who professes to serve and love the motherland were distributed, and a well-known lady worker showed me a letter addressed to her which contained threats to her and abuse of the leaders in unprintable language, for no other fault than that she attended the Gandhi Seva Sangh. I would like to know whom these youths served by their slogans. They certainly did not serve themselves nor did they serve the thousands of villagers who stood near the fence in Malikanda in exemplary silence every day for Gandhiji's darshan. These are still untouched by violence. Do we want them to catch the infection?

Sevagram, 4-3-40

M. D.

Notes

Segaon Becomes Sevagram

There is Segaon near Wardha where I am trying to be a villager. And there is Shegaon, a station on the main line about 132 miles west of Wardha. The result was that many letters and wires meant for Segaon, Wardha, went to Shegaon station. In order to avoid this confusion an application was sent to the authorities on behalf of the villagers to change the name of Segaon to Sevagram. It is a name with a meaning. It means a village dedicated to service. The villagers who signed the application did so fully knowing what they were doing. Let us hope they will live up to the meaning of the name they have chosen to give to their village. Correspondents will please bear the change in mind.

Sevagram, 5-3-40

When The British Withdraw

"Unless you adopt an all-party form of government, you are paving the way towards sowing Hindu-Muslim conflict after the British protection is withdrawn. It was not non-violence but your tremendous magnetism plus the backing of British bayonet that kept the Congress in power. Try non-violence without the latter for two or three months, and the truth of the above will be realised."

Thus writes an esteemed correspondent. I have no difficulty in endorsing the remark that it was the British bayonet that kept the Congress ministries in power. My "magnetism" may have had something to do with the victory at the polls. But it proved utterly useless to keep the ministries in power. The sustaining force was the British bayonet. This only shows that the people at large have not yet imbibed the lesson of non-violence.

The remedy is not an all-party government. Such will be no government of the people for the people. It will be the government of a caucus for its own ends. The caucus will have no smoother sailing than the Congress ministries had. It will also have to rely upon the British bayonet. There can be no manly peace in the land unless the British bayonet is withdrawn. The risk of riots has to be run. Non-violence will be born out of such risks, if at all it is to be part of national life. It is daily becoming crystal clear that real unity will not come so long as the British bayonet crushes the free spirit of the people. The peace it imposes is the peace of the grave. I feel that riots will be a welcome relief, if that is the price we have to pay for freedom. For out of them I can conceive the possibility of peace coming, not out of the present unreality. The way out of riots on the one hand and British bayonets on the other is frank acceptance of non-violence. To this my life is dedicated, and my faith in its possibility and efficacy will survive the dissolution of my body.

On the train to Wardha, 3-3-40

Clear Injustice

The secretary of the Seng Khasi Free Morning School, Mawkhar, Shillong, has sent a circular letter to those who are concerned in matters educational, and has favoured me also with a copy. I extract the following from it:

"The British Government gave education grants to the Christian missionaries for spreading education among the people of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District. The missionaries printed the text-books for schools according to their liking and choice, viz. History of Jesus, Abraham, Issac, Jacob and so on and so forth. They translated the Bible into Khasi language and made it a text-book for schools. You will find the inspecting staff for the schools of this District consist entirely of Christians. Fortunately for the Khasis, some pure Khasi gentlemen of hallowed memory took the initiative of providing national education for the Khasi children and started the Seng Khasi Free Morning School as early as 1921, with a view to preserving Khasi national culture. They wrote books containing ideas and ideals of ancient Khasi culture and religion. Ever since its starting the school has been doing its humble services in the line of national education. It is a free school and entertains children of all the poorer classes. The Deputy Inspector of Schools, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, desired us to follow the curriculum prescribed by his department. I agreed to accept the curriculum provided that those books written or compiled by the missionaries should not be included in the curriculum of the Seng Khasi School. The Deputy Inspector of Schools did not recommend this school for a grant from the Government on the plea that the curriculum was not followed in the school. The books written by the late Babu Jeebon Roy, Extra Assistant Commissioner, late U. Radhon Sing Berry and U. Sib Charan Roy are being taught in the Seng Khasi School. It is a matter of great regret that the Deputy Inspector of Schools compels this school to teach missionary books and frustrate the very object with which it was established."

If what is stated here is true, it enforces the argument often advanced by me that Christian missionary effort has been favoured by the ruling power. But I advertise the circular not for the sake of emphasising my argument. I do so in order to ventilate the grievance of the secretary of the school. Surely he has every right to object to teaching proselytising literature prepared by the missionaries. It should be remembered that the school has been in receipt of a grant from Government. It is not clear why the question of the missionary books has now cropped up. It is to be hoped that the school will not be deprived of the grant because of the secretary's very reasonable objection.

Skimmed Milk

Prof. Warner of Allahabad Agricultural Institute sends me a copy of a note submitted by him to a Municipal Board in U. P. The Board has passed a bye-law requiring that "all skimmed milk sold in the city should be coloured in order that it may be easily identified as skimmed milk, thereby preventing its use in diluting or adulterating whole milk." Prof. Warner is of opinion that this is a dangerous bye-law whose effect would be total destruction or a valuable protective food. He has shown in the note, I think conclusively,

that skimmed milk as an article of food is not to be despised, the only difference between whole milk and skimmed milk being that a large percentage of fat is removed from skimmed milk for preparing butter, but the milk retains all the salts and all the proteins. Adulteration, therefore, of whole milk with skimmed milk produces very little effect upon its nutritive value. Only the percentage of fat is reduced somewhat. He gives figures in support of his argument which I need not reproduce. He does not mind bye-laws preventing adulteration even with skimmed milk. But he strongly objects, and I think rightly, to destroying skimmed milk by colouring it, and he shows that not only is a valuable article of diet taken away from the mouths of poor people, but the danger of adulteration of milk with water increases. And this danger is very real, because the greater the percentage of water the lower is the nutritive value of milk. And add to this the fact that the water itself may be impure. Prof. Warner draws a distinction between requiring the colouring of vegetable ghee for preventing adulteration of real ghee, and the colouring of skimmed milk. It is wholly necessary that vegetable ghee should be coloured with some innocuous dye. Coloured vegetable ghee will be used by the people for its cheapness. But as there is already prejudice against skimmed milk people will refuse to take coloured skimmed milk, even though the colouring matter may be utterly innocuous. I would on my own behalf enforce Prof. Warner's argument by suggesting that municipalities will do well to popularise the use of skimmed milk. It can be sold very cheap and it is a perfectly wholesome thing both for the rich and the poor, and is a good sick man's diet, when whole milk is rejected by the digestive apparatus.

On the train to Calcutta, 16-2-40 M. K. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Is It Voluntary?

Q. The local officials have been collecting money from the people in aid of the war fund. But the way in which they have been raising money, though it is supposed to be voluntary giving, seems to be practical coercion. They arranged for a drama, but under instructions from the officials the village teachers (some of whom get about 12 or 15 rupees per month), the village Munsiff, bazaar-keepers, all had to buy tickets varying in price from one to fifteen rupees each. A petty shop-keeper whose income is only about Rs. 15 had to pay Rs. 5 for a ticket though the man never attended the drama. He told me he paid the money because the local Sub-collector, Tahsildar, Circle Inspector of Police were all there in person to collect the money. I am told Rs. 3,500 were raised in one night in my village. Will you advise what to do?

A. If what you say is true, it is naked coercion. There is nothing voluntary in the people's action. I can only hope that the higher

authorities do not know anything about such high-handed procedure. Your duty is clear. You must tell the people that they ought not to submit to coercion. They are as free to refuse to buy tickets as they are free to buy them. You and they should run the risk involved; you in instructing the people, and they in refusing to pay.

A Young Man's Dilemma

Q. I am a young man of 22 years. Is it legitimate for me to refuse to oblige my father in the matter of marriage if I do not wish to marry?

A. According to the shastras and also reason, children when they reach the age of discretion, which the former prescribe as 16, become their parents' friends, i. e. are free from parental dictation. They are still bound to consult them and defer to their wishes wherever they can. You are full-grown, and in a matter so vital as marriage you should respectfully refuse to marry if the match is not to your liking or for any other valid reason.

A Domestic Difficulty

Q. I am a young man of 23 years. For the last two years I have been using pure khadi only. For the last 28 days I have been spinning regularly in my leisure time. But my wife refuses to wear khadi. She says it is too coarse. Should I compel her to use khadi? I may also mention that I find our temperaments are incompatible.

A. This is the common lot of life in India. I have often said that the husband, being the stronger and more educated party, has to act as tutor to his wife and put up with her defects, if any. In your case you have to bear the incompatibility and conquer your wife by love, never by compulsion. It follows that you cannot compel your wife to use khadi. But you should trust your love and example to make her do the right thing. Remember your wife is not your property any more than you are hers. She is your better half. Treat her as such. You will not regret the experiment.

Another Domestic Difficulty

Q. I am married. My wife is a good woman. We have children. We have lived together in peace hitherto. Unfortunately she came across someone whom she has adopted as her guru. She has received *gurumantra* from her, and her life has become a close book for me. This has given rise to coolness between us. I do not know what I should do. Rama, as portrayed by Tulsidas, is my ideal hero. Should I not do what Rama did, and cut off all connection with my wife?

A. Tulsidas has taught us that we may not indiscriminately imitate the great. What they may do with impunity we may not. Think of Rama's love for Sita. Tulsidas tells us that before the appearance of the golden deer the real Sita at the behest of Rama disappeared in the clouds and the mere shadow remained. This fact was a close secret even from Lakshmana.

The poet further tells us that Rama had a purpose which was divine. It was with this shadow of Sita that Rama dealt after the appearance of the golden deer on the scene. Even so Sita never resented any single act of Rama. All such data would be lacking in any mundane case, as they are lacking in yours. Therefore my advice to you would be to bear with your wife and not interfere with her so long as you have no cause of complaint against her conduct. If you adopted someone as your *guru* and had your *gurumantra* and if you did not impart the secret to your wife, I am sure you would not relish her resenting your refusal to disclose the secret. I admit that between husband and wife there should be no secrets from one another. I have a very high opinion of the marriage tie. I hold that husband and wife merge in each other. They are one in two or two in one. But these things cannot be regulated mechanically. All things considered, therefore, since you are a liberal-minded husband, you should have no difficulty in respecting your wife's reluctance to share the secret with you.

Muslim Weavers and Mill Yarn

Q. By insisting on the use of certified khadi only, you have delivered a very severe blow to the Muslim weavers on the one hand who are mostly using mill yarn, and on the other to the consumer who is thus induced to purchase certified khadi which is notoriously dear. I am a Muslim working for the uplift of the weaver class. I appeal to you to remove this double hardship by sanctioning the use of hand-woven mill yarn khadi.

A. There is no communalism in khadi. The A. I. S. A. has thousands of Muslim spinners and hundreds of Muslim weavers on its books. Khadi has as yet made little impression upon mill yarn weavers. What it has done is to provide occupation to those Hindu and Muslim weavers who were thrown out of employment by mill competition. Those weavers who do not take to weaving handspun are cutting their own throats because the natural consequence of the spread of mills will be the destruction of weavers as it has been that of hand-spinners. The handloom weavers who have held their own are pattern weavers. If khadi became universal, Muslim and other weavers who are today weaving mill yarn would, as a matter of course, take to weaving handspun. Thus there is no case of khadi ever hitting a single weaver. In fact it is his sole protection.

A Ticklish Question

Q. I am a Hindu student. I have been great friends with a Muslim, but we have fallen out over the question of idol worship. I find solace in idol worship, but I cannot give an answer to my Muslim friend in terms of what may be called convincing. Will you say something on idol worship in *Harijan*?

A. My sympathies are both with you and your Muslim friend. I suggest your reading my

writings on the question in *Young India* and, if you feel at all satisfied, let your Muslim friend read them too. If your friend has real love for you, he will conquer his prejudice against idol worship. A friendship which exacts oneness of opinion and conduct is not worth much. Friends have to tolerate one another's ways of life and thought even though they may be different, except where the difference is fundamental. Maybe your friend has come to think that it is sinful to associate with you as you are an idolator. Idolatry is bad, not so idol worship. An idolator makes a fetish of his idol. An idol worshipper sees God even in a stone and therefore takes the help of an idol to establish his union with God. Every Hindu child knows that the stone in the famous temple in Benares is not Kashi Vishwanath. But he believes that the Lord of the Universe does reside specially in that stone. This play of the imagination is permissible and healthy. Every edition of the Gita on a book-stall has not that sanctity which I ascribe to my own copy. Logic tells me there is no more sanctity in my copy than in any another. The sanctity is in my imagination. But that imagination brings about marvellous concrete results. It changes men's lives. I am of opinion that, whether we admit it or not; we are all idol worshippers or idolators, if the distinction I have drawn is not allowed. A book, a building, a picture, a carving are surely all images in which God does reside, but they are not God. He who says they are errs.

Educated Unemployment

Q. The problem of unemployment among the educated is assuming alarming proportions. You of course condemn higher education, but those of us who have been to the University realise that we do develop mentally there. Why should you discourage anyone from learning? Would not a better solution be for unemployed graduates to go in for mass education and let the villagers give them food in return? And could not Provincial Governments come to their aid and help them with some money and clothing?

A. I am not against higher education. But I am against only a few lakhs of boys and girls receiving it at the expense of the poor tax-payer. Moreover I am against the type of higher education that is given. It is much cry and little wool. The whole system of higher education and for that matter all education needs radical overhauling. But your difficulty is about unemployment. In this you have my sympathy and co-operation. On the principle that every labourer is worthy of his hire, every graduate who goes to a village to serve it is entitled to be housed, fed and clothed by the villagers. And they do it too. But they will not when the graduate lives like *Saheb* and costs them ten times as much as they can afford. His life must accord as nearly as possible with that of the villagers and his mission must find appreciation among them.

Sevagram, 5-3-40

AN INTERLUDE AT SANTINIKETAN

"Love never faileth." (I Cor. 13-8)

Prof. L. P. Jacks has somewhere pithily observed that there is nothing like 'safe conduct' in morality. Prescriptive morality is a contradiction in terms. Morality begins only where certainty ends, and a person who holds back action until he has a cent per cent guarantee that his line of conduct is correct, will ever remain a stranger to moral action in the true sense, for there is no virtue in a morality that has no element of risk or adventure in it.

What is true of prescriptive morality is truer still of non-violence. The practice of non-violence presents its votaries baffling conundrums at every step. But if a person makes of it a doctrine of negation and allows it to choke his spring of action so as to make him a helpless witness of wrong, he stultifies himself spiritually and puts non-violence to shame. This was the kernel of Gandhiji's remarks before a small group of pacifists, who led by Dr. Amiya Chakravarti took the opportunity to exchange notes with him on the subject of non-violence during his brief two days' stay at Santiniketan. The group included a couple of Quaker friends and Shri Gurdial Mullick, who acted the delicate and difficult part of Gandhiji's jailor and caretaker under Gurudev's roof. Dr. Chakravarti is himself a careful student of non-violence, and the group he has organised is particularly interested in studying its technique in action.

"Supposing," asked one of them, "in the presence of superior brute force one feels helpless, would he be justified in using just enough force to prevent the perpetration of wrong?" "Yes," replied Gandhiji, "but there need not be that feeling of helplessness if there is real non-violence in you. To feel helpless in the presence of violence is not non-violence but cowardice. Non-violence should not be mixed up with cowardice."

The friend adduced a specific instance. "Suppose someone came and hurled insult at you, should you allow yourself to be thus humiliated?"

"If you feel humiliated," replied Gandhiji, "you will be justified in slapping the bully in the face or taking whatever action you might deem necessary to vindicate your self-respect. The use of force, under the circumstances, would be the natural consequence if you are not a coward. But there should be no feeling of humiliation in you if you have assimilated the non-violent spirit. Your non-violent behaviour would then either make the bully feel ashamed of himself and prevent the insult, or make you immune against it so that the insult would remain only in the bully's mouth and not touch you at all."

The friend varied the argument. "Supposing there is a person with a diseased mind—a lunatic run amock, bent upon murder, or you arrive on the scene of trouble when the situation has already advanced too far. An infuriated mob has got out of hand, and you feel helpless, would

you justify the use of physical force to restrain the lunatic in the first case, or allow the use, say, of tear gas in the latter?" he asked.

"I will excuse it for all time," replied Gandhiji. "But I would not say it is justified from the non-violent standpoint. I would say that there was not that degree of non-violence in you to give you confidence in purely non-violent treatment. If you had, your simple presence would be sufficient to pacify the lunatic. Non-violence carries within it its own sanction. It is not a mechanical thing. You do not become non-violent by merely saying, 'I shall not use force.' It must be felt in the heart. There must be within you an upwelling of love and pity towards the wrong-doer. When there is that feeling it will express itself through some action. It may be a sign, a glance, even silence. But such as it is it will melt the heart of the wrong-doer and check the wrong."

"The use of tear gas is not justified in terms of the non-violent ideal. But I would defend its use against the whole world if I found myself in a corner when I could not save a helpless girl from violation or prevent an infuriated crowd from indulging in madness, except by its use. God would not excuse me if, on the Judgment Day, I were to plead before Him that I could not prevent these things from happening because I was held back by my creed of non-violence. Non-violence is self-acting. A fully non-violent person is by nature incapable of using violence or rather has no use for it. His non-violence is all-sufficing under all circumstances."

"Therefore, when I say that the use of force is wrong and whatever degree and under whatever circumstances, I mean it in a relative sense. It is much better for me to say I have not sufficient non-violence in me, than to admit exceptions to an eternal principle. Moreover my refusal to admit exceptions spurs me to perfect myself in the technique of non-violence. I literally believe in Patanjali's aphorism that violence ceases in the presence of non-violence."

"Can a State carry on strictly according to the principle of non-violence?" put in another friend.

"A Government cannot succeed," replied Gandhiji, "in becoming entirely non-violent, because it represents all the people. I do not today conceive of such a golden age. But I do believe in the possibility of a predominantly non-violent society. And I am working for it. A Government representing such society will use the least amount of force. But no Government worth its name can suffer anarchy to prevail. Hence I have said that even under a Government based primarily on non-violence a small police force will be necessary."

On train, 17-2-40

Pyarelal

Mahatma Gandhi By S. Radhakrishnan. Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As. Available at *Harijan* Office-Poona 4 and 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Harijan

Mar. 9

1940

WHEN ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Everybody is asking me not whether but when I am to call the country to civil disobedience. Some of my questioners are the most sober among co-workers. To them the Patna resolution has no other meaning than that the struggle's coming is a question of days. It is proof that the country, or that part of it that has hitherto taken part in the struggle for freedom, is tired of waiting and suspense. It is heartening to think that there are in the country so many persons who count no sacrifice too dear for gaining independence.

While, therefore, I admire the zeal of my questioners, I must warn them against being impatient. There is nothing in the resolution to warrant the belief that the atmosphere is suitable for declaring civil disobedience. It will be suicidal to declare it when there is so much indiscipline and violence within the Congress itself. Congressmen will make a serious mistake if they do not give full weight to my words. I cannot, will not, start mass civil disobedience so long as I am not convinced that there is enough discipline and enough non-violence in Congress ranks. The apathy about the constructive programme, i. e. spinning and sales of khadi, I take to be positive signs of unbelief. Battle through such instruments is foredoomed to failure. Such persons should know that I am not their man. If there is no hope of attaining the necessary measure of discipline and non-violence, it would be better to let me retire from leadership.

Let it be clearly understood that I cannot be hustled into precipitating the struggle. They err grievously who think that I can ever declare civil disobedience, having been driven thereto by the so-called leftists. I make no such distinction between rightists and leftists. Both are my co-workers and friends. He will be a bold man who can with any measure of certainty draw the line of demarcation between leftists and rightists. Congressmen and non-Congressmen should also know that, even if the whole country were to turn against me, I must, when the time comes, fight single-handed. The others have or may have weapons besides non-violence. I have no choice. Being the author of non-violent technique in the political field, I am bound to fight when I feel the urge from within.

It is inherent in the technique that I never know the time table in advance. The call may come at any time. It need not be described as from God. The inner urge is a current phrase easily understood. Everybody sometimes acts upon

the inner urge. Such action need not always be right. But there is no other explanation possible for certain actions.

The thought often comes to me that it would be a good thing if the Congress could forget me. I do sometimes feel that with my strange views of life I am a misfit in the Congress. Whatever special qualifications I may possess and for which the Congress and the country may have use, can perhaps be better utilised if I were wholly cut off from the Congress. But I know that this severance cannot be brought about mechanically or violently. It will come in its own time, if it has to come. Only Congressmen should know my limitations and should not be surprised or grieved if they find me stiff and unbending. I ask them to believe me when I say that I am incapable of acting without the fulfilment of the conditions laid down for declaring mass civil disobedience.

Sevagram, 5-3-40

INDIA AND THE WAR

In view of the critical situation which the country has to face, the Working Committee has decided, at its meeting held at Patna last week, to recommend to the Congress Subjects Committee only the following resolution:

This Congress, having considered the grave and critical situation resulting from the War in Europe and British policy in regard to it, approves of and endorses the resolutions passed and the action taken on the War situation by the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee. The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this War, as an affront to them, which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate. The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on the War fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as of other Asiatic and African countries. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be party to the War, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation. The Congress, therefore, strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the War. Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contributions from India. Congressmen, and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the War with men, money or material.

The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of Complete Independence can be accepted by the people of India. Indian freedom

cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism and Dominion Status or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation, and would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure. The people of India alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

The Congress is further of opinion that while it will always be ready, as it ever has been, to make every effort to secure communal harmony, no permanent solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly, where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible, between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups, or by arbitration if agreement is not reached on any point. Any alternative will lack finality. India's constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity, and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split up her nationhood. The Congress has always aimed at a constitution where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual, and social injustice yields place to a juster social order.

The Congress cannot admit the right of the Rulers of Indian States, or of foreign vested interests, to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people, whether in the States or the Provinces, and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests. The Congress holds that the difficulty raised in regard to the States is of British creation, and it will not be satisfactorily solved unless the declaration of the freedom of India from foreign rule is unequivocally made. Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interests of the Indian people, will be protected.

The Congress withdrew the Ministries from the Provinces where the Congress had a majority in order to dissociate India from the War and to enforce the Congress determination to free India from foreign domination. This preliminary step must naturally be followed by civil disobedience, to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress organization is considered fit enough for the purpose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis. The Congress desires to draw the attention of Congressmen to Gandhiji's declaration that he can only undertake the responsibility of declaring civil disobedience when he is satisfied that they are strictly observing discipline and are carrying out the constructive programme prescribed in the Independence Pledge.

The Congress seeks to represent and serve all classes and communities without distinction of race or religion, and the struggle for Indian independence is for the freedom of the whole

nation. Hence the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes and communities will take part in it. The purpose of civil disobedience is to evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation.

The Congress hereby authorises the All India Congress Committee and, in the event of this being necessary, the Working Committee, to take all steps to implement the foregoing resolution, as the Committee concerned may deem necessary.

WHAT RESOLUTION MEANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The question has come from London whether the Congress has closed the door to negotiation and compromise. My interpretation of the resolution is that the Congress has not closed the door. It has been closed by Lord Zetland. There can be no negotiation on his terms so far as the Congress is concerned. India will not be a helpless partner in her own exploitation and foreign domination. The Congress will not rest till India is a free country as Britain is. And if India accepts non-violence as her settled policy, she will be freer than Britain. Britain, which has ruled the waves, is in danger of losing her liberty. I have prescribed a remedy which is fool-proof. Whether the Congress will be instrumental in gaining India's freedom or not is a different question. The resolution states in unequivocal terms that the Congress will enter into no compromise that gives India less. The other thing that the Congress has made clear is that the British aim being known to be no other than the consolidation of the British Empire, the India that is influenced by the Congress can be no party to the war. In other words, the Congress cannot give Britain its moral support. The third thing the resolution makes clear is that the fight, whenever it comes, will be strictly non-violent and, therefore, under severe discipline. The choice will be Britain's, not that of the Congress, whether India is once more to be a prison house for those who will rather be prisoners and even go through greater sufferings than be helpless witnesses of their country's continuous subordination to Great Britain or any other Power. Calcutta, 2-3-40

Handmade Paper

The following are the figures of our purchases and sales of paper from January 1st to February 29th, 1940:

	Purchases	Sales
January	2599-10-0	1731-10-3
February	1933-2-6	1575-14-3
	4532-12-6	3307-8-6

Moreover, Rs. 386-0-3 have been given as cutting and envelope-making charges.

During these two months we have sold 64,338 whole sheets; 62,932 letter paper; 193,659 envelopes; 164 card sheets; 17,148 cards; 1,170 whole blotting sheets; 787 blotting pieces; 950 visiting cards; 61 pocket books; 2,100 tag labels; and 708 office files.

Manager, *Harijan*; Poona 4; and 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

THE SANTINIKETAN PILGRIMAGE

In the course of a letter which he wrote on the eve of his visit to Santiniketan Gandhiji described it as a 'pilgrimage'. As an institution that, pending his arrival, invited and gave shelter, under its hospitable roof, to members of his 'family' on their return to India from South Africa, it has always claimed a soft corner in his heart. And the sweet associations of Gurudev and Borodada, the late Mr. Pearson and Deenbandhu Andrews have only heightened that feeling. To attune himself to that feeling, or perhaps under the stress of that feeling, Gandhiji before starting made a drastic reduction in his entourage, cutting it down to the barest minimum irrespective of every other consideration, and though many at that time failed to catch its import, it gave Gandhiji, in the retrospect, a supreme satisfaction to have taken that unbending moral stand as the only course befitting the solemnity of the occasion.

This was to be his third visit to Santiniketan the last one being fourteen years ago — in 1925. He knew it was overdue. Every report about Gurudev's failing health accompanied by a 'love message' from the Poet that Deenbandhu sent to Gandhiji from time to time, reminded him of it. It was Deenbandhu who had acted as the 'go-between' on the present occasion, when he conveyed to Gandhiji the Poet's pressing invitation to visit Santiniketan. But by a cruel irony when that long looked for visit actually came he was not there to witness it. He had been suddenly taken ill a few days before and removed to the Presidency Hospital, Calcutta, in a precarious condition. He was more than a member of the 'joint family' of Gurudev and Gandhiji, and the shadow of this domestic illness overhung and tinged the whole of Gandhiji's Santiniketan visit.

A Sacred Remembrance

A small reception had been arranged for Gandhiji on the afternoon of the day of his arrival. It was held in the *Amrakunja*, a spot rendered sacred by its associations with the late Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Gurudev's father. It was here, tradition says, that he used to sit and sometimes remain absorbed in meditation from eventide till daybreak. By his will he converted it into a place of universal worship of one Brahma, the Formless and Invisible, and a sanctuary for all wild animal life.

The function commenced with a chanting of the Poet's favourite Upanishadic text, with the haunting refrain

"Those who come to know Him,
They attain to immortality."

य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति।

The address of welcome was read by Gurudev himself. It was short and impressive. But Gandhiji's thoughts were far away with Charlie Andrews in Calcutta. On a previous occasion Deenbandhu had sung

"And I have seen His face —
have seen and known
This sacrament was given.

* * * *

And I can wait the dawning of the day,
The day-star on my night already shining.
The shadow and the veil shall pass away,
Death shall make true my dreaming."

And now he lay hovering between life and death. Gandhiji made a feeling reference to him in his reply.

"My uppermost feelings on arriving here are about Deenbandhu," he began. "Perhaps you do not know that the first thing I did yesterday morning on alighting from the train at Calcutta was to pay him a visit in the hospital. Gurudev is a world poet, but Deenbandhu too has the spirit and temperament of a poet in him. He had long yearned to be present on the present occasion, to drink in and store up the memory of every word, movement and gesture relating to the meeting with Gurudev. But God had willed it otherwise and he now lies in Calcutta, stricken down and unable even to make full use of his speech. I would like you all to join me in the prayer that God may restore him to us soon and, in any case, may grant his spirit peace.

Sweet Old Memories

"I have not come here as a stranger or a guest. Santiniketan has been more than a home to me. It was here that the members of my South African family found warm hospitality in 1914, pending my arrival from England, and I too found shelter here for nearly a month. The memories of those days crowd in upon me as I see you all, here assembled before me. It grieves me that I cannot prolong my stay here as I would have loved to. It is a question of duty. In a letter to a friend, the other day, I described my present trip to Santiniketan and Malikanda as a pilgrimage. Santiniketan has truly, this time, proved for me a 'niketan' of 'Santi' — an abode of peace. I have come here leaving behind me all the cares and burdens of politics, simply to have Gurudev's *darshan* and blessings. I seek often claimed myself to be an accomplished beggar. But a more precious gift has never dropped into my beggar's bowl than Gurudev's blessings today. I know his blessings are with me always. But it has been my privilege today to receive the same from him in person, and that fills me with joy."

Vidyabhawan

The next day the whole morning was devoted to making a round of all the various departments of Santiniketan, followed by a visit to Sriniketan. Kshitishbabu, "the sole survivor" of the older group of teachers whom Gandhiji had contacted during his last visit to and stay at Santiniketan, acted as the guide. It was a privilege in the Vidyabhawan to meet Haribabu, the compiler of the Bengali dictionary, who has, single-handed, after twentyeight years of conti-

nuous labour completed a work which entitles him to be ranked with literary giants like Shri Nagendranath Bose, the author of Bengali *Vishwakosha*, and Prof. Murray of the Oxford Dictionary fame. Sixtyfour volumes of his monumental work, we were told, have already been published, and the complete set, when it is ready in another three years' time, will run into eighty and cost from 40 to 50 rupees.

In the China Bhawan or the Department of Chinese Culture, Prof. Tan-Yuan Sen was not there, being away with the China's goodwill deputation that is touring India, but his good wife was there to meet Gandhiji. Gandhiji was here shown the library of Chinese books that the Chinese nation had presented to the Visva-bharati. The Chinese children, Gandhiji was told, were not one whit behind any other in establishing a freemasonry with their Santiniketan chums, and felt quite at home with them undeterred by the "language difficulty".

A Philosopher Prince

In the section of Islamic culture, Gandhiji was delighted to see an original manuscript transcribed in his own beautiful caligraphic hand by that Philosopher Prince — Dara Shikoh, who through his mysticism arrived at a catholicity and breadth of religious outlook that was unheard of in those days and is rare even in our own. In a monograph published by the Department we are told how he patronised men of all denominations, saints, theologians, philosophers and poets of every creed and community, studied Sanskrit, became deeply interested in the Vedanta and Yoga philosophy, and from the learned pandits of Benares and contacts with yogis, initiated himself into the practices of Yoga. Denounced by the fanatical set as a heretic he was nevertheless a true Mussalman. In a lengthy introduction to the Upanishads which he himself translated into Persian, he has explained how he was led to their study through his search after Reality. "Subtle doubts came into my mind for which I had no possibility of solution and, whereas the Holy Koran is almost totally enigmatical and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, I became desirous to collect into one view all the revealed books, as the very word of God itself might be its own commentary, and if in one book it be compendious in another book it might be found diffusive." Proceeding he adds that as a "mystic enthusiast and ardent advocate of the unity of God", he searched for Reality no matter in what language, and that in quest for Truth, in the higher stages of its realisation, religion is of no matter." And so he came to 'Upanekhats' "which are a treasury of monotheism." And yet it was not that he wanted to raise a hybrid growth by grafting Hinduisim on Islam or vice versa. As Dr. Yusuf Hussan has pointed out, "he was actuated by a desire to prove that both Islam and Hinduism, in appearance so fundamentally dissimilar, are essentially the same. Both

represent spiritual efforts of man to realize Truth and God."

In Nandababu's Sanctum

The last to be visited was the Kala Bhawan, Shri Nandababu's *sanctum sanctorum* of art. "Like Krishna, he hides himself behind his work," was the epigrammatic description given of him by a friend to Gandhiji. Retiring, shy, reserved, he is the pattern of humility and unassuming unostentatiousness. He lives only in and for his art which he has taken as his spiritual *Sadhana*. "You cannot become an artist," he is fond of telling his pupils, "unless you identify yourself with the humblest and the meanest of God's creation." A gentler soul has hardly ever breathed. All the children are his chums, and it is a common sight to see Nandababu make a detour to avoid a bunch of youngsters engaged in a 'lark' lest he should intrude upon their 'freedom'!! "Art is a jealous and exacting mistress," is another favourite saying of his. But though fastidious and meticulous to a degree in his devotion to his ideal, he has never been known to send away an aspiring artist without an encouraging word.

His genius is only matched by his industry. There is hardly a nook or a corner in Santiniketan but bears the impress of his art and industry. A wall to him is only a bed for the execution of a fresco or a bas-relief panel, a ceiling simply a surface for bearing his cartoons, a lump of clay plastic material to be turned into a beautiful model. As a friend remarked half seriously, half in banter, if Nandababu had his way, he would use our great globe itself as material for turning out some cosmic piece of art! It gave Gandhiji particular satisfaction and joy to know that, next to Bengal, Gujarat had provided Nandababu the largest number of pupils.

Gurudev at Seventynine

Gandhiji had several intimate talks with Gurudev. But they are of too sacred and personal a character for recapitulation here. At seventynine the Poet's countenance shows no diminution in its luster, the eyes burn brighter than ever, the step is firm although he needs support and moves about only with difficulty. The voice has lost none of its vigour or its sonorous musical quality, and the spirit retains all the freshness and irrepressible exuberance of youth. He insisted upon Gandhiji witnessing the performance of his favourite musical pantomime, *Chandalika*, in which his granddaughter played the principal part. He personally supervised the rehearsal and even delayed the programme by a quarter of an hour till he was satisfied that everything was tip-top. It was a sight to be remembered when at one stage he almost jumped to the edge of his seat and broke out into a musical interpolation to provide the cue when the performers had or seemed to have lost it. His enthusiasm must have got an infectious quality in it, for I have never seen Gandhiji follow with such sustained and rapt interest any

entertainment as he did this one during the full one hour that it lasted.

A 'Saddening Reflection

From a bare spot that Santiniketan is originally said to have been and notorious for being the haunt of dacoits, it has under the magic of Gurudev's personality grown to its present size, and yet, as Kshitishbabu remarked to Gandhiji with a sigh, "the scholars who are engaged in research work are cramped for space, and when enough accommodation is forthcoming, who knows, the present race of scholars at any rate may have run its course!"

On train, 26-2-40

Pyarelal

UNCONVINCING APOLOGIA

Mr. F. E. James has done the courtesy of sending Gandhiji the text of his reply to the latter's article "The Fourfold Ruin" that recently appeared in *Harijan*. It is a clever piece of reasoning, but it is hardly convincing.

Mr. James's quarrel with Gandhiji is that the inclusion of the fourfold indictment of the British rule in the pledge is, in the first place unnecessary and irrelevant, in the second place it is untrue, and lastly it is provocative.

Let us take the second objection first. For, if the "fourfold ruin" lacks a historical basis, that by itself should be enough reason to justify the deletion of the passage in the pledge under reference.

Mr. James denies that Britain can be held guilty of bringing about the economic ruin of India or the destruction of her cottage industries, which he contends was inevitable as a result of the impact of Western industrialism upon the primitive economy of the East. One is constrained to say that Mr. James has here begged the issue. The question is not whether the progress of industrialism would have by itself sufficed to kill Indian cottage industries, but whether the policy adopted by the British administrators with regard to them was not calculated to bring about that result. The tragic story of the levying by Britain of one, two, even five, hundred per cent and higher import duties on the Indian textiles, the notorious 'hedge' duties and the Mutarfa tax¹ or of the

inhuman exploitation of the Bengal artisans under the East India Company which led them to cut off their thumbs as the only means of escape from their unendurable lot, is all recorded in authentic history. Let the curious turn over the well-documented pages of R. C. Dutt, whose accuracy has not been challenged in a single particular, or of Montgomery Martin, and judge for himself whether human ingenuity could go further in devising means for the extermination of a people's handicrafts, or whether any system of industry in the world would survive such sabotage. It is true that the progress of industrialism had an equally devastating effect on the cottage industries of Britain. What is forgotten is that the latter were not sacrificed to benefit the industry of another nation as India's were for the sake of Britain.

Similarly, Mr. James forgets that, whilst he energetically repudiates the charge of thrusting upon India denationalising education, the authors of our educational system were themselves refreshingly frank about it. The father of India's present-day educational policy made no bones about it when he declared that the intention behind it was "to form a class of persons who would be Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect," nor when he expressed the hope that, "if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable class in Bengal thirty years hence."²

Nor is the spiritual deterioration of a nation under foreign political domination a matter requiring elaborate historical research; it is a question of the evidence of one's senses. Mr. James worsens his case when he tries to defend humiliating ceremonies on the ground that they owe very much to India which existed before the British came. It should be enough that they are keenly resented by every self-respecting son of India. Mr. James could not possibly have forgotten how the "efficiency and skill", to use

in metals, all salesmen, whether possessing shops which are also taxed separately, or vending by the roadside, &c., some paying impost on their tools, others for permission to sell—extending to the most trifling articles of trade and the cheapest tools the mechanic can employ, the cost of which is frequently exceeded six times by the Mutarfa, under which the use of them is permitted." "The discretionary power under which it is collected," the memorandum went on to add, "affords a wide field for the perpetual practice of inquisitorial visits, extortion and oppression, as suits the pleasure or the cupidity of the irresponsible collectors, with whom it is no unusual thing to resort to imprisonment and fetters in order to compel their exactions. And the whole sum raised by this impost is but little above £ 100,000 sterling."—R. C. Dutt's *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, Pp. 164-65.

3 Macaulay in 1836—cited by Edward Thompson in his *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, pages 315 and 317.

¹ With regard to it the Hon. Frederick Shore, son of Lord Teignmouth, in one of his *Notes on Indian Affairs*, in reviewing Sir Charles Trevelyan's Report, wrote: "The poor natives of India submit to all this, as they do to every other extortion and oppression which they suffer at our hands, because they look upon redress as hopeless; but hear the bitter complaints which were made to Lieutenant Burnes by the merchants of Bokhara. They actually declared that the vexatious annoyances and extortion practised on merchants in the British-Indian provinces were infinitely greater than they experienced in Russia, Peshawar, Kabool or Bokhara."

² It was described in a memorandum submitted to the House of Commons as "a tax upon trades and occupations, embracing weavers, carpenters, all workers

Prof. Keith's phrase, with which the Princes were drilled on the occasion of Lord Curzon's Durbar nearly precipitated a major crisis in the relations between the Ruling Chiefs and the Paramount Power. But since Mr. James insists upon the precise chapter and verse, let him ponder over the following picked up almost at random from the pages of Edward Thompson:

"Bentinck's entertainments were magnificent, and he achieved fame by permitting Indians to drive to the Governor-General's house in carriages."

"On going to a station no Englishman thought of calling on the notables of the district, as was once done as a matter of course; instead, certificates of respectability were required of the notables before they could be guaranteed a chair when they visited the officer. In Calcutta many writers expected every Indian to salute them." * (Italics mine.)

Or the following:

"The racial relations in Bengal continued what they are still—the amazement of the society of India's saner regions. Elphinstone was scornfully aristocratic even among his own people. But he knew well that India had its own aristocracy, whose friendship was worth regarding. He told Malcolm (May 24, 1819):

'The picture you draw of the state of India, as it is likely to be for the next four or five years, makes me regret that you are so soon to leave it. It has sometimes struck me that the fault of our younger politicians—who have never seen the Indian States in the days of their power—is a contempt for the natives, and an inclination to carry everything with a high hand.'"⁵

Or take the following from Sir Thomas Munroe's minutes to Lord Hastings. As Mr. Edward Thompson points out, Sir Munroe's views are too important for the historian to omit any fair chance of calling attention to them.

"Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none has stigmatised the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our domination.

The strength of British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to expel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also allow them security from domestic aggression, unknown in those states: but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence of national character and of whatever renders a people respectable. The Natives of British provinces may, without fear, pursue their different occupations and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquillity; but none of them can aspire beyond this animal state of thriving in peace, none of them can look forward to any

share in the legislation or civil or military government of their country. The effect of this state of things is observable in all the British provinces, whose inhabitants are certainly the most abject race in India.

The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be in place of raising, to debase the whole people."

Mr. James non-chalantly remarks that the Pledge is repeated in circumstances of unparalleled freedom, and argues from this that Britain has fostered the ideals of self-government in India for which we ought to be grateful. May we remind Mr. James that this "unparalleled freedom", as he calls it, became possible only after the people had proved their mettle under the fire of suffering and repression, that more than one university in India were actually asked to exclude the writings of Burke and Mill from their curricula as they tended to foster the spirit of 'sedition', and that many a college student has been made to pay the penalty for betraying a nationalist bias in university debates or in answering examination papers?

Full of unconscious irony is Mr. James's assertion that for the first time in her history, largely through British influence, India has understood the meaning and necessity of unity. This is a strange claim to make on behalf of a nation whose administrators have perfected the science of "divide and rule" and used it with deadlier effect than any other people on earth. But here again let us hear the truth from the lips of the Britishers concerned themselves. It was a British Commandant at Moradabad, Lt.-Col. John Coke who about the time of the 1857 rising wrote: "Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. 'Divide et impera' should be the principle of Indian Government." It was Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, who in a minute dated May 14, 1825, wrote: "*Divide et Impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours." It was Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Governor of Lord Curzon's creation, "The East Bengal Province", who in an oft-quoted address promulgated the now famous 'favourite wife' policy. Again, it was Sir John Maynard, a retired member of the Executive Council of the Punjab, who in an article contributed to *The Foreign Affairs*, London, wrote:

"It is, of course, true that British authority could not have established and could not now maintain itself but for the fissiparous tendency, of which the Hindu-Muslim antagonism is one manifestation. It is also true that the mass rivalry of the two communities began under British rule. Persecuting rulers made their appearance from time to time in the pre-British era, levying tribute on unbelievers or punishing with fanatical zeal the slaying of kine. But the Hindu and Muslim masses—before they had eaten of the tree of knowledge and had become

4 T. G. P. Spear: *The Nabobs*, p. 140, cited by Edward Thompson in his *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 306.

5. *Ibid* p. 306.

religion-conscious — worshipped peacefully side by side at the same shrines."

Lastly, it was no less a person than Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India under the Ramsay Macdonald Government, who in the columns of the *London Times* observed:

"No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Muslim community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism."

Nor has India forgotten the way Sir Samuel Hoare torpedoed the Allahabad unity talks by going out of his way to concede to the separation of Sindh *without joint electorates* when the Mussalman representatives in the Conference had already *agreed* to joint electorates on the condition that Sindh was constituted into a separate province.

Thus though British rule has brought home to India the meaning and necessity of unity in a sense as nothing before had, that is not the sense in which Mr. James perhaps means it or of which Britain can be proud.

Mr. James has objected to the inclusion of Gandhiji's fourfold indictment in the Pledge on the ground of relevancy. There would be some force in the objection if the fourfold ruin to which the Pledge calls attention were no more than a mere historical memory, a matter of academic interest only, instead of being an ever-present reality, that under a changing face confronts us at every turn. The "Lee loot" is only a continuation of an earlier tradition.⁶ The cry of vested "European interests" has a familiar ring to one who has studied the records of the Honourable East India Company's "investments"⁷

6 "Clive had warned the Directors (August 28 1767) of what was coming, the jobbery, that besetting curse of Indian administration, which the astonishing evidence of India's inexhaustible riches was to set up; 'the great will interfere in your appointments, and noble men will perpetually solicit you to provide for the younger branches of their families.'...It did, and immediately, Directors and Directors' relatives, peers, even the Royal Family, saw no reason why they should not push a young friend or dependant into a service which within an incredibly brief period would bring him back enormously enriched." — (Edward Thompson & G. T. Garratt: *Rise & Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 108.

7 "Hastings came to see Mir Qasim and used his eyes as he went up country: 'I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed; and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions), I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nawab's revenues, to the quiet of the country or the honour of our nation, but evidently tends to lessen each of them. A party

and the hundred and fifty crores' "gift" which Britain made to herself out of India's pocket, is not different in character from the earlier spoliations of Clive, Warren Hastings and the harpies of the East India Company, which shocked their contemporaries but made the hero of Plassey, so far as he was concerned, only "stand astonished at his own moderation".⁸

Lord Morley on one occasion remarked that lack of courtesy on the part of Englishmen, reprehensible everywhere, was in India a crime. The remark, I think, applies equally to ignorance about the basic facts of British rule in India, particularly the Indian viewpoint. There is no greater obstacle to the realization of justice in Indo-British relationship, than the belief shared by many good Englishmen, in common with Mr. James, that the operation of British rule has on the whole been beneficent to India. It is this belief that makes Mr. James and his countrymen find offence in the reference to India's "fourfold ruin" under British domination, instead of a ground for heart-searching and introspection. It is again this belief which makes them regard Indian independence as a "gift" to be granted or withheld at Britain's discretion, instead of a matter of detached justice calling for unilateral reparation on their part. As Chalmers used to say, duty will be merit when debt becomes a donation.

Thus, I hope, I have proved that the reference to the fourfold ruin is true and, since it continues, it is relevant, and, being relevant, ought not to be provocative to any just-minded Englishman. The case for independence would lose its point if the rulers, having begun by plunder,⁹ had of

of sipahis, who were on the march before us, afforded us sufficient proof of the rapacious and insolent spirit of these people when they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints were made against them on the road, and most of the petty towns and sarais were deserted on our approach, and the shops shut up from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us.

Hastings protested: 'The Nawab has granted a boon to his subjects and there are no grounds for demanding that a sovereign prince should withdraw such a boon, or for threatening him with a war in the event of refusal.' (Edward Thompson & G. T. Garratt: *Op Cit*, p. 103.)

8 "Am I not rather deserving of praise for the moderation which marked my proceedings? Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed me! A great prince was dependent on my pleasure, an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!" (Clive before Select Parliamentary Committee)

9 "Nature lightened the unhappy ryot's problem in 1770 when such a famine ravaged Bengal that one-third of the natives were believed to have

their own will later repented of it and made common cause with the people. Does it not occur to Mr. James that, if they had, India would today be a free country, living in honourable partnership with Britain? The reverse is the fact. India's fourfold ruin still continues. She is still being bled for Britain's sake. Hence Britain's reluctance to part with power.

Malikanda, 25-2-40

Pyarelal

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH

[The following are some excerpts from the summary of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Harijan Sevak Sangh circulated by the General Secretary.]

The seventh annual meeting of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh was held at Harijan Nivas, Delhi, on 11th and 12th February under the presidentship of Sheth G. D. Birla, President of the Sangh. In all 40 members and representatives were present. Reports from the various provinces were presented and discussed. The reports showed that at present a large number of educational centres were being run by the Sangh. In all there were 96 free hostels and ashrams run by the Sangh's branches, out of which 10 were girls' hostels. The largest number of hostels were in Andhra, 26 in all. The Sangh is running cottage tanning centres in Bengal and Tamil Nad, industrial and agricultural centres at Barama in Assam, Delhi, Navsari, Allahabad, Guntur, Ranchi, Bangalore, Conjeevaram, Kodambakam (Madras), Trivandrum, Devacottai, etc. The Sangh through its various agencies has constructed or repaired about 300 wells during the year. The Sangh in all spent about Rs. 350,000 during the year. Rs. 42,543 were spent on administration, Rs. 6,297 on propaganda, and the rest on welfare work among the Harijans, as schools, hostels, medical work, construction and repairs of wells, scholarships, etc. The Andhra Branch of the Sangh spent the largest amount, viz. Rs. 43,365, during the year. But the most important work of the Sangh was the organisation of the Tamil Nad temple entry campaign and the consequent opening of the famous Meenakshi temple of Madura and Palni Temple followed by a number of other temples.

The Central Office at Delhi alone received Rs. 72,000 as donations during the year, mostly through Gandhiji and the President of the Sangh.

perished by sickness and famine. This was Hastings's own estimate; some English eye-witnesses put the deaths at one-half the population which was probably about fifteen millions. We may cautiously accept a fifth as the true proportion. The principal Naib Muhammad Reza Khan, collected the revenue almost fully, adding 10 per cent (the *najay* cess, a recognized exaction by which the living made good revenue losses which were to other taxpayers having been so unpatriotic as to die); and the Company's servants profited in necessities." (Edward Thompson & G. T. Garatt. *Op Cit* 109-110)

As regards the disbursement of Rs. 10,000 received through Gandhiji from Late Lala Ramchand Khanna of Wazirabad for medical work among Harijans, the Sangh resolved to invite schemes for its utilisation from the branches of the Sangh. The Sangh accepted the offer of land and buildings of the value of about a lac of rupees from the Wadhwan (Kathiawad) Education Society for starting a new centre of Harijan welfare work.

Shri G. D. Birla, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Shri T. D. Pustake, Shri Mahabir Prasad Poddar, Shri L. N. Gopalaswamy and Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar were appointed members of the Executive Committee of the Sangh for 1940.

Including the two earmarked sums of Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 5,000, Rs. 127,991 were received for Thakkar Jayanti Fund, Rs. 20,000 are for the Central Board, and Rs. 5,000 for the construction of sweepers' quarters at Ujjain. 25 per cent of the total collections will be spent by Shri A. V. Thakkar for Aboriginal welfare and 75 per cent for Harijan work. A sum of Rs. 30,000 has been set apart out of this for awarding scholarships to Harijan girls for 5 years for Higher Vocational Education, and a separate sub-committee consisting of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar and Shri Shyamlal has been formed in this connection.

The Sangh expressed satisfaction at the adult literacy campaign organised by the Indore H. S. Sangh, and hoped that other provinces would also start similar literacy campaigns in their respective areas. The Sangh accepted with thanks an offer of Rs. 10,000 from Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, its Vice-President, for starting a residential industrial institute for girls to be located in Delhi, and resolved to take the necessary steps for starting the same.

The question was raised as to the Sangh's policy towards propaganda. Little or nothing has been spent by the Sangh for propaganda. The Board made it clear that it was not the expenditure on propaganda that was objected to, but the employment of paid pracharaks. Propaganda of the right type carried on by convinced reformers was not only not objected to but was welcomed. Such was Gandhiji's tour of 1933-34. Provincial organisations may, therefore, invite noted reformers to tour their provinces.

A. V. Thakkar

Some Recent Books		Price	Postage
S. K. George—Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity		2-10	0-3
L. P. Jacks—Revolt against Mechanism		1-14	0-2
J. C. Kumarappa—C. P. Industrial Survey Repot Part I Vol. I		0-10	0-2
" II " I		0-12	0-2
" I " II		1-4	0-4
Thakkar Committee's Report on C. P. Sweepers' condition		1-2	0-2
Available at (1) Harijan office — Poona 4; (2) Harijan office — 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.			

A VISIT TO DEENBANDHU

Deenbandhu Charlie Andrews' numerous friends here and abroad will be greatly relieved to learn that he is now considered by his doctors to be out of any immediate danger. Gandhiji, who visited him again on his return from Malikanda, found him still very weak, but otherwise there was a marked, all-round improvement. The effect of the mild paralytic stroke which had followed the preliminary operation was nearly over, the kidney function had largely been restored, and Gandhiji had the satisfaction of being told that, if and when the second operation was decided upon, the most competent surgeon in Calcutta would be invited to perform it.

Deenbandhu was apparently feeling quite at home in his well-ventilated cheery room. He was eager to know all about Gandhiji's Santiniketan visit and the meeting with Gurudev. The reference to the Poet put him in that expansive mood when one feels with the poet that

"God's in His heaven,

All's right with the world!"

Everything that Gandhiji told him was 'wonderful', 'marvellous', 'perfect'. He referred to the European struggle which had been exercising his mind even on his sick-bed, and then added, as if describing something that he saw with the eye of faith, "But Bapu, Swaraj is coming. I see it coming. India will be free." "I know it," replied Gandhiji. "Do you know?" resumed Deenbandhu. "I am quite reconciled to my illness. I think it was God's blessing in disguise. It has given me a wonderful experience which I would never otherwise have had." He struggled hard to recall Francis Thompson's lines without success. I asked him if he was thinking of Francis Thompson's "In no strange land":

"O world invisible, we view thee,
O world intangible, we touch thee,
O world unknowable, we know thee,
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee."

His countenance lit up with joy, and he began slowly to fumble out the succeeding lines:

"Does the fish soar to find the ocean,
The eagle plunge to find the air —
That we ask of the stars in motion
If they have rumour of thee there?
Not where the wheeling systems darken,
And our benumbed conceiving soars —
The drift of pinions, would we hearken,
Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors."

He again fell into a muse, "O, it is marvellous, that description of the sweep of the angels' wings," he slowly muttered, his eyes half closed and a deep introspective look on his face. I supplied the lines:

"The angels keep their ancient places; —
Turn but a stone, and start a wing;
'Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,

That miss the many-splendoured thing.
But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)
Cry; — and upon thy so sore loss
Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder
Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross."

A strange peace settled on his face as I proceeded:

"Yea, in the night, my soul, my daughter,
Cry, clinging Heaven by the hems;
And lo, Christ walking on the water,
Not of Gennesareth, but Thames!"

And who wrote Borodada, I chaffed him, as I rose to take leave:

"But have seen His face — have seen and known.
This sacrament was given.
And I can wait the dawning of the day,
The day-star on my night already gleaming,
The shadow and the veil shall pass away,
Death shall make true my dreaming."

He replied with a faint smile, "I think, I wrote something like that!"

On the train to Wardha 3-3-40 Pyarelal

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Sevagram, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

To Agents

In view of the several complaints recently received from agents about non-receipt of book post packets containing copies of *Harijan*, we now take certificates of posting on all the packets. Our responsibility ends with the proper posting of the copies, and we would ask our agents, in case of non-receipt, to complain to the Post office. MANAGER

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MARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 5]

POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1940

[ONE ANNA

NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay branch will hereafter be from 11 A. M. to 7-30 P. M. Readers will please note the change. Address: 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Manager

QUESTION BOX

Do I Distrust the Viceroy?

Q. Does not your identifying yourself with the Patna resolution of the Working Committee betray distrust in Lord Linlithgow, although you have professed to believe in his sincerity?

A. You have read into the resolution what is wholly unwarranted by the text. I do not doubt the Viceroy's sincerity. I have not known a Viceroy who has weighed his words as Lord Linlithgow does. It is a pleasure to have a talk with him. For he speaks with the greatest deliberation. His speech is, therefore, always brief and to the point. I adhere to the remark I made about our last meeting that, although we could not agree, we had come nearer each other. We might have gone on talking for a few days, but we would only have talked round the subject and repeatedly come to the same point of disagreement. I was under no handicap for I was speaking for myself. He was under a severe handicap. He was speaking under orders. He had no authority to go outside his instructions. And so we parted the best of friends. But so far as I am concerned, I expect many more meetings. The resolution makes the Congress position clear beyond doubt. It represents also my own position. If the British Government really mean full-hearted Dominion Status with the right to secede, then they can have no difficulty in accepting the Congress position. Unfortunately Lord Zetland's interview shows that it is not India which is to determine her future but Britain will do so for her. This is not even Dominion Status of any known variety. Once the British Government are sure that they can no longer hold India, all the difficulties that are now being put forth on their behalf will vanish like darkness before dawn. For they are all of their creation. They are inherent in exploitation. I hope you now see that there is no question of distrust of the Viceroy. Events had to move to where they are.

Fear of 'Isms'

Q. You say that no such thing as Gandhism exists, and that what you stand for is nothing new. I am a Muslim. I see flashes of Islamic

glory in Gandhism. As a student of theology I see the grandeur of Hinduism and the vigour of Christianity amply expounded in Gandhism. It includes also to a considerable extent the chaste philosophy of the entire East. I search the pages of India's past history, but your creed I do not find. Why, therefore, is it not new, and why may it not be termed Gandhism for those of us who believe in you and therefore it?

A. I have a horror of 'isms', especially when they are attached to proper names. Even if all that you say of me is true, it does not make a new sect. My effort is to avoid not only new sects but even to do away with old and superfluous ones. Ahimsa abhors sects. Ahimsa is a unifying force. It discovers unity in diversity. All that you say is derivable from ahimsa. To bring into being a new cult is repugnant to ahimsa, to the very experiment I am making. Thus you will, I hope, see that there is no room for 'Gandhism'.

Women and Their Work

Q. You say, "It is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of that hearth. It is a reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end." But what about the millions of female labourers in fields, factories, etc.? They are forced to forsake the hearth and become 'bread winners'. Would you abolish the industrial system and revert to the stone age? Would that not be a reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end? What is the new order that you envisage where the sin of making women work will be absent?

A. If millions of women are forced to forsake their hearth and become bread winners, it is wrong, but not so wrong as shouldering the rifle. There is nothing inherently barbarous in labour. I see no barbarity in women voluntarily working on their fields whilst they are looking after their homes. In the new order of my imagination, all will work according to their capacity for an adequate return for their labour. Women in the new order will be part-time workers, their primary function being to look after the home. Since I do not regard the rifle as a permanent feature in the new order, its use will be progressively restricted even so far as men are concerned. It will be tolerated as a necessary evil while it lasts. But I would

not deliberately contaminate women with the evil.

Roman Script ?

Q. Why may not the illiterate masses be taught the Roman script? This would eliminate the existing controversy between Urdu and Hindi.

A. To teach the Roman script in the place of Hindi and Urdu would be like putting the cart before the horse. Our children have first to learn both Hindi and Urdu scripts. Difficult questions cannot be solved by ignoring them or suggesting apparently easy substitutes. So long as hearts are divided the Roman script will not cement them. It would be an additional burden. The learning of the two scripts is the best and the easiest way of at least solving the national language riddle. It opens Hindi and Urdu thought to both Hindu and Muslim boys and girls who will be the men and women of the future generation. The Roman script will be learnt at its proper time, i. e. when our boys and girls are taught the English language, as some undoubtedly will be.

How to Begin ?

Q. Congress clamours for unity, but the principles which must be followed to attain that unity, viz. Hindu-Muslim fellow feeling, no caste distinctions, no hatred towards each other or towards foreigners, co-operative endeavour, all these are presented to audiences through the microphone but not acted upon. Tell me what are the duties of a Congress member. I would love to join and will put forth all my energy to do my bit for the country.

A. You need not mind what others do or ought to do. Charity begins at home. Let yours begin with yourself. Abolish all caste and religious or race distinctions from your heart. Be true to everyone—Hindu, Muslim, Harijan, English etc. as you are, I hope, to yourself, and you will find that so far as you are concerned your difficulty will be solved and your example will be copied by others. Be sure that you have banished all hate from your heart, and that you have no political or other objective in loving and serving your neighbour as if he was your own self.

Sevagram, 12-3-40

Some Books by Gandhiji

	Price	Postage
Satyagraha in South Africa	Rs. 4 8	0 8
• My Early Life	1 0	0 2
Speeches and Writings	4 0	0 9
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	1 8	0 5
Hind Swaraj	0 4	0 2
From Yeravda Mandir	0 2	0 1
Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence		
Parts I & II (each)	1 0	0 3

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As.

Available at *Harijan* office—Poona 4, and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

III

The Spinning Ritual

Quite the most important part of the daily routine of the Sangh members was sacrificial spinning. Every year there used to be an hour set apart for this ritual. This year Prafullababu decided, in consultation with Kishorelabhai, to have it for two hours daily, as the usual programme for some form of body labour in the village had been dropped. There was no work on which the two or three hundred people could be engaged at a time, and so the decision to double the period of the spinning interval was quite appropriate.

The bare actual result of this ritual is worth noting. This year's figures will not be ready until the yarn is turned into cloth, but they may be judged from the last year's result which was available just on the day we were about to break up. The yarn was sorted and sent to the weaver in two batches. The superior sort yielded 57 yards of khadi 45" wide of beautiful texture, and the inferior counts yielded 12 yards of 27" width. This year the result will be nearly treble as, apart from the time being double, the number of spinners was larger and the spinning went on for a day more. Calculating it in round numbers, 300 spinners must have produced about 150 yards of cloth in five days, i. e. half a yard each. This is a conservative estimate, for five days' spinning at the rate of 300 yards per hour should give four-fifths of a yard of cloth of 20 counts. What a good thing it would be if we could insist on *every* conference or meeting beginning with a spinning ritual of, say, at least half an hour. In this connection it may be noted that the Ratnagiri District Congress Committee has actually made such a rule, and has appealed for at least 1,000 spinners prepared to make to the Congress an annual donation of 10,000 yards of yarn. The Gandhi Seva Sangh members donated in five days one-fourth of the annual sacrifice expected of every member of the Congress. Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians have all their periods of lent. Without being members of any Sangh, if they made up their minds to do a couple of hours' spinning on these days of fasting (or semi-fasting) and prayer, they can easily donate in 20 days all that the nation expects of them. As regards the other results they are perhaps more valuable. Two hours' *silent* spinning is a healthy spiritual exercise which anyone may perform with benefit. It adds to one's peace and mental equipoise and power of concentration. And one finds—as I actually found—that every day one improves the quality and quantity of one's yarn. The essential is that a silent hour or even a half-hour must be set apart for the ritual. Lastly, to watch these three hundred odd spinners doing their silent spinning for a couple of hours was a study in many respects. The indifferent spinner could compare himself with the

practised spinner in many ways. The former found that he appeared for the ritual less equipped than the latter—he forgot to examine his wheel before he came, he had no spare string, he had no oil and had to borrow it from his neighbour, he had to interrupt his spinning often because of these lapses, and his thread broke oftener than that of the others. A careful practice is thus bound to make one precise, methodical and careful not only in spinning but in every detail of life.

Prafullababu's Battalion

From this point of view the pledge taken by Prafullababu's co-workers, numbering about three hundred, of spinning 60,000 yards per year is significant. If they do their spinning regularly, methodically, and in a proper religious spirit, the three hundred can easily increase to a battalion of 1,000. These may or may not become Congress members, they will certainly not think of having any responsible positions in the Congress, but they will qualify themselves as members of the non-violent army that Gandhiji is looking forward to before he can advise the country—if indeed he has to—to launch civil disobedience. In fact as a matter of preparation it may be well to expect every captain of a battalion to certify that every unit in it has done regular and ritual spinning for at least some months. If we are in right earnest, we can organise spinning on this basis everywhere, and the certificates would be enough guarantee that those who hold them will go through the fire without infringing their creed in any way. The soldiers under this test may be very few, but the quality will be ensured and every risk will be minimised.

The Exhibition

The Exhibition was a neat little affair, quite useful and educative. The central khadi court contained exhibits of the yarn (and cloth made out of it) spun by numerous workers in Bengal. Some of the samples were as high as 40 counts. In the centre of the court was a spinner spinning 80 counts of beautiful even yarn. Most of the khadi exhibits were from the various production centres of Bengal, and there were among these samples of fascinating designs of weaving.

Among the stalls that surrounded this main court the most interesting, in my opinion, was the hand-made paper stall showing the actual process of pulp-making and paper-lifting by indigenous instruments and also of polishing and cutting. The raw materials for the pulp were varied, quite a novel one being the fibrous fruit of the pestilential water-hyacinth of Bengal. The paper made out of this fibre was the most durable of the samples exhibited there. The makers were all Mussalmans.

Among other interesting stalls were the pottery and the silk stalls. The latter showed the actual process of silk-rearing and silk-spinning. One wondered how the man in charge of boiling cocoons was quickly collecting the threads from the boiling water. Dr. Prafulla Ghosh was put in mind of the famous Bunsen who handled red

hot liquid glass, and thought of the day when we too may have our Bunsens from these wielders of village crafts which are now being revived. There were women showing different processes of spinning waste-silk, resembling the making of vermicelli. There was the quicker way and the slower way, the organisers expecting the women employing the latter method to copy the former. The pottery stall showed the Bengal village pottery at its best. A potter's family was there making various samples, and there was a small kiln attached to the stall showing the process of baking and enamelling and polishing. When I thought of the miserable pottery at Segaoon (Sevagram) and also of the inefficient carpentry and masonry, at the same time, I wondered if we could not organise interprovincial tours for our craftsmen. From Darjeeling and its neighbourhood had been brought two Bhutiya women busy with their wool and indigenous dyes, and their hand-made blanket was one of their proud exhibits. Another interesting stall was the conch-bangle stall. Making of bangles from conches (imported from the Coromandel coast) is a speciality of Dacca. A stall, quite interesting for the farmer, was the one put up by the Dhakeshwari Cotton Mill, demonstrating the possibility of the growing of the high-staple cotton in Bengal. There was little cotton being grown in Bengal, except in parts of the Tippera district. Experiments had now been successfully made, and it had been found that cotton of 1 to 1½ inch staple could be produced in Bengal. A pamphlet issued in Bengali by Shri Subinoy Bhattacharya of the Bengal Millowners' Association was being freely distributed. This shows details of places growing cotton plants 4 feet high, with 60 bolls to each plant, and producing cotton of 7/8 to 1 inch staple, plants growing 7 feet high, with 150 bolls, and producing cotton of a 1¼ to 1½ inch staple, and plants growing 7 feet high, with as many as 262 bolls, and producing cotton of 1½" to 1½" staple. The seeds can be had on application to the Second Economic Botanist, Bengal, P. O. Tejgaon, Dacca.

Other interesting stalls which had nothing to do with the crafts were the sanitation and hygiene stalls with instructive and interesting charts in Bengali, which are very essential in every exhibition meant for the villager, looking to the heavy toll taken every year by malaria, kala azaar, and cholera. These proved very attractive.

The New President

Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala's successor as president of the altered Sangh is Shri Shrikrishnadas Jajuri. As unobtrusive and unassuming as his predecessor he is perhaps less contemplative and more practical. He had a brilliant academic career, having won first class honours everywhere, and was a lawyer of repute, but gave up practice years ago and has been giving all his time to public work. He is a member of the A. I. V. I. A. Board, was president of it until a little while ago, and is president of the

Maharashtra Charkha Sangh. He belongs to the Marwadi community, and his speech in reply to the reception given to him by his community in Calcutta, on return from Malikanda, was quite characteristic of his life and thought. This is a free translation of what he said in Hindi:

"When I address meetings of poor agriculturists I ask them to learn how to add to their scanty income. But when I am in front of a Marwadi audience, I ask them to find out ways and means of reducing the burden of their wealth. They are 'cursed' with 'great possessions', and it would be a blessing for them to reduce them and to learn a little sacrifice. And in this connection I should like to leave a thought with you. I give a much higher place to sacrifice than to donating out of superficial wealth. Therefore the more we reduce our ill-gotten gains the better for us. Then there are many of you who regard yourselves as sanatists and believers in Varnashramadharma. If you believe in the four *ashramas*, it behoves you after having made your pile as householders — *grihasthas* — to be trustees for what you have earned, by taking to *vānaprasthāshram*."

As one who endeavours to live up to his principles he is a worthy successor of Kishorelalbhai, and one may fully hope that the Sangh with its new ideals and new plan of work will flourish under his guidance. (Concluded)

Sevagram, 11-3-40

M. D.

Harijan

Mar. 16

1940

FOR ENGLISHMEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a very responsible Englishman to a common friend. The receiver sends it to me for answer:

"I have just been reading with very real concern the text of the resolution which the Working Committee adopted yesterday. I am writing as a very ordinary Englishman who has been interested in India for a good many years. One of my pleasantest discoveries out here has been to find a much closer affinity in outlook between Indians and Englishmen than I had ever ventured to expect. I do not believe that my sympathy with or attitude towards Indian aspirations is in any way peculiar to myself: the views I hold, even if they are not those of the older type of I. C. S. or Army officer, are pretty generally held by a large number of Englishmen. I can speak with some confidence on this point as I am in fairly close touch with several people who exercise some influence over English opinion and have been working with increasing success to create an atmosphere favourable to granting India's demand for full dominion status. What are we to make of the Committee's latest move and of what appears to be the rather sudden and drastic

change from a demand for dominion status to one for complete independence? I have far too great a respect for Gandhiji and the other Congress leaders I have met to believe it is either bluff or arises from a hasty resentment at our regrettably unforthcoming attitude during the early negotiations. They ought to know us well enough by now to realise how difficult we find it to do the handsome thing in a handsome way; and yet on the whole I think it is our manners which are at fault more often than our intentions.

If, therefore, the resolution must be taken to mean what it says and we are invited to remove ourselves bag and baggage forthwith, I cannot help asking you very seriously whether you are really able to rule India without any help from us. When I was up on the Frontier last summer I met a number of large and fierce gentlemen who were literally gloating at the prospect of enjoying themselves at India's expense once the English were gone. There are also, I believe, other parties who would not hesitate to exploit the difficulties of the new Indian Republic. Non-violence is, I admit, a powerful weapon against people with some prejudices against the physical coercion of those who do not defend themselves, but I doubt its effectiveness against those who regard the whole idea with contempt. Can you keep these forces in order or are we to contemplate handing India over to administrative chaos and possible, even probable, civil war? You may say that that is your affair and if such difficulties arise you will deal with them in your own way, but that does not ease my mind. I am not concerned to defend either the circumstances under which we got control over India — in view of her defenceless condition in the latter part of the 18th century some other Power would no doubt have taken advantage of it, if we had not — nor the way we have treated her since, for the worse our record may be made to appear the more incumbent it is upon us, in my opinion, not to divest ourselves of our responsibilities, of the penalties of our own misdeeds if you like, until there is an equally stable as well as a more enlightened administration ready to take over from us. I know that if I heard six months after we left India that Hindus and Muslims were killing one another in the face of an impotent government, I should not feel without blame, and I am certain that many Indians and other people as well would point to it as the evil legacy of British domination. I cannot therefore persuade myself that we English can fairly leave India until we have put her in a position to stand firmly on her own feet. When that time comes I will go gladly. I believed it was coming soon but my experience does not suggest that it has arrived yet. As dominion status seems to me to be a long step towards it, why is it unacceptable?

May I turn to another point? Progressive opinion in England, which will probably become more or less permanently in the ascendant after the war, provided that we win, is I believe genuinely anxious to see justice done to India, but it is even more anxious that the cause for which we are now fighting shall

prevail. I know the East End of London fairly well and I can assure you that it is the purest nonsense to say that the electors of Silvertown are fighting or voting to bolster up British Imperialism. They realise that we are up against evil things and that life even under the conditions of dockland is a better thing than it would be under Nazism. They know too, or if they do not I am afraid they will know before they are much older, that this is going to be a desperate struggle and that victory, if and when it does come, will have been bought at a terribly high price. How are they going to feel towards those people in India who by trying to obstruct our war effort at this critical stage did their best to give that little push to the scales that might well have meant defeat?

You may say, 'What do we owe to England and what do we care whether she is defeated or not? This is the opportunity we have been waiting for and we mean to take it.' May I look at such an argument quite objectively? Civil disobedience and the troubles to which it will certainly give rise will embarrass us seriously and cause exasperation, if not much worse, between people who ought to be friends, but I do not see how by itself it is going to get rid of us, particularly when we are mobilised. If it is unsuccessful and we win the war in spite of it, the very people who I firmly believe would have recognised India's forbearance to add to our difficulties in the most generous way will feel a resentment which it will take a generation to dissipate. If on the other hand you are able to make us lose the war, do you really believe that the Germans or Russians will either keep their hands off India or will be more active in giving her complete independence than we have been? If your answer is 'no', then would you sooner be ruled by Nazis or Bolsheviks than by us?

I do believe I have been honestly sympathetic towards Congress aspirations and so far as my limited experience goes have tried honestly to interpret them to friends in England. But this latest development I cannot understand or justify either on grounds of logic or even of expediency. Can you help me? I know I shall be getting enquiries from home before long and should like to answer them fairly. At the same time while the generals are manoeuvring, is there any way in which a private soldier like myself could be of assistance? There is so much goodwill in danger of being wasted."

The letter represents the thoughts of many Englishmen who are well disposed towards the Congress. And yet it betrays a tragic ignorance of Indian thought. Thus the writer says, "What are we to make of the Committee's latest move and of what appears to be the rather sudden and drastic change from a demand for Dominion Status to one for Complete Independence?" Now Complete Independence has been the definite goal of the Congress since 1929, and has been repeated every year from thousands of platforms. From that year to this the Congress has never even so much as mention-

ed Dominion Status. There is therefore no change whatsoever in the Congress demand. The question of suddenness or drasticness simply does not arise. Confusion arises from my oft-quoted letter to Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak wherein I said in 1937 that, if Dominion Status with the right to secede was offered, I for one would accept it. I had no authority to bind anyone else to that statement. Needless to say the offer was never made. Whatever may be said of me, no charge of change of policy can be brought against the Congress. So far as I am concerned I have changed. Experience since gained and maturer reflection have led me to think that Dominion Status even of the Statute of Westminster variety cannot suit India's case. I have only recently given my reasons for the change of opinion which I need not repeat here.

When the writer thinks that India cannot yet stand on her own legs, he has not even Dominion Status in contemplation. For Dominion Status is nothing if it does not mean the ability of the Dominion in question to stand by itself.

What the Congress has definitely asked for is Britain's declaration that it will give effect to the decisions of a duly elected Constituent Assembly. In other words, Britain should recognise the right of India without any outside interference or influence to determine her own future. It may be even Dominion Status. It may be less than Independence or a modified form of it. It may also be Complete Independence. The Congress will not lower its flag. But the Constituent Assembly is not synonymous with the Congress. This Assembly will include representatives of all parties who can secure sufficient votes. Therefore all minorities will be represented in their full strength.

It is a great pity that even the best of Englishmen are, as a rule, woefully ignorant of the Indian claim. They are too self-satisfied to take the trouble of studying the Indian case. They will not read nationalist papers. They take their opinions from the Anglo-Indian papers which themselves generally betray amazing ignorance about the thoughts, aspirations and acts of nationalist India. It has been the lot of the Congress to be misrepresented from its inception. I suggest that responsible Englishmen should meet, say, the best known Congressmen of the left and the right schools of thought, and I promise that much misunderstanding will be removed. It may be that even then there will be honest differences of opinion. These will always exist.

The writer dreads to think what will happen to India if Englishmen were to vacate the country bag and baggage. Such a contingency is inconceivable in a non-violent struggle. The end of non-violent action is a friendly settlement. If he means merely the English soldiers, they will certainly go if they will not serve Independent India or if they are not wanted because they are too expensive or for any other cause. It must

not be forgotten that the Indian struggle is not anti-British, it is anti-exploitation; anti-foreign-rule, not anti-foreigners. Underlying the writer's fear is the possibility of India deciding upon something beyond its capacity. This honest English belief in the incapacity of India to come to a sane judgment or to defend herself against civil war or foreign aggression is perhaps the greatest stumbling block in the way of an honourable settlement. If the fear is justified, the only antidote is to run the risk and let India learn wisdom and the art of self-defence by becoming free. Any other course means almost perpetual helplessness and foreign domination. Surely it is better for India, England and the world that a helpless sub-continent runs the greatest risk for coming into its own than that in its sickness it becomes a dead weight to itself and the world. The distinguished writer seems to admit the wrong Britain has done. It will not be undone by Britain being the judge of India's destiny and cherishing the distant hope that one day India will be fit enough to shoulder full responsibility for internal and external defence. The very argument advanced by the writer against India determining her future seems to me to be conclusive for ending British rule at the earliest moment possible.

If the position taken up by me is the correct one, the Nazi or Bolshevik menace can have no meaning for nationalist India, especially as its defence is rooted in non-violence.

But the writer evidently has no faith in non-violence of the strong. I must wholly disagree with him when he says, "Non-violence, I admit, is a powerful weapon against people with some prejudices against the physical coercion of those who do not defend themselves, but I doubt its efficacy against those who regard the whole idea with contempt." The real test of non-violence lies in its being brought in contact with just those who have contempt for it. The writer would be right if he were to say that such unadulterated non-violence has not yet been used by the Congress. The answer would be that I am trying my utmost to present India and through it the world with a completed example of non-violence. I may fail. But I invite Englishmen to assist the experiment if they have even a faint belief in the possibility of the exercise of such non-violence.

With the poor opinion the writer has of the working of non-violence, it is no wonder that he trembles at the thought, when the British retire from India, "of a number of large and fierce gentlemen who were literally gloating at the prospect of enjoying themselves at India's expense once the English were gone." Is it likely that an assembly of elected men and women who had such a fear would sign their death warrant by asking the English to retire in order that they may be devoured by "large and fierce gentlemen" of the Frontier? I suggest to the writer that, if and when the English

retire, both the Muslims and the Hindus will find it profitable to live in peace as they used to do before the British advent. If there had been perpetual quarrels, one or the other would have been wiped out. When real independence comes to India, Congresses and Leagues will be nowhere unless they represent the real opinion of the country. The presence of the British bayonet has created an artificial condition which suppresses the natural play of human action and demoralises both the suppressed and the suppressors. Let me also add that the presence of the British forces has not prevented riots such as were seen in Sukkur or kidnappings and raids on the Frontier. Whatever success the forces achieve is after the events have happened. The sufferers are no better off for the punitive measures, nor is it possible to say that at least in the majority of such cases full reparation is made.

That the Congress resistance at this stage will embitter the English mind and will be remembered against India, is a possibility. But my own experience of human nature, not excluding the British, is that bitternesses are forgotten when parties wish to come together. The suggestion presupposes the crushing of civil disobedience. There is no such thing in the civil disobedience dictionary. If there is violence, it will certainly be crushed because violence can only end in a disgraceful rout. There never has been previous preparation; the people themselves will be bewildered. They would not know what to do. But if, in spite of all the precautions I may take for a non-violent struggle, bitterness is still to be the residue, even that risk has to be run. Before the throne of the Almighty man will be judged not by his acts but by his intentions. For God alone reads our hearts. Freedom's battles are not fought without paying heavy prices. Just as man would not cherish the thought of living in a body other than his own, so do nations not like to live under other nations however noble and great the latter may be. Englishmen who are undergoing tremendous sacrifices for preserving their freedom should not fail to appreciate India's travail. The Congress does not say, "Give us Congressmen what we want." It says to the Rulers, "Not you but the elected representatives of the nation should decide its fate." If such a reasonable proposition is circumvented, what should the Congress do?

Sevagram, 11-3-40

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

"Playing Providence"

Mr. Brailsford, the eminent publicist, has in a recent article explained with remarkable clarity the reason of the breakdown of the Delhi negotiations. Gandhiji's brief explanation, he says, has unfortunately not been understood even in the Labour Party and so he offers further explanation:

"The central issue on which the negotiations at Delhi broke down is as vital as it is elementary. Who is to be the architect of the political structure within which Indians are to live? Are we to design it for them, or are they to plan it for themselves? They claim to be a nation. This promise of Dominion Status means that we concede their claim. Very well, then, how do we treat other nations in a comparable situation? We hope, in the event of victory, to bring liberty to the Austrians. It would never enter our heads to draw up a constitution for them at Westminster or in Paris. They must decide for themselves whether they wish to remain a part of Germany, recovered, as we hope, for democracy, or to form a separate State. Is it to be a Republic? That is their affair. We may have our wishes and opinions, but they must settle all this, and much more, for themselves at Vienna. And as a matter of course, we should concede as much even to nations less entitled to our respect than Austrians. But in the case of India it is fixed as an obstinate principle in our rulers' minds that God's Englishman must plan the house in which Indians are to live. Our Civil Servants will do the drafting. Our Parliament clause by clause will debate the Bill. The votes of white men responsible to the electors of Govan and Clapham and Cardiff will decide whether India shall have two chambers or one, a wide or a propertied franchise....It is too late in the day for us to play Providence to this awakened nation. Indians will not submit to our paternal authority. They stand for 'self-determination'—the right to choose for themselves the type of government under which they shall rule themselves."

An Analogy

In a very long article on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in *Life*, one of America's most widely read journals, Mr. and Mrs. Gunther sum up the case for India. Barring a statement or phrase here and there in the Americanese it is a most lucid statement of the Indian case and must make the Britisher pause to see how Americans view our case. "While the British fight for democracy in Europe, they deny full democracy to 350,000,000 Indians who want freedom. Everyone knows how exceptionally difficult it is for the Allies to state their war aims. But India should be a test case for war aims when the time comes for stating them," the authors say. Then they put down what they describe as "an extreme statement of the Indian case, such as one that Nehru might make." There is, however, no extreme-ness about it, for it is a perfect picture of the condition of things in

India. "An analogy might be a Japanese occupation of the United States," they say, trying to put themselves in the Indians' position. "Suppose that the United States should crumble into decay, and succumb to civil war between rival American States. Suppose then that the Japanese, residents of a distant land, should invade America, restore order, make treaties with various local authorities and maintain an armed occupation of the land, finally permitting the Americans a limited degree of local autonomy. Suppose that the Japanese flag flew in Washington, and that the Japanese Viceroy were solely responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs, finance, law and order. Suppose that the Japanese milked America of its colossal industrial production and national income and meantime starved education. Suppose, finally, it established swanky clubs which no American could enter, encouraged pro-Japanese puppets among disloyal Americans, and inflicted on Americans a stingently organised Japanese Civil Service. Then suppose the Japanese should become involved in a war with, say, Britain. Would the American subjects of Japan be loyal to Japan? Or would they not?"

The Civil Service

The Gunthers have in the hypothetical analogy rightly referred to the "stringently organised Civil Service" in India. This is an item in the fourfold ruin of India which critics will do well to bear in mind. A writer in *The New Review*, a monthly issued by the Jesuit Fathers in India, gives a detailed account of the Indian Civil Service. "Though it is now a high and exalted service," says the writer, "the Indian Civil Service has had a humble origin in the factors and writers of the East India Company (who) later became civil servants.... The salaries of these servants were very low. The writers were paid £5 a year, the factors £15, junior merchants £30, and senior merchants £40; while the Governor received the princely salary of £300." In about a hundred years, i.e. in 1793, this Service became the 'Covenanted Civil Service of India', in contradistinction to the lower uncovenanted service to which alone Indians were admitted. The 'low' salaries led the Civil Servants to engage in private trade and to accept 'presents', and when for years in spite of orders prohibiting these the abuses continued the salaries were increased. And yet Lord Cornwallis, having "no faith in the integrity and moral standards of Indians, adopted the policy of getting everything done by European agency. All the higher posts were reserved to Europeans, and Indians had to be satisfied with subordinate posts." The salaries were raised in order to minimise the possibilities of corruption among the Europeans, and yet it was integrity and ethics of Indians that were questioned. "It was Cornwallis who raised the salaries of the Civil Servants to a very high level, thus burdening the country with

one of the most, if not *the* most, expensive Civil Service in the world...Civil Servants had to live on a level commensurate with the level set up by the Nawabs.....In addition to salary the Civil Servants were given a commission of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the revenue collections. This meant that a collector could earn in all about Rs. 3,000 a month as long ago as the closing years of the eighteenth century." That is to say a collector over a hundred and fifty years ago was earning ten times the salary drawn by a European Governor in 1674, and which salary along with other salaries detailed above were fixed according to the conditions of life in India. The recent history of the Civil Service with Civilian Governors drawing as much as Rs. 10,000 per month, with the "Lee loot" scandal and so on, is well known.

This Service, which as a critic has said is neither Indian, nor civil, nor service, and which being on the one hand the heaviest economic drain on India has been on the other hand almost wholly responsible for the continuance of the stranglehold on India, is a moral outrage without a parallel in history, and by itself provides a case for atonement by Britain.

Sevagram, 12-3-40

M. D.

Notes

Jaiprakash Narayan

The arrest of Shri Jaiprakash Narayan is unfortunate. He is no ordinary worker. He is an authority on socialism. It may be said that what he does not know of Western socialism nobody else in India does. He is a fine fighter. He has forsaken all for the sake of the deliverance of his country. His industry is tireless. His capacity for suffering is not to be excelled. I do not know what speech has brought him within the law. But if 124 A or the highly artificial sections of the Defence of India Act are to be inspanned for catching inconvenient persons, then any person whom the authorities want can be easily brought within the law. I have said before now that it is open to the Government to precipitate a crisis if they wish to. They have every right to do so. But I have hugged the hope that the fight will be allowed to develop along its natural course so long as it keeps strictly non-violent. Let there be no camouflage. If Shri Jaiprakash Narayan is guilty of violence, violence should be proved. What the arrest has done is to make the people believe that the British Government want to force the issue. History will then have repeated itself. During the first Civil Disobedience the Government had forced the issue by arresting the Ali Brothers. Is this arrest a prearranged plan, or is it a blunder committed by an over-zealous officer? If it is the latter, it should be set right.

Sevagram, 12-3-40

'Khadi Banks'

A correspondent writes :

"I believe in khadi. So I must use it. But my means are limited. So I made it a point to lay aside Re. 1 per month. Yet I am afraid the saving is within easy reach of pressing needs. So I conceive a scheme of 'Khadi Banks'. Not only does the scheme show how the saving could be effectively turned by purchasers to ensure purchases of khadi but also to ensure a device of cheapening khadi to the purchasers without in any way injuring the interests of the wage-earners.

All those who are khadi-lovers and all those who cannot afford to save enough to make khadi purchases at a time may patronise such banks. An amount of money be deposited at a time or at suitable intervals with a certified A. I. S. A. khadi bhandar. Such a bank would differ from a money bank in that the money once deposited cannot be withdrawn except through khadi purchase equivalent in value. The A. I. S. A. may issue hundi books to such customers who may from time to time draw hundis of appropriate denominations on the bhandars and purchase khadi.

The advantages of having such banks are obvious and important both from the purchasers' and wage-earners' point of view. Thus, if the khadi-lovers all over the country take into their head to patronise such banks, (i) it is obvious that the A. I. S. A. would be in a position to guarantee the wages of the wage-earners. The extent of such security might vary; (ii) it is equally obvious that the interest earned by the A. I. S. A. would be capitalised and utilised towards reduction of the cost of khadi to purchasers without in any way injuring the wages of the wage-earners. Thus the purchasers get cheapened khadi in lieu of interest on their advances. Therefore, I think, the proper working of such khadi banks may prove a useful device in lowering the prices of khadi without loss to the wage-earners.

I do not know how far the above suggestion is practicable. So I request you to give your weighty consideration to it. If you think it worth your reply, kindly put it through the columns of *Harijan* for the benefit of the general public."

The suggestion reads attractive. Let the A. I. S. A. experts consider it. If the purchasers will forego interest and a sufficient number subscribe, it should be possible to cheapen khadi.

Sevagram, 11-3-40

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 6]

POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Princes

Q. You have, I fear, evaded the question of Princes. Generally you go straight to your subject, but somehow or other you seem to have walked round this subject.

A. Apparently, but not really, there is some truth in the taunt. The fact is that the Princes have never before now been presented as a difficulty. They are a new arrow from the British quiver. It is British India that is fighting for freedom. The States people are fighting their own battle in their own States against overwhelming odds. The people in the States and in British India are one. For them the artificial boundaries do not exist. But for the administrators the boundaries are very real. British law has allowed Princes to regard as foreigners people from British India going to the States or people from one State to another. And yet Princes exist only on British sufferance. They cannot move without British permission. Their heirs have to be approved by the British Raj. Their tuition is also under the same supervision. They can be deposed at will. Thus so far as the British control is concerned, they are worse off than the ordinary British subject. But so far as their people are concerned, the Princes have unlimited control over them. They can imprison them at will and even put them to death. Theoretically British Raj has a duty by the people also. But it is rarely exercised. Therefore the people of the States labour under a double handicap. It must be clear to you from the foregoing narrative that the Congress cannot influence the Princes except through the British Government. Indeed the latter will not permit any real approach to the Princes. I personally do not desire the extinction of the Princely order. But I do want the Princes to recognise the signs of the times and shed a large part of their autocracy. In spite of the powerful British bayonet, the march of the people of both the Indias cannot be stayed. I am hoping that the combined wisdom of all, including the Princes and the present rulers, will prevent the march from running mad, which it is bound to do unless a smooth passage is made for it. I am putting forth the best non-violent effort I can, but my non-violence, because of my imperfections, may fail. I ask for the helping hand of those who would see India win her goal without a blood bath.

But if the Princes will not listen, I do not ask for their coercion. Let British India have her independence, and I know, the Princes know, that true freedom of British India means freedom of their people also. For as I have said the two are one. No power on earth can keep them in separation for all time.

Use of Force against Muslims

Q. You talk of complete independence from Britain and at the same time of settling the question of minorities through a Constituent Assembly. This means that, if Muslims do not listen to you, you would want to use British forces to compel them to submit to your will.

A. This question simply ignores my own position and, so far as I know, the Congress position. The Congress cannot want independence and the use of British forces at the same time. But that is not all. The Congress will not coerce Muslims or any minority. That would not be a non-violent approach. The greatest coercion is British coercion. And the Congress is impatient to get out of that coercion. My hope in desiring a Constituent Assembly is that whether the Muslims are represented by the Muslim League mentality or any other, the representatives when they are face to face with the reality will not think of cutting up India according to religions but will regard India as an indivisible whole and discover a national, i.e. Indian, solution of even specially Muslim questions. But if the hope is frustrated, the Congress cannot forcibly resist the express will of the Muslims of India. Needless to say the Congress can never seek the assistance of British forces to resist the vivisection. It is the Muslims who will impose their will by force singly or with British assistance on an unresisting India. If I can carry the Congress with me, I would not put the Muslims to the trouble of using force. I would be ruled by them for it would still be Indian rule. In other words, the Congress will have only a non-violent approach to every question and difficulty arising. But just as it is possible that Muslim representatives to the Constituent Assembly may wear another hue than that of the Muslim League, it is also possible that the others may be non-Congressmen. In that event, the British will be where they are, only they will be wooed by both the parties alternately and will remain the architects of India's destiny. For then, with the Congress swept away, non-violence will be blown to the winds and

naturally the infinitely superior violence of the British aided by the willing co-operation of the wooing party will easily rule India. For the only force matched against British force is that of non-violence, incomplete though it is, of the Congress.

Neglect of Sanskrit

Q. Do you know that the Patna University has practically tabooed the study of Sanskrit? Do you approve of the step? If you do not, will you express your opinion in *Harijan*?

A. I do not know what the Patna University has done. But I quite agree with you that the study of Sanskrit is being sadly neglected. I belong to a generation which believed in the study of the ancient languages. I do not believe that such a study is a waste of time and effort. I believe it is an aid to the study of modern languages. This is truer of Sanskrit than of any other ancient language so far as India is concerned, and every nationalist should study it because it makes a study of the provincial languages easier than otherwise. It is the language in which our forefathers thought and wrote. No Hindu boy or girl should be without a knowledge of the rudiments of Sanskrit, if he will imbibe the spirit of his religion. Thus the Gayatri is untranslatable. No translation can give the music of the original which I hold has a meaning all its own. The Gayatri is but one example of what I have said.

Ramgarh, 17-3-40

WOMEN AND VOLUNTARY ENDEAVOUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur writes:

"Recently the women assembled at the Annual Session of the All India Women's Conference passed a resolution expressing their faith in khadi as a means of economic relief to our poor sisters, and pledged themselves to try to use it as far as possible in their homes and promote its sales. In view of this I have recently addressed all our Branches and asked them to take up what you have termed 'sacrificial spinning' as a practical way of helping khadi. If women of the leisured classes would spin regularly and give their yarn to the A. I. S. A., it could be utilised for sustaining the recent increase in the wages of spinners which the Association has introduced. These poor women used to earn even as low a wage as a pice per day; the A. I. S. A. has voluntarily raised it to a pice and more per hour and desires it to rise much higher. But it cannot do so without the hearty co-operation of the well-to-do today. For it has to keep down the price of khadi so that it may remain within the purchasing power of the middle classes. We shall therefore be rendering a double service to the spinner and the khadi buyer. It is a tragedy that most of us do not realise that the A. I. S. A. is in reality an Association for the benefit of women. Spinners are women; they live if khadi lives; if we can help to raise their earnings to a living wage,

we are at once not only giving them economic independence but we also raise the dignity of their labour.

Through the kind help of Shri Krishnadas Gandhi I am able to give the following figures which illustrate the material value of the help we could easily render to our poor village sisters.

If a woman spins for an hour daily, she spins for about 360 hours in the year. Reckoning an average speed of 280 yards per hour and approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ hanks per week (a hank being equal to 840 yards), she would be contributing 10 hanks per month and 120 per annum. The value of this yarn works out at 12 As. to 14 As. per mensem, and the value of the spinning (an hour daily at the rate of wages at a pice per hour) may be reckoned at 7 annas approximately. Supposing 3,000 of us joined hands, we would be contributing Rs. 2,250 and Rs. 27,000 worth of yarn per month and per annum respectively, the labour of spinning being reckoned at Rs. 1,400 a month and Rs. 17,000 in the year.

If we buy our slivers, we would have to spend 7 As. a month or Rs. 5-4-0 per annum on them. If, however, the art of carding cotton at home and making slivers therefrom is cultivated, this expenditure could be reduced by Rs. 2-4-0 a year, self-made slivers involving a cost of 4 As. per month or Rs. 3 per annum. Each one of us would thus be contributing labour to the extent of Rs. 7-8-0 during the year. (Rs. 2-4-0 in making slivers and Rs. 5-4-0 in spinning.)

Some sisters have asked me why I am asking them to spin rather than contribute their quota in cash. While it is open to those who will not spin to help by donations, the value of work which makes us one in spirit with the poor, which enhances the dignity of all labour, especially women's labour, and which develops within us a love of hand-woven and hand-spun cloth as nothing else can is something which cannot be reckoned in terms of money.

Girl students in colleges often ask me in what way they can serve the country. Each one of them could contribute her quota in this manner too.

I shall be very grateful if you will give your blessing and approval to this scheme and thereby strengthen my appeal. We ought of course to be able to raise many more than 3,000 volunteers to join hands in this endeavour. What is 3,000 for a huge country like ours, if we have the love of service in us? And of course it should be incumbent on those who can give longer hours of labour to do so. Those who wish to join this 'brigade' may send their names and addresses to me, and I will inform them as to where they can give in their yarn.

I may mention that the figures given have been reckoned at present A. I. S. A. rates."

I heartily endorse this appeal. It will be a shame if even three thousand sisters cannot be found who would labour for the starving millions. It is well that the Rajkumari has laid stress on identification with the poor through labour willingly and cheerfully done.

Sevagram, 11-3-40

CANDID COMMENTS

Time and Tide is one of the most influential, broad-minded Conservative journals in England today. The following comments that have appeared in it vis-a-vis the Hindu Muslim question in relation to India's claim to Independence will be read with interest:

"To the British public who have had the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' dinned into their ears until India has come to connote little else, this will sound helpful, but it raises new questions. There is the Hindu-Muslim problem and it is no use shirking it. But the Congress standpoint is that its Ministries did not resign over the communal question, but over the question of India's international status and the British Government's war aims and that the Viceroy and the India Office have dragged in the Hindu-Muslim problem, much as St. Paul, with far more excuse, dragged in the quarrel of the Sadducees and Pharisees when he found himself in a tight corner. Also the India Government, by the exaggerated recognition it has given to what is, after all, merely the best organised and largest Muslim group, the Muslim League, is held to have deliberately exacerbated the problem. The Congress has its own internal difficulties like every other group, but the difficulties of the Indian Government are likely to come to harvest first as the war grows grimmer and ever more serious. Finally, there will never be any settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem any more than of the Catholic-Protestant problem or of the many religious problems of Syria and the Balkans. If India has to wait for Dominion Status until there is such a settlement, she must wait for ever, which many Indians believe is our only interest in the problem. All you can get is a convention for a specified term of years by which the majority community pledges itself to give Muslims such representation in excess of their numerical proportion as will establish them in the legislatures and the public services — until their educational and economic progress has made the community able to look after itself."

Even more outspoken are the comments of *The Natal Witness* which is the oldest established journal in Natal. The extracts below are from its leading article entitled "A cat may look at a king" in reply to the London *Times*' vapourings:

"There are fewer tests of the sincerity of Britain in her war aims than are to be found outside them. Some of the assertions being made on behalf of democracy and its defence call from Britain at this time (as well as from South Africa in the same connection) a practical recognition if she (and we) are not to be advised to practise what we preach by those we are not slow to condemn... The Congress Party, it is true, does not represent all India; it would be remarkable, indeed, if, in the diversity of faiths and the vastness of the population, any one group should enjoy the unanimous support of the masses. Let it be said, however, that the party is in power in seven of the eleven provinces, and that

it gained a national majority in the provincial elections, and it will be realised that its right to speak for India is comparable with that conferred upon the Conservative Party to speak for the British Commonwealth of Nations. In claiming this right it neither ignores nor neglects the several and strong minorities in India. Briefly, what its demands envisage is the acknowledgment by the greater democracy Britain of a principle for India not dissimilar from the one we are now fighting for in Europe. It has discovered already, however, that, if the objective of British policy in India is Dominion status, a process of self-determined freedom and liberty, the granting of it is a slower process than the swift call to arms for the defence of the principle elsewhere....

It reasons, as so many people reason, that because there are strong minorities in disagreement with the Congress Party, it behoves Britain to withhold the right it is capable of exercising. It is as if to say that because the Conservative Party has facing it a strong opposition it must not be allowed to declare war or make peace. This stupidity will one day prove the undoing of a considerable portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations.... If we continue to deny those of our own Empire, that are fitted for such status and privilege, the right to have more than vague assurances for the future, we can expect to be dubbed as hypocrites by our enemies in the field.

The Times stands for the re-establishment of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and at the same time refuses the same to a nation far more democratically inclined than Poland, which did but lately emerge from a medieval feudalism, can ever hope to be. This is no light matter. It might have thought that the leaders of British opinion would pay some critical attention to the foundations of belief and faith, and on them formulate policy consistent with reiterated principles and consonant with those ideals for which men are called to die at this time.....

Let it be said at once that the relation of Britain to India merely reflects the relation of the Union to its Indians. For anyone with a care for democracy, with which goes a concern for political integrity and reputation, will find it difficult to appreciate an anxiety to defend liberty, freedom, honest dealing with the rest of the values now challenged in Europe, combined with a complete neglect of those same things in our own land. The war, it has been said, is a test of our own faith in matters of faith. Singularly enough, it is not in Poland or in Czechoslovakia or at the Maginot line, though *The Times* thinks it is, where democracy is to be defended. If the cause of the British Commonwealth is to be saved, it can only be done by granting those within it a full measure of that ordered freedom and self-determination we fight to grant those without. The London *Times* very naturally does not see it that way!"

Mahatma Gandhi

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Harijan

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1940

ANOTHER ENGLISHMAN'S LETTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Last week I dealt with a letter from a well-known Englishman who is in India. Now I have a letter from a responsible English friend in England, from which I give below all that the readers need to know:

"We are quite certain that no such thing as 'banging the door' has happened. The Government still anxiously desires a settlement to be reached. Even if normally it did not want this, it is bound to do so at the present time, in view of the terrific war in which this country is engaged. The feeling, however, is growing amongst Government people that the Congress is increasingly regarding 'settlement' as meaning what it alone considers right. Apart from the fact that that is not of the nature of a settlement, but rather of a one-sided dictation, I am bound to remind you that a war condition does not increase the liberal-mindedness of men, but on the contrary tends to strengthen a certain fear and rigidity in politics, when men become of necessity concentrated on the terrible effort in hand, and more and more unable to allow for opposition.

Hence, if the Congress rejects conciliation and follows a line of immovable opposition, it is more than probable that the British War Cabinet will do the same. The time for peaceful settlement will pass—a disaster for both India and Great Britain. I need not labour this. Its consequences are obvious. But I may say that it is felt here, by many most sympathetic to the cause of freedom in India, that the Congress is not wise in taking so rigid a position and ignoring the grave and indeed enormous problems Great Britain is facing that make so difficult a satisfactory answer to the Congress claim.

India claims her freedom in the sense, first, of self-determination. Here the question is asked: What is this Government of India that *all* India wants—Congress Party, Muslims and other communities, and Princes included? The Congress demands a Constituent Assembly to determine this. But it seems clear that before such an Assembly could usefully attempt to tackle this question, with any hope of reaching agreement, prior work has to be done. Should not, first, a small, private but very responsible Conference of a dozen representative Indian men work out to agreement the main points of the desired constitution?

Given that this small Conference was representative, and was accepted by both India and Great Britain as a responsible body, and given the reaching of reasonable agreement, it is practically certain that the British Government would accept its decision. And it is to be supposed that a National Assembly of all India, whatever the minor modifications it might desire, would substantially do so too.

This would not be all that the Congress High Command is envisaging. But unless the Congress is prepared for 'war' there must be some meeting of the views of other parties, and some willingness to meet the *de facto* Government on procedure.

There is a great desire and willingness here to reach a solution. Everything demands it, and there never was a greater amount of discussion over British-Indian relations than at the present time. On the other hand there is developing a certain grim determination not to accept dictation from what, it is otherwise agreed of course, is the major political party in India,—but whose decision can neither oust Great Britain from participation in the solution, nor release her from treaties, undertakings and promises.

The gravity of the situation now is such that I most deeply pray you not to turn from the wonderful path of patient seeking of understanding that has always been yours and return to a past situation of a kind we both equally hate.

May I add as a long friend of Indian freedom my deep conviction that this struggle must and can be ended in friendship and equality—accepting all the implications of both those words. For this, England has to return to India the domination and control she has exercised, not asking a price; and India has to claim England's *consent*, not demand her surrender. So only can a lasting peace be reached. But if this is so, the steps thereto must be *agreed* steps.

I can well believe that "the Government people" did not wish to bang the door, but Lord Zetland's interview left no room for doubt. These were his words:

"Referring to Mr. Gandhi's statement that, if the British Government would leave the framing of the constitution to Indians themselves, the questions of defence, minorities, Princes and European interests would automatically be resolved, Lord Zetland said that, while he greatly admired Mr. Gandhi's optimism, he was unhappily quite unable to share it and felt that, as long as the leaders of the Congress maintained their present attitude, the obstacles in the way of an honourable understanding would be greatly increased.

Lord Zetland said that it was unfortunate that Congress spokesmen made a fetish of the word 'independence', since he was convinced that this had created a false impression in Great Britain of the aim which the vast majority of Indians had in view. 'That they desire freedom to govern themselves I do not doubt; that they contemplate India swinging from the orbit of British Commonwealth, I do not for a moment believe. In a mad world, they are far too appreciative of the protection afforded to them by the armed strength of Great Britain on land and sea.'

My correspondent is a careful student of contemporary events in India. He chooses his words before using them. Yet he has evidently felt unable to correct the impression in Government circles that the Congress "is increasingly regarding 'settlement' as meaning

what it alone considers right". The Congress has never taken up an uncompromising attitude and within the four corners of its demand has always shown its readiness for 'a settlement'. Its demand is unequivocal. It says to the British Government: "If you really mean to part with power and your war is not for consolidating your Empire but for democracy all round, then you will declare India a free country and let a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage decide upon the form and content of her own Government. No doubt there are difficulties, e. g. about defence, about minorities, and the Princes. The burden of solving these difficulties will be shifted from you to the Constituent Assembly. If the Assembly cannot solve these satisfactorily, it will prove its insolvency. You will have done your duty." Surely in this there is no one-sided dictation.

The writer reminds me of the war condition and suggests in effect that it does not improve one's temper. I should say that a problem like India is a direct issue in the war; perhaps the fortunes of war will turn upon the conduct of nationalist India. People engaged in a war do not lose temper over matters which affect the fortunes of war.

I have no difficulty in endorsing the suggestion that some work prior to the Constituent Assembly should be done. The writer suggests "a very responsible conference of a dozen representatives". The difficulty is of choosing the representatives. Who will choose them? They cannot command confidence unless they are duly elected. Such a committee, so far as I can see, can only be appointed by the members of the Constituent Assembly. I think the day is gone when any party worth the name will accept as representatives Government nominees as was done at the Round Table Conference.

The Congress has to be and is prepared for 'war'. But it wants to avoid 'war'. It will not wantonly act so as to be the cause of endless suffering to the people. The Congress is ever ready to "meet the *de facto* Government on procedure". Is the latter willing and ready to recognise India as a free country? The Congress history shows that it has always met and is today ready to meet the views of other parties on most matters. What it is not ready to do is to alter the goal. It must be content to be reduced to a hopeless minority for the sake of preserving its goal. It is a trust which it cannot abandon without being disloyal to its past. The end of non-violent 'war' is always an agreement, never dictation, much less humiliation of the opponent. There can be no question of the Congress asking or expecting Britain to dishonour just obligations or treaties.

What, however, I miss is a sincere desire on the part of Britain to do unto India what she would wish done to her if the position were reversed. The Congress is unreasonable, if it is

wrong for it to refuse to abate the passion for freedom for which Dadabhai laboured, which Tilak taught India to regard as her birthright, and for which thousands of men and women have cheerfully suffered imprisonment and loss of their possessions. If it is allowed as a worthy passion, the Congress has no fear as to the verdict of being regarded as eminently reasonable in everything else.

Ramgarh, 16-3-40

A Very Useful Publication

Shri Satishchandra DasGupta of Khadi Pratisthan has just published a volume called *Home and Village Doctor* (price Rs. 5 cloth-bound, Rs. 6 leather-bound). It contains 1384 pages, has 18 chapters on the human body, care of systems, nutrition, hygiene and sanitation, nursing, accidents, home treatment, cheap remedies, diseases of the various organs, care of pregnant mother and child, infectious and constitutional diseases as well as those relating specially to women. Particular contents are exhaustive, and it has a copious index at the end covering 32 pages. There are 219 instructive illustrations. It was during my second imprisonment here that I wrote and asked medical friends to give me a book after the style of the excellent publication *Moore's Family Medicine*. I wanted, however, something better and more indigenous in the sense that a layman serving in villages could handle with ease. A book was promised but the promise could not be fulfilled. Satish Babu came to the rescue and with his amazing industry has produced a book which should meet my requirements. As he says in his introduction he would not publish it till I had read it through and certified it as satisfactory. He supplied me with the chapters as they were getting ready; then when he had finished the whole volume he bound it and sent it to me. I carried it with me for one year or longer but could never get the time required. In despair I wrote to Satish Babu to publish the book as it was. He was quite content to leave the work unpublished, but I could not think of allowing such labour of love given with infinite care to be lost. I confess that I do not quite like the bulk of the volume. If I could have revised it, probably it would have been curtailed. But Satish Babu has erred, if he has erred at all, on the safe side. I hope that every village worker knowing English will make it a point to possess a copy which can be had from the Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta.*

Sevagram, 4-3-40

M. K. G.

* Can also be had from the *Harijan* office (Poona 4; and 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2). Postage 13 As. by ordinary post, Re. 1 per V. P. P., extra.

NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay branch are now from 11 A. M. to 7-30 P. M. Address: 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.
Manager

OCCASIONAL NOTES

"Non-Congress India"

It is Sir Samuel Hoare's phrase. In his speech on the present crisis he coined it to distinguish it from Congress India. It was an expressive phrase, but his object was not quite patent in his speech. What Lord Zetland and Sir Samuel Hoare have said euphemistically Mr. W. P. Barton, a retired Civilian, has expressed most bluntly in an article in *The Quarterly Review*. Non-Congressmen, he asserts, are with and for the British rule in India, and they represent the vast majority. Here are some of the statements on which, one can now see, the average Britisher is fed:

(1) The Congressmen "have little or no influence with the classes possessing military value", viz. the Muslims of the north, the Sikh peasantry, the Rajputs, the great landowners, the Marathas; (2) "Ninety million Moslems contest the Congress claim"; (3) "In the States only a very small proportion of the Hindu intelligentsia in them subscribe to the Congress creed"; (4) "The great community of outcastes (sixty million) does not acknowledge the authority of the Congress, despite Gandhi's special protection"; (5) "Indian Liberals similarly reject the Congress claim to speak for India"; (6) "The Democratic Swaraj Party of Bombay follows the example of the Liberals"; (7) "So does the great party of Hindu orthodoxy, the Hindu Mahasabha"; (8) "The landowning classes throughout India, who contributed largely to the Congress victory, are now bitterly hostile"; (9) "A non-Brahmin (Hindu) party is opposed to the Congress Government of Madras".

Mr. Barton has by accident forgotten the Parsis and quite a number of other groups, though he has made every attempt to be as exhaustive as possible. The conclusion which Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Zetland have not uttered in so many words is that there is no truth in the "Congress claim to represent an Indian nation which only exists in its imagination", and "it is doubtful if it can claim to voice the wishes of a third of the people of India." Why, therefore, Mr. Barton argues, make any attempt to treat with the Congress?

The Naked Reality

Whatever happens, the Congress "defection" is "little likely to prejudice India's war effort", for the whole of non-Congress India is with Britain.

"Does Gandhi," Mr. Barton asks, "really intend to do his best to paralyse India's war effort, despite the admitted fact that with two-thirds of the people of India on the side of Britain any such attempt must inevitably fail? Does he really intend to risk the future by a gambler's throw? It seems unlikely. Gandhi is not a realist, but he cannot overlook the fact that he would best consult the interests of the Congress by allowing former Ministers to reassume office and work with Britain relying on British support to suppress the left-wing if they attempted

revolution ... Whatever policy Congress may decide to adopt, it is obvious in existing conditions that Britain could not possibly comply with Congress demands and place it in a position that would give it predominance over the Princes and the great Moslem community....Practically the whole Moslem world of over 200 million people is giving its moral support to France and Britain. It would be sheer insanity on the part of Britain and a gross neglect of her responsibilities to India to forfeit Moslem support by placing the Moslems of India at a disadvantage as regards the Hindu majority in the future political settlement of India."

The whole position is transparently clear. If two-thirds of the people of India were on the side of Britain, it would be absurd for the one-third to think that it can paralyse India's war effort. But Mr. Barton is sure that as a matter of fact the two-thirds he claims to be with Britain are not really so. With Britain's policy of "divide and rule" and with the help of the British bayonet they may be won over perhaps. And Gandhiji, if he was the "astute" and "ambitious" gambler "who with his usual astuteness had acquired merit by professing himself ready to support Britain unconditionally, only, of course, with soul force and non-violence," he would certainly purchase the "interests of the Congress" from mighty Britain. Luckily Gandhiji does not answer to Mr. Barton's description. He wants for the Congress predominance neither over the Princes nor over the great Moslem community. He wants freedom for all—including the Princes and the Muslims—from the yoke of British Imperialism. "Would the Congress exist but for British Imperialism?" asks Mr. Barton. The Congress has proclaimed it to the world that it would prefer extinction to having anything to do with British Imperialism. But it goes further and questions the fact of the so-called "non-Congress" India wanting to depend for its existence on British Imperialism.

That question can be automatically decided by Britain's declaration of India's right to frame her own constitution by means of a Constituent Assembly on which all the parties that Mr. Barton has mentioned will have representation. To accept that suggestion—we will not call it a demand—would be sportsmanlike. To reject it would be just not playing the game. That Britain has enough physical might everyone knows. The Congress would prefer to raise the moral question and in the solution of it to be extinguished than bend the knee to Imperial Britain.

Missionaries Once Again

If there is one thing that one can genuinely admire in the Missionaries, it is their persistence. They know what Gandhiji has to say in reply to their stock questions, but they go on asking them in the spirit of converting him or, I take it, being in their turn converted. A group of them saw him at Sevagram the other

day. We were busy packing to go to Ramgarh, and there was hardly any time that Gandhiji could spare. But he promised to see them for five minutes. And they did indeed make the best of their time.

"What started you on your career of leadership?" was the queer question with which they started.

"It came to me, unsought, unasked," said Gandhiji rather embarrassed. "I do not know, though, what sort of leader I am, and whether what I am doing is leadership or service. But whatever it is, it came to me unasked."

But the friends who came were sure that they were leaders, and they asked for guidance as leaders of Christian thought.

"All I can say," said Gandhiji, "is that there should be less of theology and more of truth in all that you say and do."

"Will you kindly explain it?"

"How can I explain the obvious? Amongst agents of the many untruths that are propounded in the world one of the foremost is theology. I do not say that there is no demand for it. There is a demand in the world for many a questionable thing. But even those who have to do with theology as part of their work have to survive their theology. I have two good Christian friends who gave up theology and decided to live the gospel of Christ."

"Are you sure that no great result has come through your own study of Jesus?"

"Why? There is no doubt that it has come, but not, let me tell you, through theology or through the ordinary interpretation of theologians. For many of them contend that the Sermon on the Mount does not apply to mundane things, and that it was only meant for the twelve disciples. Well I do not believe this. I think the Sermon on the Mount has no meaning if it is not of vital use in everyday life to everyone."

"Is there not to be found a solution of the present-day problems in the teaching of Jesus?"

"Well you are now dragging me in deeper waters," exclaimed Gandhiji, "and you will drown me."

"What is the present trend of the thought of Young India?"

"It would take a brave and knowing man to answer this question. But," he smilingly said, "I must tell you that you have overstayed your time already. And if you go on questioning and cross-questioning me, I dare say you will floor me without being any the wiser for having done so."

A Seeker

Of a different type, so far as I could judge, was a Missionary friend who saw him long before this and asked him similar questions in a different spirit. He was more a seeker than a questioner. "Could you tell me the things one should avoid in order to present the gospel of Christ?" he asked.

"Cease to think that you want to convert the whole world to your interpretation of Christianity. At the end of reading the Bible, let me tell you, it did not leave on my mind the impression that Jesus ever meant Christians to do what the bulk of those who take his name do. The moment you adopt the attitude I suggest, the field of service becomes limitless. You limit your own capacity by thinking and saying that you must proselytise."

"I see what you mean," he said. "We have been cumbered by creeds and man-made things. We feel that we should be in a place where all barriers have broken down."

Gandhiji instanced a few Christians who, he said, saw the central fact that, if they wanted to live this Christian life, they should literally follow the words — "Not he that sayeth 'Lord, Lord', but he that doeth His will."

"You are living a guided life. Could you kindly tell me your experience of guidance?"

"I do not regard God as a person," said Gandhiji. "Truth for me is God, and God's Law and God are not different things or facts, in the sense that an earthly king and his law are different. Because God is an Idea, Law Himself. Therefore it is impossible to conceive God as breaking the Law. He therefore does not rule our actions and withdraw Himself. When we say He rules our actions, we are simply using human language and we try to limit Him. Otherwise He and His Law abide everywhere and govern everything. Therefore I do not think that He answers in every detail every request of ours, but there is no doubt that He rules our action, and I literally believe that not a blade of grass grows or moves without His will. The free will we enjoy is less than that of a passenger on a crowded deck."

"Do you feel a sense of freedom in your communion with God?"

"I do. I do not feel cramped as I would on a boat full of passengers. Although I know that my freedom is less than that of a passenger, I appreciate that freedom as I have imbibed through and through the central teaching of the Gita that man is the maker of his own destiny in the sense that he has freedom of choice as to the manner in which he uses that freedom. But he is no controller of results. The moment he thinks he is, he comes to grief."

"Thank you."

Ramgarh, 16-3-40

M. D.

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Sevagram, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

Notes

The London Assassination

Further details that have come through the Press of the assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the attempted assassination of Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane confirm my opinion that it was a work of insanity. It is none the less reprehensible on that account. We had our differences with Sir Michael O'Dwyer, but that should not prevent us from being grieved over his assassination or condoling with Lady O'Dwyer and her family. I would like every Indian patriot to share with me the shame of the act and the joy that the lives of the three distinguished Englishmen were saved. We have our grievance against Lord Zetland. We must fight his reactionary policy. But there should be no malice or vindictiveness in our resistance. The papers tell us that the accused acted with amused nonchalance when he faced the court and the spectators. This does not command my admiration. It is to me a sure sign of continuing insanity. The accused is intoxicated with the thought of his bravery. I have known drunken men act with a recklessness of which they would be incapable in a sober state. I understand that extra rum is issued to soldiers who are sent to specially hazardous tasks. What am I to praise, the rum or its after-effect? The word assassin owes its origin to the hasheesh that was administered to the would-be assassins in order to deaden their conscience. This continuing insanity of the accused should fill us with pity and grief. If we are to fight fairly and squarely, we must, as far as is humanly possible, make every Englishman feel that he is as safe in our midst as he is in his own home. It fills me with shame and sorrow that for some time at least every Indian face in London will be suspect. Is it not possible for us all to realise that the masses will never mount to freedom through murder? I would like every reader of these lines to know that every such act harms our non-violent struggle, and therefore to dissociate himself in the secret of his heart and openly from such acts of insanity.

The National Week

From 6th April to 13th April has been observed as the National Week from year to year. On the 6th April 1919 the masses of India found their feet. It was the inauguration of Civil Disobedience. Its non-violent character was signalled by fasting and prayer. Hindus and Muslims fraternised as they had never done before. The vow of Swadeshi was taken by tens of thousands. The 13th April 1919 saw the Jallianwala massacre in which Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood flowed promiscuously. The National Week is observed as a week of self-

purification, in which sales of khadi and other products of village industries are organised on a large scale. I have said and I repeat that there is no Swaraj for the masses except through khadi and other village crafts. For there is no non-violent disobedience without sustained constructive effort. A living, continuous mass contact is impossible without some constructive programme requiring almost daily contact of the workers with the masses. I hope, therefore, that the forthcoming week will be celebrated by all earnest workers with due solemnity and with intensive sales of khadi and other products of village handicrafts.

Ramgarh, 17-3-40

M. K. G.

AN INSANE ACT

Gandhiji made the following statement to the Press on the 14th inst. at Ramgarh:

The news of the death of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and of the injuries to Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane has caused me deep pain. I offer my condolences to the deceased's family, and hope that the injured will soon recover. I regard this act as one of insanity. Such acts have been proved to be injurious to the causes for which they are committed. I hope this will not be allowed to affect political judgment.

The Working Committee passed the following resolution at Ramgarh on the 17th inst.:

The Working Committee has learnt with deep regret of the assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the wounding of the Marquess of Zetland and others by a person said to be an Indian. The Committee does not attach any political significance to this unfortunate act of violence. Nevertheless, it wishes to reiterate its conviction that all such acts are injurious to the national cause.

To Agents

The attention of the agents is drawn to the fact that we do not accept cheques other than those drawn on banks in Poona and Bombay. In view of recent complaints about loss of book post packets in transit, we now take certificates of posting. In cases, therefore, of non-receipt agents may complain to their post offices.

Manager

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MARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 7]

POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1940

[TWO ANNAS

RAMGARH

The Non-cooperation of the Elements

When Rajendrababu and his colleagues fixed upon Ramgarh as the venue of this year's Congress, they little knew the hardships they would have to bear due to the non-cooperation of the elements. From the point of view of convenience Daranagar would have been a much better and much less expensive place. But Daranagar was ruled out as not being a village-venue. Ramgarh was right in the midst of the unsophisticated villagers, and, though the cheap village-Congress of Gandhiji's conception still remains a dream, we have, since Faizpur, been succeeding in planting a Congress-city in the midst of villages to the material benefit of the villagers who for three or four months get full employment, a satisfactory wage, and a custom for village products. In a vague sort of way the message of the Congress does reach these folks. But we have not yet learnt to go to the Congress with village-mentality, and therefore the principal object of having the Congress in the villages—viz. annihilation of the distance between the city-dweller and the villager—is still far from being realised.

But Ramgarh proved a handful in a most unexpected way. The exhibition, for which Laxmibabu and others had laboured like Trojans, was to have been opened by Gandhiji on the 10th, but heavy rains ruined their work; they had to toil over again and the Exhibition could be opened only on the 14th. For five days the skies remained clear, the workers heaved a sigh of relief, when suddenly at the exact hour of the opening of the Congress it began to pour, and the amphitheatre with its enchanting environment soon became a lake.

'How inauspicious,' some exclaimed. 'No,' was the reply, 'rain is never inauspicious, and certainly never so disastrous as fire.' How human nature always tries to derive consolation from all acts of God! And really speaking the non-cooperation of the elements proved not a small blessing in disguise. The Maulana Sahab declared that, come what may, he was determined to open the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal stood by him, and their determination was infectious. Nearly a hundred thousand people—men, women, and children, the richest with their costly wearing apparel and the poorest in their single khadi shirt and dhoti—sat smiling and laughing without making the slightest stir. When the down-

pour was unbearable they lifted the bamboo-tattis from under themselves and held them up for shelter, and only when there was knee-deep water, and no sign of the fury abating, did they make for their camps. But even then there was no scrimmage to get back, everyone bowed to the inevitable, the orange-clad sisters and the men volunteers gave all the help they could in carrying children and helping people who slipped and fell, and not a soul was hurt. Rajendrababu, sore at heart, greeted the people in a brief speech, the Maulana followed with a similarly brief address, and Pt. Jawaharlal moved the main resolution which Prof. Kripalani seconded, and the house was adjourned. The inclement elements continued their mad fury, but finding that everyone was undaunted, the tempest ceased and the skies cleared in the morning, and at nine o'clock the Congress met again in the Chowk with fifty thousand people again ready to face the threatening weather with a cheer. The President could have made short work of the amendments which did not deserve the permission to be moved, seeing the utter lack of support they had in the Subjects Committee, but he gave everyone as long a rope as was asked for, and in a little more than three hours brought the proceedings to a close. Nothing could have been more expeditious, more telling, more significant of the temper of the people. The non-cooperation of the elements was thus turned into co-operation and work, and has left a lesson for all time.

The Exhibition

If the rains taught the workers the lesson of selecting for the Congress a rain-proof venue, they taught people like me not to leave until tomorrow the work that you can do today. For I was foolish enough to defer until the last day a careful and examining look of the Exhibition, with the result that I have come away having seen only the Khadi Court to which one day I devoted a couple of hours. And I know that, if I gave a couple of hours to the Khadi Court, there were courts like the Basic Education Court, planned by Shrimati Ashadevi and the Jamia Milia workers with elaborate care, which deserved more than that time.

The Khadi Court was arranged this time not by professional people like Shri Jerajani, but by an amateur in the field, Shrimati Kuwerbai Vakil, who with her husband runs the Pupils' Own School in Vileparle, a suburb of Bombay.

Her amateur hand left nothing to be desired in the way of exquisite taste and attractiveness, and though I have not beside me the figures of khadi sales, I know this must have contributed not a little to push up the sales. Bihar has been lucky in the manufacture and sale of khadi, luckier than other provinces. The Congress Government purchased last year Rs. 80,000 worth of khadi from the Bihar Branch of the A. I. S. A. This year the new incumbents have placed an order for Rs. 400,000 worth of khadi — policemen's uniform to be made of cloth costing 17 annas a square yard. No wonder, therefore, that the Bihar workers should be forging ahead every day in the matter of new patterns, new designs and finer texture. Thus they were able to exhibit this year a piece of muslin woven out of yarn of 300 counts — reminiscent of the famous gossamerlike Dacca muslin — spun by a sister who was present on the spot to exhibit the beauty of her art. Devasundari of Darbhanga sat in the middle of the court with her wheel, spinning with patient care from her own handmade slivers the 300 count yarn. Though the workers had succeeded in coaxing her to give up purdah, it was difficult to make her answer many questions. (By the by, the Congress in spite of the heavy expenses and trouble it meant for the organisers, has helped to bring about a revolution among womenfolk. Nearly 200 Bihar sisters have discarded their purdah and, having worked as volunteers, will now be so many workers in the field of social reform and will help in the abolition of the purdah from the province.) Devasundari told me that she had made her slivers out of Cambodia cotton, and that a tola of slivers took her a month to spin! The sari which had been exhibited there weighed 15 tolas. Rs. 5 was her monthly earning. Abdulla the weaver said that it took him three months to weave her yarn with the help of four men.

The other exhibits — coatings and shirtings, saris, dhotis, curtains, bed-spreads — showed the rapid march we have made in producing stuff suited to the most varied taste and varied needs, and left no excuse for people to say that no khadi to suit their tastes was available. There were the exquisite door curtains from Sambalpur (Orissa) and U. P., the fine *patola* from Orissa, not quite so elaborate and exquisite as the one from Patan, but costing ten times less and therefore within the reach of fashionable middle class women; the charming printings from Bombay and Meerut, and the beautiful saris from Andhra and Tirupur; and the Kashmir shawl with all kinds of pashmina products which tantalised but were beyond the reach of the ordinary khadi-lover. The reversible pashmina waistcoat and pashmina pull-over were worth their price, and the rug of clipped wool-work told a tale that is worth recording. The art had died out until one of the A. I. S. A. workers recently

breaker, who casually told him that he could weave designs that would bewitch the eye but had no customer. He was asked to give up stone-breaking and revive the dead art. The rug with the clipped wool giving the appearance of fur outside and the silky pashmina inside measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards, was worth Rs. 172-8-0.

There were other courts worth a visit and a careful study, but, as I have said before, I missed them as I deferred seeing them. I had, however, rushed through the Exhibition with Gandhiji on the day he opened it, and therefore knew from a distance the wealth that it contained. The Basic Education Court, in which, as Gandhiji said, one could see Hindu-Muslim-Christian unity at work, was where Dr. Zakir Husain and his colleagues, Shrimati Ashadevi and Shri Aryanayakam, had tried to show the advance and the illimitable scope of basic education.

There was the place where the villagers in Bihar were extracting iron out of sand and making tools out of it; the manufacture of paper by hand and the rapid strides made in that department; the tannery and the leather-goods factory dealing exclusively in dead cattle hide; the stall where sugar and all kinds of sweetmeats were made from the juice of the palm tree which grows wild in most provinces of India, and of which the number in Bihar is enough to produce *gud* and sugar for the whole of India. The harvest is rich, the reapers are few and far between.

Its Meaning

In a speech which I shall not attempt to reproduce here Gandhiji explained the vast possibilities of the movement for the revival of these village crafts and occupations. "You can show the villagers," he said, "that they have in their possession crafts that can stand the invasion of bombs from aeroplanes. But they are ignorant of their treasures which have been mostly looted, and are on the brink of extinction. We have to awaken them to a sense of those treasures, and dispel their ignorance and darkness. That is the function of these exhibitions."

A wag had remarked the other day that Gandhiji aimed not at the civilisation of India, but at the charkha-isation of India. Whatever one may say about the meaning and implications of the charkha and Gandhiji's conception thereof, is there any doubt that the civilisation which has been the pride and the admiration of all historians was the charkha civilisation? Gandhiji adverted to this aspect and said: "The true Indian civilisation is in the Indian villages. The modern city civilisation you find in Europe and America, and in a handful of our cities which are copies of the Western cities and which were built for the foreigner, and by him. But they cannot last. It is only the handicraft civilisation that will endure and stand the test of time. But it can do so

only if we can correlate the intellect with the hand. The late Madhusudan Das used to say that our peasants and workers had, by reason of working with bullocks, become like bullocks; and he was right. We have to lift them from the estate of the brute to the estate of man, and that we can do only by correlating the intellect with the hand. Not until they learn to work intelligently and make something new every day, not until they are taught to know the joy of work, can we raise them from their low estate."

Touching on another aspect of the exhibition he said in another speech in the exhibition after the evening prayer: "This exhibition is the real Congress for the masses. Our chosen delegates will attend the Congress, and pass resolutions there as to what we have to do during the year. But what are the masses to do? The exhibition serves to provide intellectual pabulum for the masses, and those who visit the exhibition owe it to them to take to them what they learn here. There is no institution where 35 crores of our people can go. The Kumbha Mela is attended by several lakhs of people, but what is that number in a population of 35 crores? But if you who attend the exhibition can take some of the crafts which are being demonstrated here to the villagers, you can reach the millions who inhabit the villages and revolutionise their lives.....There is the talk of civil disobedience in the air. But who is fit to practise civil disobedience? Not those who will not spin, who will not wear khadi, who do not care for the handicrafts. They will do some other kind of disobedience, but it will be anything but civil. That is not the disobedience I would like to teach or would care to live for. I want to turn the quiet and living strength that spinning gives you into the channel of civil disobedience. If you will, therefore, see the exhibition with my eyes, you will carry the gospel of khadi and the spinning wheel to the villages, and lay the foundation of a handicraft civilisation and universalise khadi and handicrafts. If you do so, I assure you there will be no necessity for civil disobedience. If you will not do so, if you do not spin, do not universalise khadi, I may go to jail and be there for a number of years, but it will be all in vain. Without khadi and without handicrafts the Congress boat, far from carrying us to the port, will sink in midstream."

At the Helm

The candidature of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the acid test of the Congress delegates' nationalism, their faith in Hindu-Muslim unity, and their courage to entrust the destinies of the nation to a Muslim leader at a time of unprecedented crisis. But by an overwhelming majority they declared their faith in him. They would have done so in 1939 too, but their having done so in this critical year of our nation's history is especially notable. I had an occasion to ask the Maulana what he meant

when he was reported to have said in a Lahore interview that now that the parliamentary programme had been put aside he had no difficulty in consenting to be president. "That," said the Maulana, with a smile, "is the trouble of having a reporter who cannot understand and express correctly what you say in Urdu. Don't you see the absurdity of the statement? How could I decry the parliamentary programme having been so closely associated with the conduct of it? What I meant to say was this: 'The parliamentary programme is over. I have had my share in the Working Committee's resolution asking the ministers to resign, and if I am called upon to preside over the next Congress and if I declined, I should be rightly held guilty of having shirked the natural consequences of that resolution. Some time or other, unless the Government revise their attitude, we are sure to have civil disobedience, and I did not want anyone to say or feel that because civil disobedience was a certainty I got funky. And then to have reposed their trust in me in ordinary times would be good enough; but to have done so in a crisis like the present is something that compelled me to respond.' I think this explanation is enough to silence all criticism on the score of that misreported interview. And the Maulana's presidential address and his conduct of the proceedings at Ramgarh have more than justified the nation's choice. The address was characteristic of the Maulana, a closely reasoned piece, strictly confined to the question of the hour, and studiously refraining from touching any other subject. If the Working Committee at Patna decided to have only one resolution, the Maulana decided to have only one topic for exhaustive treatment in his address. Not a paragraph in it is superfluous, and he has wasted no words on adjectives and epithets. "You might have said something on civil disobedience and the constructive programme," I said to the Maulana. "No," he said, "having said that everything depended on discipline, unity and full confidence in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, it would have been an act of supererogation on my part to have said anything on these topics. He has said all that is worth saying. He who accepts his leadership accepts all that he has said on civil disobedience and the intimate connection of the constructive programme with it, and he has no business to add anything of his own. If I did, I should set a bad example."

The Address

The address has been printed *in extenso* by the daily press, but as a number of foreign readers read this paper, and as *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* have disposed it of in a summary of 39 and 40 words, I shall extract here the cream of the address. India's fight is not against the British people but against British imperialism, and the Maulana has made this abundantly clear:

"But while we were considering the dangers arising from Fascism and Nazism, it was impossible

for us to forget the older danger which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers, and which has in fact supplied the basis for this reaction. I refer to British imperialism. We are not distant spectators of this imperialism, as we are of the new reactionary movements. It has taken possession of our house and dominates over us. It was for this reason that we stated in clear terms that, if new entanglements in Europe brought about war, India, which has been debarred from exercising her will and making free decisions, will not take any part in it. She could only consider this question when she had acquired the right of coming to decision according to her own free will and choice.

India cannot endure the prospect of Nazism and Fascism, but she is even more tired of British imperialism. If India remains deprived of her natural right to freedom, this would clearly mean that British imperialism continued to flourish with all its traditional characteristics, and under such conditions India would on no account be prepared to lend a helping hand for the triumph of British imperialism. This was the second declaration which was constantly emphasized through these resolutions. These resolutions were repeatedly passed from the Lucknow session onwards till August 1939 and are known by the name of 'War Resolutions'."

Also:

"But it is not a question of the desire or of the measure of the desire of the British Government. The straight and simple question is of India's right; whether she is entitled to determine her own fate or not. On the answer to this question depend the answers to all other questions of the day. This question forms the foundation stone of the Indian problem; India will not allow it to be removed, for if it is displaced, the whole structure of Indian nationalism will collapse.

So far as the question of war is concerned our position is quite clear. We see the face of British imperialism as clearly now as we did in the last war, and we are not prepared to assist in the triumph by participating in the War. Our case is crystal clear. We do not wish to see British imperialism triumphant and stronger and thus lengthen the period of our own subjection to it. We absolutely refuse to do so. Our way lies patently in the opposite direction."

Lastly:

"Since war began, several members of the British Cabinet have tried to make the world believe that the old order of British imperialism has ended, and that today the British nation has no other aims except those of peace and justice. Which country could have more warmly acclaimed such a declaration than India? But the fact is that, in spite of these declarations, British imperialism stands in the way of peace and justice today exactly as it did before the War. The Indian demand was the touch-stone for all such claims. They were so tested and found to be counterfeit and untrue."

The portion of his address on Hindu-Muslim Unity and the Minority Problem is likely to

endure in history. Ever since he started his weekly *Al Hilal* in 1912 he has waged unrelenting war against the policy and efforts to divide Hindus and Muslims, and he declares in his address:

"I would remind my co-religionists that today I stand exactly where I stood in 1912 when I addressed them on this issue. I have given thought to all those innumerable occurrences which have happened since then; my eyes have watched them, my mind has pondered over them. These events did not merely pass me by; I was in the midst of them, a participant, and I examined every circumstance with care. I cannot be false to what I have myself seen and observed; I cannot quarrel with my own convictions; I cannot stifle the voice of my conscience. I repeat today what I have said throughout this entire period that the ninety millions of Muslims of India have no other right course of action than the one to which I invited them in 1912."

He scouts the idea that the Muslims are in a minority, and that the democratic institutions in India would therefore jeopardise their interests and existence:

"Politically speaking, the word minority does not mean just a group that is numerically smaller and therefore entitled to special protection. It means a group that is so small in number and so lacking in other qualities that give strength, that it has no confidence in its own capacity to protect itself from the much larger group that surrounds it. It is not enough that the group should be relatively the smaller, but that it should be absolutely so small as to be incapable of protecting its interests. Thus this is not merely a question of numbers; other factors count also. If a country has two major groups numbering a million and two millions respectively, it does not necessarily follow that, because one is half the other, therefore it must call itself politically a minority and consider itself weak."

Also:

"Full eleven centuries have passed by since then. Islam has now as great a claim on the soil of India as Hinduism. If Hinduism has been the religion of the people here for several thousands of years, Islam also has been their religion for a thousand years. Just as a Hindu can say with pride that he is an Indian and follows Hinduism, so also we can say with equal pride that we are Indians and follow Islam. I shall enlarge this orbit still further. The Indian Christian is equally entitled to say with pride that he is an Indian and is following a religion of India, namely Christianity."

Lastly:

"Do we, Indian Mussalmans, view the free India of the future with suspicion and distrust or with courage and confidence? If we view it with fear and suspicion, then undoubtedly we have to follow a different path. No present declaration, no promise for the future, no constitutional safeguards, can be a remedy for our doubts and fears. We are then forced to tolerate the existence of a third power. This third power is already entrenched here and has no intention of withdrawing and, if we follow this path of fear, we

must needs look forward to its continuance. But if we are convinced that for us fear and doubt have no place, and that we must view the future with courage and confidence in ourselves, then our course of action becomes absolutely clear. We find ourselves in a new world, which is free from the dark shadows of doubt, vacillation, inaction and apathy, and where the light of faith and determination, action and enthusiasm never fails. The confusions of the times, the ups and downs that come our way, the difficulties that beset our thorny path, cannot change the direction of our steps. It becomes our bounden duty then to march with assured steps to India's national goal.

I arrived at this definite conclusion without the least hesitation, and every fibre of my being revolted against the former alternative. I could not bear the thought of it. I could not conceive it possible for a Mussalman to tolerate this, unless he has rooted out the spirit of Islam from every corner of his being."

So much for the Mussalmans. As for the British who are not tired of repeating the obstacle of the communal question as an insuperable one, he declares:

"We could attach no greater importance to it, than to make it the first condition for the attainment of our national goal. The Congress has always held this belief; no one can challenge this fact. It has always held to two basic principles in this connection, and every step was taken deliberately with these in view.

(1) Whatever constitution is adopted for India, there must be the fullest guarantees in it for the rights and interests of minorities.

(2) The minorities should judge for themselves what safeguards are necessary for the protection of their rights and interests. The majority should not decide this. Therefore the decision in this respect must depend upon the consent of the minorities and not on a majority vote.....

The manner in which the Congress has dealt with this problem today in connection with the Constituent Assembly, throws a flood of light on these two principles and clarifies them. The recognised minorities have a right, if they so please, to choose their representatives by their votes. Their representatives will not have to rely upon the votes of any other community except their own. So far as the question of the rights and the interests of the minorities is concerned, the decision will not depend upon the majority of votes in the Constituent Assembly. It will be subject to the consent of the minority. If unanimity is not achieved on any question, then an impartial tribunal, to which the minorities have also consented, will decide the matter. This last proviso is merely in the nature of a provision for a possible contingency, and is most unlikely to be required. If a more practical proposal is made, there can be no objection to it."

The Background

Many people have described the Ramgarh Congress and the passing of the single resolution as

a unique triumph for Gandhiji. But I wish I had the words to give even a faint picture of the awesome travail that Gandhiji was going through during the last three days of the Congress. There was no question before him of triumph or failure. There was before him the sole question of whether he would be able to shoulder the terrible responsibility that was being placed upon him, to bear the weight of the unthinking trust that was being reposed in him. He had pleaded with the members of the Working Committee to relieve him of the burden. It would free them from what might be acting upon them as an incubus, and it would at the same time leave him free to pursue his experiment of ahimsa more intensively and without thought of the millions who looked to him for direction. "I may be a broken reed and may well land you into unexpected troubles. I might not begin the movement for an indefinite length of time, and I might stop it abruptly. However much you may agree with me, your ahimsa does not go as far as mine. And if after twenty years of practice of it I have not been able to win the affection and trust of the Mussalmans, my ahimsa must be of a very poor quality indeed. Why not then let me further examine myself, and make further researches?" To the Maulana he said: "I have not the slightest doubt that the Congress and the nation can have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the step. There is no question of my distrusting you or other members of the Working Committee or the nation. It is a question of my distrust in myself. I am sure that, if you release me, I shall be able to give even civil disobedience a purer and a nobler shape." But the Maulana demurred. He somehow could not reconcile himself to the step. "You must not forget," he said with visible emotion, "that it was at your command that I accepted to serve this year, and you cannot now forsake me." There was now nothing for it but to bear the burden. The speeches at the Subjects Committee and the open Congress made after the passing of the resolution, translated fairly fully in this issue, should be read with this background in view.

M. D.

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THE OLD GAME

The Britisher today waxes indignant at being reminded that the communal problem in India, as we see it today, is largely the creation of the British themselves and a part and parcel of the imperialist game of 'divide and rule'. But he can do so, as the following narrative will show, in the teeth of recorded history.

A friend has sent a penetrating monograph, based on a study of diaries of Lady Minto, that throws a flood of light on this phase of British Indian policy. In the winter of 1905-06, George V, as Prince of Wales, made a tour of India and returned to England in the spring of 1906. In a letter to Lord Minto, the then Viceroy, dated 11th May 1906, Lord Morley wrote:

"Yesterday I had a long conversation with the Prince of Wales in which he gave me an immensely interesting account of his impressions in India. His key word is that we should get on better if our administrators showed wider sympathyHe talked of the National Congress rapidly becoming a great power. My own impression, formed long ago, and confirmed since I came to this office, is that it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or evil. There it is, whether we like it or not."¹

To this letter Lord Minto replied on May 28th, 1906:

"As to Congress.....there is much that is absolutely disloyal in the movement and that there is danger for the future, I have no doubt. You see extracts from the Vernacular press; the great bulk of the tone of it can only be termed disloyal.I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible *counterpoise to Congress aims*. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes or in an elaboration of that idea, a Privy Council not only of Native Rulers, but of a few other big men to meet, say once a year, for a week or a fortnight, at Delhi for instance. Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of the Congress emanating from men already possessing great interest in the good government of India....

I cannot say how much I am with you as to 'sympathy'... But with all one's desire for 'sympathy' one must not lose sight of hard facts. *We are here a small British garrison, surrounded by millions composed of factors of an inflammability unknown to the Western world, unsuited to Western forms of government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall.*"² (Italics mine)

About the same time a number of distinguished Anglo-Indians, including Sir Walter Lawrence, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon (1898-1903), Sir Valentine Chirol, *Times'* correspondent, Sir Sydney Low, special correspondent during the Royal visit to India (1905-06), were, in their self-appointed role of saviours of the Empire,

plying Lord Morley with their 'expert' advice. In a letter dated 19th June 1906, Morley wrote to Minto:

"Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India. Lawrence, Chirol, Sydney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress Party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long Mohammedans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you and so on and so forth. I do not know how true this may or may not be.'"³

The latter, in his reply on June 27th, showed that he was fully alive to the 'danger'. He recognised the Congress Party as a power with which he had to deal and with whose leaders he had to reckon.⁴

What followed is worth noting closely. Within a few months a Mohammedan deputation, headed by the Aga Khan, presented an address to Lord Minto at Simla on October 1, 1906. It was to the effect that "the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community," and that the position of the Mohammedans should be estimated "not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of the community and *service it rendered to the Empire.*" (Italics mine) Lord Minto replied to it in terms that have set the pattern for all official pronouncement since down to Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Zetland in our time on the communal question:

"I am entirely in accord with you.....I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of the representative institutions. In the meantime I can only say that the Mahommedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative reorganisation with which I am concerned."

There is a significant entry in Lady Minto's diary under the date October 3, 1906, which provides a very revealing commentary on the nature and origin of the Mahommedan deputation which Lord Minto showed such willingness to oblige. In expressing grief at the passing away of the great Mahommedan leader, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who had died in Simla, among his good points she prominently notes that "he it was who *engineered the recent Mohammedan deputation.*" Equally illuminating is the entry under October 1, 1906, which is set down as "a very eventful day, and epoch in Indian history". That evening he received the following letter from an official whose name and identity are not disclosed: "I must send your

1. Morley's *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 170-71.

2. *Lady Minto's Diary*, p. 23-29.

3. *Ibid*, p. 30. 4. *Ibid*, p. 31.

Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the *pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition.*" The attitude taken up by Whitehall with regard to the Mohammedan question was reflected in the Secretary of State's letter to Lord Minto (January 28, 1909), after an interview with "the sons of the Crescent", as Lord Morley picturesquely put it. It is a naked statement of the policy of balancing one community against the other. "How could I satisfy them by a straight declaration off my bat," he wrote. "*We have to take care that in picking up the Musalmans we do not drop our Hindu parcels, and this makes it impossible to blurt out the full length to which we are or may be ready to go in the Moslem direction.*" (Italics mine) In the letter dated February 1909 by the Secretary of State to Lord Minto, the cynicism is even more brutally frank: "I begged the Aga Khan to dismiss from his mind, what I had stated, that, like all other English radicals, I had hatred of Islam. What other Liberals thought of Islam, I did not know, but for myself, if I were to have a label, I should be called a Positivist, and in the Positivist Calendar, framed by Comte after the manner of Catholics, Mahomet is one of the great leading saints, and has the high honour of giving his name to a Week!" This will soon be expanded into a paragraph in *The Daily Mail*, that, the Indian S. S. has turned Mahometan. That, at any rate, *would tend to soften Mahometan alienation from our plans.* Forgive all this nonsense. Like many another man of grave (or dull) temperament, I seek snatches of relief from boredom by clapping on a fool's cap at odd moments." (Italics mine)

Later on, however, as the fruits of his policy began to give him a foretaste of what was coming, Lord Morley seems to have felt uneasy misgivings within him that he had perhaps gone too far in the Mohammedan direction, and that it was necessary to cry a halt. It appears that the India Council, especially Sir Theodore Morrison, was anxious to favour the Muslim claims. On August 6, 1909, Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto as follows:

"Morrison is pertinacious up to the eleventh hour about his M. friends; insists on our pledges, and predicts a storm of M's reproach and dissatisfaction. It may be so. On the other hand, G. predicts that departure from the line we have agreed upon in our dispatch, would provoke at least as much reproach and dissatisfaction among the Hindus. We shall therefore have a stubborn talk in Council, to which I shall not contribute more than two or three stubborn sentences. I am the least in the world of a Cromwellian, but I am beginning to understand, in a way never understood before, how impatience at the delays and cavilling and mistaking of very small points for big ones at last drove Oliver to send his Coun-

cillors packing."

In his letter of August 26 to Lord Minto, the reaction has become even more marked. He is already talking about his determination to 'put his foot definitely down':

"Morrison tells me that a Mahometan is coming over here on purpose to see me, and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens, *I am quite sure that it was high time to put our foot definitely down and to let them know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what may. I am only sorry we could not do it earlier.*"⁷ (Italics mine)

The last entry relating to this dismal episode is dated December 6, 1909. The wheel has come full circle. Writes the philosopher Secretary of State to Lord Minto, with ill-concealed chagrin, "I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best." But it was too late to retract. The mischief was done. The "counterpoise to Congress aims", that Lord Minto had envisaged, was created in the form of communal representation. Sixtytwo millions of people were "pulled back" from "joining the seditious ranks". But the most surprising part of the story is that Nationalist India is today called upon, by the successors of the statesman who deliberately started the "hare" of communalism, to expiate for their predecessors' sins!

The other expedient, not less Machiavellian, suggested by Lord Minto in pursuance of his policy of divide and rule was not left untried. We see it in full swing today even like the communal device. But the story of the exploitation of the princely order for strengthening and perpetuating the imperialist structure I must reserve for full narration on another occasion.

Ramgarh, 16-3-40

Pyarelal

5. Morley's *Recollections*, Vol. II p. 296-97.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 315.

7. *Ibid.*, " " p. 317.

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Sevagram, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

Mahatma Gandhi

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Harijan

Mar. 30

1940

EVERY CONGRESS COMMITTEE A SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When I said at the Subjects Committee meeting at Ramgarh that every Congress Committee should become a Satyagraha Committee, I meant every word of what I said, as I meant every word of everything else I said. I would like every Congressman who desires to serve in the Satyagraha Sena to read my two speeches made at Ramgarh as well as whatever else I may write in *Harijan* on the struggle, and to carry out the instructions meant for him or her.

In the coming struggle, if it must come, no half-hearted loyalty will answer the purpose. Imagine a general marching to battle with doubting, ill-prepared soldiers. He will surely march to defeat. I will not consciously make any such fatal experiment. This is not meant to frighten Congressmen. If they have the will, they will not find my instructions difficult to follow. Correspondents tell me that, though they have no faith in me or the charkha, they ply the latter for the sake of discipline. I do not understand this language. Can a general fight on the strength of soldiers who, he knows, have no faith in him? The plain meaning of this language is that the correspondents believe in mass action but do not believe in the connection I see between it and the charkha etc., if the action is to be non-violent. They believe in my hold on the masses, but they do not believe in the things which I believe have given me that hold. They merely want to exploit me and will grudgingly pay the price which my ignorance or obstinacy (according to them) demands. I do not call this discipline. True discipline gives enthusiastic obedience to instructions even though they do not satisfy reason. A volunteer exercises his reason when he chooses his general, but after having made the choice, he does not waste his time and energy in scanning every instruction and testing it on the anvil of his reason before following it. His is "not to reason why".

Now for my instructions.

Every Congress Committee should become a Satyagraha Committee and register such Congressmen who believe in the cultivation of the spirit of goodwill towards all, who have no untouchability in them in any shape or form, who would spin regularly, and who habitually use khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. I would expect those who thus register their names with their Committees to devote the whole of their spare time to the constructive programme. If the response is sincere, these

Satyagraha Committees would become busy spinning depots. They will work in conjunction with and under the guidance of A. I. S. A. branches in a businesslike manner so that there remain, in the jurisdiction of the Committees, no Congressmen who have not adopted khadi for exclusive use. I shall expect businesslike reports to be sent from provincial headquarters to the A. I. C. C. as to the progress of the work of the Satyagraha Committees. Seeing that this registration is to be purely voluntary, the reports would mention the numbers both of those who give their names for registration and those who do not.

The registered Satyagrahis will keep a diary of the work that they do from day to day. Their work, besides their own spinning, will consist in visiting the primary members and inducing them to use khadi, spin and register themselves. Whether they do so or not, contact should be maintained with them.

There should be visits paid to Harijan homes and their difficulties removed so far as possible.

Needless to say that names should be registered only of those who are willing and able to suffer imprisonment.

No financial assistance is to be expected by Satyagrahi prisoners whether for themselves or their dependants.

So much for the active Satyagrahis. But there is a much larger class of men and women who, though they will not spin or court or suffer imprisonment, believe in the two cardinal principles of Satyagraha and welcome and wish well to the struggle. These I will call passive Satyagrahis. They will help equally with the active ones, if they will not interfere with the course of the struggle by themselves courting imprisonment or aiding or precipitating strikes of labourers or students. Those who out of overzeal or for any other cause will act contrary to these instructions will harm the struggle and may even compel me to suspend it. When the forces of violence are let loose all over the world and when nations reputed to be most civilized cannot think of any force other than that of arms for the settlement of their disputes, I hope that it will be possible to say of India that she fought and won the battle of freedom by purely peaceful means.

I am quite clear in my mind that, given the co-operation of politically-minded India, the attainment of India's freedom is perfectly possible through unmixed non-violence. The world does not believe our pretension of non-violence. Let alone the world, I, the self-styled general, have repeatedly admitted that we have violence in our hearts, that we are often violent to one another in our mutual dealings. I must confess that I will not be able to fight so long as we have violence in our midst. But I will fight if the proposed register is honest and if those who courageously keep out will not disturb the even course of the struggle.

Non-violent action means mobilisation of world opinion in our favour. I know that a growing number of thinking men and women of the world are sick of the war spirit, they are longing for a way of peace, and they are looking to India to point that way. We cannot have that opinion on our side if we are not honestly non-violent. Let me repeat what I have said in these columns that I shall be able to fight with a very small army of honest Satyagrahis and shall feel powerless and embarrassed if I have a huge army in which I can have no trust or as to whose behaviour I am not always sure.

I expect the A. I. C. C. to organise Satyagraha Committees and report to me from time to time of the progress made. If there is an enthusiastic response, inside of one month it should be possible to forecast the exact period required to put the Satyagraha Committees in working order.

Sevagram, 25-3-40

MY ANSWER TO QUAID-E-AZAM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah is reported to have said:

"Mr. Gandhi has been saying for the last 20 years that there cannot be any Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. Gandhi is fighting for a Constituent Assembly. May I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that they are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which we cannot accept? Therefore, the idea of a Constituent Assembly is impracticable and unacceptable. Mr. Gandhi wants a Constituent Assembly for purposes of ascertaining the views of Muslims, and if they do not agree, he would then give up all hope and then will agree with us. If there exists the will to come to a settlement with the Muslim League, then why does not Mr. Gandhi, as I have said more than once, honestly agree that the Congress is a Hindu organization and that it does not represent anything but the solid body of Hindus? Why should Mr. Gandhi not be proud to say: 'I am a Hindu and the Congress is a Hindu body'? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Muslim and that the Muslim League is the representative of Muslims. Why all this camouflage, why this threat of civil disobedience, and why this fight for a Constituent Assembly? Why should not Mr. Gandhi come as a Hindu leader and let me meet him proudly representing the Mussalmans?"

My position is and has been clear. I am proud of being a Hindu, but I have never gone to anybody as a Hindu to secure Hindu Muslim unity. My Hinduism demands no pacts. My support of the Khilafat was unconditional. I am no politician in the accepted sense. But whatever talks I had with Quaid-e-Azam or any other have been on behalf of the Congress which is not a Hindu organisation. Can a Hindu organisation have a Muslim divine as President, and can its Working Committee have 4 Muslim members out of 15? I still maintain that there is no

Swaraj without Hindu Muslim unity. I can never be party to the coercion of Muslims or any other minority. The Constituent Assembly as conceived by me is not intended to coerce anybody. Its sole sanction will be an agreed solution of communal questions. If there is no agreement, the Constituent Assembly will be automatically dissolved. The Constituent Assembly or any body of elected representatives can alone have a fully representative status. The Congress representative capacity has been and can be questioned. But who can question the sole representative capacity of the elected delegates to the Constituent Assembly? I cannot understand the Muslim opposition to the proposed Constituent Assembly. Are the opponents afraid that the Muslim League will not be elected by Muslim voters? Do they not realise that any Muslim demand made by the Muslim delegates will be irresistible? If the vast majority of Indian Muslims feel that they are not one nation with their Hindu and other brethren, who will be able to resist them? But surely it is permissible to dispute the authority of the 50,000 Muslims who listened to Quaid-e-Azam to represent the feelings of eight crores of Indian Muslims.

Sevagram, 26-3-40

A BRAVE STATEMENT

[Shri Jaiprakash Narayan sent me a copy of his statement before the court which is printed below. It is worthy of him, brave, brief and to the point. It is an irony of fate, as he himself has said, that his patriotism should be penalised. What tens of thousands think and thousands say in their talks, Shri Jaiprakash has said in public and before the very men who are producing war material. It is true that, if his words take effect and they are repeated, the Government would be embarrassed. But such embarrassment should set them thinking about their treatment of India instead of punishing a patriot for his open thinking.

The concluding portion of the statement proves the author's intense humanitarianism. He has no malice in him. He wants to end Imperialism and Nazism. He has no quarrel with Englishmen or Germans and says truly that, if England were to shed imperialism, not only India but the freedom-loving people of the whole world would exert themselves to see the defeat of Nazism and the victory of freedom and democracy.

Sevagram, 26-3-40

M. K. G.]

THE STATEMENT

"I have been charged with trying to impede the production of munitions and other supplies essential to the efficient prosecution of the war, and with trying to influence the conduct and attitude of the public in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war. I plead guilty to these charges.

These charges, however, do not constitute a guilt for me but a duty which I discharge regardless of the consequence. That they also constitute an offence under certain laws of the foreign Government established by force in this country, does not concern me. The object of these laws is diametrically opposed to the object of nationalist India of which I am but an humble representative. That we should come in conflict is only natural.

My country is not a party to this war in any manner, for it regards both German Nazism and British Imperialism as evils and enemies. It finds that both the sides in this war are driven by selfish ends of conquest and domination, exploitation and oppression. Great Britain is fighting not to destroy Nazism, which it has nurtured, but to curb a rival whose might can no longer be allowed to grow unchallenged. It is fighting to maintain its dominant place in the world and to preserve its imperial power and glory. As far as India is concerned, Great Britain is fighting to perpetuate the Indian Empire.

Plainly, India can have no truck with such a war. No Indian can permit the resources of his country to be utilized to buttress up imperialism, and to be converted through the processes of the war into the chains of his country's slavery. The Congress, the only representative voice of nationalist India, has already pointed out this sacred duty to the people of this country. I, as an humble servant of the Congress, have only tried to fulfil this duty.

The British Government on the other hand, in utter disregard for Indian opinion, has declared India a belligerent power and is utilizing Indian men, money and materials for a war to which we have pledged our uncompromising opposition. This is in the nature of an aggression against India, no less serious in the circumstances than German aggression against Poland. India cannot but resist this aggression. It therefore becomes the patriotic duty of every Indian to oppose the attempt of the British Government to use the country's resources for its imperialist ends. Thus the charge framed against me of trying to impede the efficient prosecution of the war is only the fulfilment of a patriotic duty. That the British Government should consider what is a duty for patriotic India to be an offence, only proves further its imperialist character.

Regarding the speech for which I am being prosecuted, I cannot say how far it succeeded in achieving its ends. But nothing would please me more than to learn that it did have some success in impeding the effective prosecution of the war. I shall deem the heaviest punishment well earned if I am found to have succeeded in this.

As for the charge of endangering the defence of British India, I think the irony of it cannot be lost upon us. A slave has no obligation to defend his slavery. His only obligation is to

destroy his bondage. I hope we shall know how to defend ourselves when we have achieved our freedom.

I consider it fortunate that I have been prosecuted for a Jamshedpur speech. This important industrial centre, which I consider the most important in the country, is peculiarly backward politically and from the point of view of the labour movement. I shall derive some satisfaction in prison, where I expect inevitably to find myself, from the thought that my arrest and incarceration for a speech delivered there has attracted to that city the notice of the political and labour leaders of my country. It seems scandalous to me that the country's most vital resources should be so wasted in a war to which we are so firmly opposed. And it seems no less scandalous to me that while labour throughout the country should be reacting vigorously to the conditions created by the war, Jamshedpur labour should carry on as if nothing extraordinary has happened. May, at least, the demand for a war bonus gain some momentum from this prosecution.

Before concluding I should like to add that, lest as an Englishman you should misunderstand me, I should make it clear that in impeding the prosecution of the war I have no desire to help Germany or to see Germany victorious. I desire the victory neither of Imperialism nor of Nazism. Yet, as a Congressman and a socialist I have nothing but goodwill for the British and German people. If India's opposition to Britain's imperialist war ensures a Nazi victory, it is for the British people to decide whether they would have Nazi hegemony or victory with real democracy at home and in India. If the people of Great Britain remove their present rule and renounce imperialism with its capitalist rulers, not only India but the freedom-loving people of the whole world would exert themselves to see the defeat of Nazism and the victory of freedom and democracy. In the present circumstances, however, India has no alternative but to fight and end British imperialism. Only in that manner can it contribute to the peace and progress of the world.

I am conscious, Sir, that I have made your task easier by this statement. I do not regret it.

In the end I thank you for your courtesey and consideration during this trial."

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ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[The following is a synopsis of Acharya Kripalani's inaugural address at the Basic Educational Conference held at Poona last October. Those who would like to read this instructive address in full should apply to the Office of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram.]

Systems of education not only here but all over the world suffered from decadence. Seeds of corruption set in when institutions become complex, over-civilised, when the primal impulse and reason that gave them birth become exhausted. In the dawn of history all knowledge proceeded from the concrete, the discrete and the real, from what could be seen and sensed. Man and animal both had nature around them; but man, unlike the animal, began to work upon nature and give it new and fanciful shapes. He acquired knowledge by this process and began to master nature for his ever-increasing needs. In Hindu philosophy it is said that the world is made of *rup* and *nam*, form and name. Form must come first and name afterwards. But in our educational system, we have inverted this natural order and put names and general terms first and objects afterwards. By the new system we are called back to mother earth, back to the primal process of acquiring knowledge, which humanity has successfully employed in raising itself.

When Gandhiji first announced his new reform the learned, who had acquired their knowledge in the orthodox way by means of words and phrases, were up against the scheme. If they had, instead of pronouncing judgment *a priori*, studied the scheme, they would have found it natural, scientific and psychological. All knowledge proceeds from observation and experiment, from the practical to the theoretical. It must be justified by human experience. Gandhiji was thinking of this scientific process. He was also thinking in terms of child psychology. The child finds it natural and easy to handle and work upon things and thus acquire knowledge. The present system of education runs counter, therefore, to child psychology. The essence of science is the investigation of truth by the experimental method. Gandhiji claims to have learnt through experience and experiment.

If the method is natural and scientific, it can suit any system of education whatever its aim. In Europe and America the craft method has been advocated apart from any general aim. It has been advocated for an individualist and capitalist, as well as for a socialist or communist, society. It has been advocated even by religious organisations. Even so we may not forget that Gandhiji lighted upon this method in connection with the rest of his philosophy of life for the individual and society. If our education has suffered grievously from a defective and unscientific method, it has suffered more from defective and unworthy ideals. It was designed to produce cheap coloured administrative and clerical assistants for the white Government; in the words of Macaulay, to produce a race of Anglo-Saxons in thought and culture who were Indians only in the colour of their skins. The educated Indian has thus been effectively cut off from the masses. An unbridgeable gulf has been created between him and them. The national movement has tried to bring them together by giving them a common goal to strive for. If it is, therefore, necessary to change the method in education, it is perhaps more necessary to provide it with worthy and noble ideals.

To understand the philosophy of a reformer such as Gandhiji it is necessary to view it against the historical background. Only so can one fully evaluate and appreciate the changes he proposes to bring about in the present order of things. The march of history unfolds a struggle to the knife of economic classes. The Marxian interpretation of history is economic; its method of investigation is scientific. Science has nothing to do with final aims and values, but we are told that the unconscious aim of this ideology is to produce a classless society. This may be said to be a culminating point of process rather than an aim. In spite, however, of belittling moral and spiritual aims the Marxist has to posit such ends to justify all the pain and travail of history, while Gandhiji puts these in the very forefront of his philosophy.

The aim of history is to change the natural man into the moral or spiritual man and make him into a member of a moral or spiritual society. There must be some harmonious correlation between the life of the individual and society. Few will quarrel with me when I say that a moral or spiritual person is a free person, and that human freedom cannot be thought of apart from human responsibility. Moral man combines free choice with due restraint, and liberty with responsibility. To attain this end he must be a member of an appropriate moral society.

Humanity began with strife, violence and war. Later it moved out of this chaotic condition and some kind of justice and equality were established. The law that might alone is right was partially modified. Later still men felt within themselves the call for a higher order of goodness, mercy, charity and love. The existing society could not satisfy this inner need. Thus it was that Buddha renounced the world and Christ declared that his kingdom was not of this world but of the other. And society that was divided between masters and slaves came to be further divided between those who followed the way of the Lord and those who renounced the world.

The great renouncers organised societies after their hearts' desires, societies free from exploitation, free from class distinctions of high and low. These groups were as oases in a desert of inequality, injustice, lust, and pride of power. Tryanny and injustice continued unabated until men roused themselves from age-long sleep, and the struggle of the slaves against the masters established what is known as democracy. Democracy asserts the moral worth of the individual in society. If this new-found democratic principle in the politics of the nations had been allowed free scope to develop itself, it might have saved nations from internal conflicts and established a unified social order. But scientific inventions and discoveries of new lands ushered in the industrial revolution and the modern empire. This divided humanity into the haves and the have-nots. The new need became economic and gave birth to the cult of socialism which proclaims the equality of man in the economic field. We see this socialism at work in Russia. Some sort of economic equality has been established but by the curtailment of individual initiative and liberty. For the new creed the individual apart from society does not exist. Bolshevik economic equality is built upon big centralised mechanised industry and agriculture and naturally affects the political field also. The result is bureaucratic rule.

In ancient times the most absolute of rulers had certain limits placed upon their tyranny and rapacity by the morality of the age as embodied in custom, religion, superstition. Modern demo-

cracy came in simultaneously with the advance of scientific research. The freedom of the individual divested of moral responsibility introduced a chaotic element. Only recently when democracy is in danger have its advocates dimly begun to realise that it is not merely a political device but a great and moral principle.

Gandhiji believes in the spiritual origin and destiny of man. This destiny has got to be worked out by the average man and woman in a moral society. It is therefore necessary that the means must in all spheres be as pure as the end. In all institutions guided by him it is Gandhiji's effort to retain for humanity the moral and material gains of democracy and socialism. His advocacy of cottage and village industries along with decentralised agriculture and commerce connotes a moral principle. He is too moral and humanitarian to allow the machine to swallow up the free individual. Political life, internal and international, must be guided by truth and non-violence. There must be no secret diplomacy and armaments. Holders of political power must be the servants of their people. Their economic life must be in keeping with the average standards of comfort prevalent in the nation. No work or profession must be considered high or low. Every worker, however humble, is not only worthy of his wage but also of honour. All Gandhiji's practical programmes are directed towards the concrete aim of providing moral man with a moral society. His philosophy works for a non-violent revolution and ushers in a new epoch in history. It is to educate the individual and society in the light of the principles of this new revolution that he has propounded his new scheme of education. It is a natural and scientific method with worthy and noble aims. It is in this light that the scheme should be judged.

A CHIEF JUDGE DESCENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent sends me a newspaper report of a speech delivered by the Chief Judge of Mysore at a meeting recently held in Bangalore to help the war. He is reported to have said:

"The Allies were not fighting for democracy or any particular form of government. They were only fighting so that all nations might live in peace and develop on their own lines. They were fighting to put an end to all forms of aggression by one nation against others. Let them not in India be too sure that the war would not touch them directly. War touched every one of them in India and also the generations yet unborn.

He knew that most people in India were prepared to do their utmost to ensure the victory of the Allies. But some people had stood aloof. The leaders of a certain political party in this country had decided that this was the proper occasion for them to bargain for their political ends, had threatened that, if what they asked for was not granted, they would create trouble in India and so help the enemy. Such action on their part had greatly encouraged the enemy too.

In every history there were some pages which people of the nation concerned read with shame. He was sure that when the history of India came to be written Indian children of the future would skip over with shame that part relating to the tactics of such politicians as he had referred to.

He was quite certain that such persons who bargained for their political rights at this hour did not represent the heart of India. If he had thought that they did, he would wish he had never set foot in India. But he had lived in India for 40 years and knew that India as a nation was quite generous and warm-hearted and would respond to all good causes."

It is hardly likely that His Honour the Chief Judge knows of the secrets of the British Cabinet. In any event, if Britain is fighting against mere aggression, it can hardly be called a worthy aim. Having been the foremost aggressor in the world Britain could not justify her fight against Germany on the pretext put forth by the learned Chief Judge.

My correspondent in sending the cutting says in his covering letter:

"1. He ought not to have entered into matters of political controversy at a *non-party* meeting convened under *royal* auspices.

2. He, being the Chief Justice of a High Court, overstepped the bounds of propriety in publicly attacking the politics of a particular party.

3. He, being a judicial officer of an Indian State, ought not to have gone out of the way and meddled with the party politics of British India."

I think the criticism is just. The Congress will survive the attack. But I do not know whether the Paramount Power should not take notice of the Chief Judge's extraordinary utterance. Surely he misuses the word bargain when he applies it to the Congress policy. What is there to be ashamed of in the Congress seeking the deliverance of the country from foreign rule even when the foreigner is in distress? If the Congress was not committed to the method of peace, it would have been not only justified but would have deemed it its duty to take advantage of Britain's difficulty by creating a state of rebellion in the country by every means at its disposal. But the Congress has adopted the policy of peace. No doubt it would have done better if it could have honestly accepted my advice. The choice before the Congress was not between two evils but between good and better. The better was beyond its ability and would therefore have harmed and weakened it. Thus 'good' was the best for the Congress, and so I threw in my lot with it. I would have been a traitor if, having led the Congress to accept non-violence as its policy, I had remained on my pedestal and refused to guide the great organisation. It ill becomes those who believe in war as an accepted institution to charge the Congress with the spirit of bargaining. The word is a misfit when it is applied to the life and death struggle of a nation bent upon vindicating its right to freedom.

Sevagram, 25-3-40

NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay branch are now from 11 A. M. to 7-30 P. M. Address: 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Manager

THE TWO SPEECHES

[For the first time during the last six years, i. e. ever since his retirement from the Congress, Gandhiji expressed his own desire to address the Subjects Committee and also the delegates. I have given in my notes a glimpse of his mental background. The physical background was provided by some of the speeches of the members of the Subjects Committee and the delegates which he had gone specially to hear. At the Subjects Committee at about quarter to ten on the evening of the 18th, Gandhiji addressed the meeting, and nearly twenty thousand people listened to him in a silence that matched the stillness of the night—the only sound being that of his speech delivered in firm, deliberate, unfaltering tones giving to everyone the impression that the speaker was in dead earnest and would not be trifled with. The speech at the open Congress on the 20th was delivered to an audience of about fifty thousand who had stayed for the Congress undeterred by the torrential rain of the previous evening and night. It was nearing noon but the rain-clouds shielded the audience from the heat of the sun. There was the same stillness and the same atmosphere as on the evening of the 18th. M. D.]

I

AT THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE To Find Out Where I Was

Since I went out of the Congress at Bombay, there has been an understanding between me and the Working Committee that I should not be asked to speak at the A. I. C. C. or the Subjects Committee or the open session, and should be allowed to conserve the little strength that is left in me. I have usually been attending the meeting of the Working Committee. On this occasion, I myself suggested that I should address the Subjects Committee and also the delegates. The Working Committee agreed to this and, although I wanted to address you before the resolution was adopted, the Committee suggested that I do so after the resolution was disposed of.

It was my desire to see the faces of you all, and also to give you an opportunity of looking at me and finding out if there had been any change in me since my retirement in Bombay. Fifty years of public life have given me the capacity to read your faces. I have during these years created many institutions, met thousands and tens of thousands of people, and it should not therefore be difficult for me to get at the back of your minds. But my desire to see you was in order to find out where I was.

Difficulties

You have, I see, made considerable progress in the art of debate and I congratulate you, for in a democratic organisation powers of persuasion and a high level of debate are essential. I have also seen that the number of amendments you move has also increased, and it is well that you should all be anxious to press new points of view, though I cannot congratulate

you on some of the amendments which were either frivolous or absurd.

You have adopted the resolution practically unanimously as there were only seven or eight dissentients. That adds to my responsibility, for I have been witness to the debate. If I had so desired, I should have warned you before voting, but I accepted the suggestion of the Working Committee that I should not address the house before the resolution was passed.

I do not want to reply to what has been said by some of you in the course of the debate. But I do want to say that, though there was a time in my life when I launched movements even if some of my conditions had not been fulfilled, I am now going to be hard, not for the sake of being hard, but because a General who has to lead the army must let the army know his conditions beforehand.

Let me then tell you that I do not see at the present moment conditions propitious for an immediate launching of the campaign. We are hemmed in with difficulties greater than those we had to face in the past. They are external and internal. The external difficulties are due to the fact that we have declared unmistakably what we want and the Government have also declared their intentions as clearly as possible. Then there is the fact that the British Government are engaged in a world war and naturally, if we engage them in a fight, we ask for enough trouble.

What, however, appals me is our internal difficulties. I have often said that external difficulties need never frighten a Satyagrahi. On the contrary, he flourishes on external difficulties and faces them with redoubled zeal and vigour. Today the situation is almost the reverse. Our external difficulties do not find us stronger and more united. Our internal difficulties are increasing. Our Congress registers are full of bogus members and members who have swelled them because they know that getting into the Congress means getting into power. Those who therefore never before thought of entering the Congress have come into it and corrupted it. And how can we prevent people from coming into a democratic organisation because they come from selfish motives? We have not that discipline, and not the strength and purity of public opinion which would compel such people to stay out.

And this strength and purity cannot come so long as we approach the primary members only once in a year for the vote. There is no discipline in our ranks, they have been divided up into groups which strive to gain more and more power. Non-violence as between ourselves does not seem to us to be necessary. There may be groups, but they should strengthen and not weaken and destroy the organisation.

No Democracy in an Army

Ours has been both a democratic organisation and a fighting one, ever since we reorganised it in 1920. We have used even military

HOW TO EVOKE THE BEST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian protagonist of Britain writes :

"If our aim is to arouse the best in Englishmen through our non-violence and thus create mutual trust, we have signally failed. Our actions have not been in conformity with our professions. Our best period of non-violence (when we manufactured least hatred towards England) was the period of Congress regime in provinces. On account of personal contact with Governors, mutual trust was generated. Even that period was not free from rancour, but now the whole atmosphere is again getting surcharged with nothing but hatred towards England. Cordiality is being replaced by bitterness and trust by distrust. All our activities and arguments are only arousing the worst in the Englishmen. What visible demonstration have we given of our non-violence or of our desire to cultivate goodwill? Armed rebellion and coercion through uncivil disobedience, no doubt, are ruled out. But the threat of disobedience is still there, and since pure non-violence at present is not existent, even mere threat of war cannot but rouse violent passions; and so there is no hope of developing that goodwill for which pledges were taken. Is not a compromise based on *give and take* a more appropriate machinery for (1) Creating a non-violent atmosphere; (2) Creating goodwill, (3) Rousing the best in the Englishmen and, (4) Creating a short cut to Independence through mutual co-operation?"

The argument does credit to the heart of the writer, but he misses the method of non-violence. He has started with a half premise. Our aim is not merely to arouse the best in Englishmen but to do so whilst we are prosecuting our cause. If we cease to pursue our course, we do not evoke the best in him but we pander to the evil in him. The best must not be confounded with good temper. When we are dealing with any evil, we may have to ruffle the evil-doer. We have to run the risk, if we are to bring the best out of him. I have likened non-violence to aseptic and violence to antiseptic treatment. Both are intended to ward off the evil, and therefore cause a kind of disturbance which is often inevitable. The first never harms the evil-doer.

Whilst I agree with the critic that our non-violence has not been unadulterated, I must dissent from the view that we have signally failed. I am unable to agree that the best period of non-violence was the period of Congress regime. During that period non-violence was inactive. For each tried to please the other. Both were seemingly pursuing a common policy, though each had known reservations. The visible demonstration we have given of non-violence is that violent action has been successfully and entirely avoided through Congress influence. Being too near the event we

are not able to have a true measure of the great restraint exercised by millions of men and women. I grant that we have not yet shed violence of the heart. But the amazing self-restraint exercised by the people fills me with the hope that violence of the heart will in due course give place to goodwill towards the opponent. It will never come if the critic's plan of the policy of timidity, as I should call it, is pursued. Hatred will melt when restraint has been exercised sufficiently long to starve it. The effect of it on the English mind will also be equally wholesome in the long run. Englishmen will perceive that non-violence was real in so far as it went, and that masses of people could act with great restraint in spite of their nursing a grievance against them.

All compromise is based on give and take, but there can be no give and take on fundamentals. Any compromise on fundamentals is a surrender. For it is all give and no take. The time for compromise can only come when both are of one mind on fundamentals, i. e. when the British Government have made up their mind that not they but Indians will determine the constitution under which the latter will be governed. There is a dangerous snag in the reluctance to refer the question of constitution to an assembly of elected Indian representatives. Minorities need have no fear, for they will determine their own safeguards through their own representatives. The Princes need have none, for they need not come in, if they do not wish to. The only party that can effectively obstruct and does obstruct is the dominating, i. e. the ruling, party. There will be no compromise until that party has sincerely come to the conclusion that it cannot or does not want to rule.

Sevagram, 24-3-40

To Agents

The attention of the agents is drawn to the fact that we do not accept cheques other than those drawn on banks in Poona and Bombay. In view of recent complaints about loss of book post packets in transit, we now take certificates of posting. In cases, therefore, of non-receipt agents may complain to their post offices.

Manager

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MARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 8]

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Are You Not Moved?

Q. You have written about Shri Jaiprakash Narayan. But are you not moved by his sentence? Is it not a call to arms? Will you even now wait till your impossible conditions are fulfilled?

A. I fear I must wait till my conditions are fulfilled. You should allow me to know more than you of the way in which satyagraha works. Of course I am moved by the sentence pronounced against that brave co-worker. I wish I could move you as I am moved. If you were, you would silently and more persistently spread the charkha cult by yourself spinning full-heartedly and by taking its message to your neighbours. Jaiprakash having gone to jail, has had his reward. He had the inner urge. He deserved the reward. Believe me it will produce its own effect. If I become impatient and resort to precipitate action, the good done by Jaiprakash's imprisonment is likely to be undone partly or wholly. I will not be party to producing an anarchical condition in India, nor will any good purpose be served by my inviting individuals to follow Jaiprakash's example and court imprisonment. This jail-going in satyagraha does not admit of arithmetical application. Only one person's going may be most appropriate. Suffice it to say that Jaiprakash's imprisonment is engaging my serious attention. I wish all Congressmen would follow with redoubled zeal the task set before them.

Constructive Work and C. D.

Q. You have tabooed power politics from Gandhi Seva Sangh and similar institutions for the sake of constructive work. Does this mean that no workers engaged in these institutions can take part in civil disobedience? I am afraid this water-tight division between civil resistance and constructive work will result in a crippling of the latter as no first-rate worker would take to it by renouncing civil resistance.

A. Those who argue like you do not know the value of constructive work. It is any day superior to civil disobedience. Civil disobedience without the backing of constructive effort is neither civil nor non-violent. Those who do constructive work merely for the sake of civil disobedience look at things topsyturvy. At the present moment all satyagrahis have to hold

themselves in readiness. But all may not be called. A soldier in reserve is as good as one on active duty. If the battle must come, I may say at once that my present plan is to disturb the constructive work as little as possible. Your question, I take it, has reference to those only who are working in organisations such as the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., H. S. S. and H. T. S. These will be as little disturbed as possible. But all Congressmen without exception, if they want to help the struggle, must take up constructive work in their persons.

Khadi and Politics

Q. Are you not endangering the khadi movement by identifying it with the political programme, especially the civil disobedience part of it?

A. Most certainly not. I would be, if khadi was confined only to Congressmen or civil resisters. Khadi is prescribed as national wear for all, whether Congressmen or other. It is used even by some Englishmen, Americans and other Westerners. Your objection, if it was valid, would apply even to communal unity, removal of untouchability and temperance. These four have gained importance and momentum since they were incorporated in the Congress constructive programme. They can all become illegal if they become mixed up with violence. If they did become illegal, it would be found that the movements as such were not suppressed but the organisations masquerading under innocent labels were in reality covering violence.

Confusion of Thought

Q. You will be responsible for a gross injustice if you persist in giving to India a majority Government with only 'safeguards' for the minorities. The latter ought to have an effective part in the actual government of the country.

A. You have evidently confused majority rule with Hindu rule implying that the Hindu majority is irremovable. The fact is that the majority in all the provinces is a mixed majority. The parties are not Muslims and Hindus; they are Congressmen, Independents, Muslim Leaguers, Muslim Independents, Labourites, etc. The Congress majority everywhere is a mixed majority and could be better balanced if there was no tension. The tension is a distemper. A distemper can never be a permanent feature of any growing society which India is. Whatever the outcome of the Muslim League demonstration and its claim, some day or other there will be a solution of the issues

raised. The outcome will never be pure Muslim or Hindu majorities in any single province. The parties will be mixed and aligned according to different policies, unless democracy is crushed and autocracy reigns supreme in India as a whole or India is vivisected into two or more dead parts. If you have followed my argument, it must be clear to you that there will never be a denial of power to any party or group so far as the Congress is concerned. Minorities are entitled to full protection of their rights, for so long as they have to divide power with others, they run the risk of their special rights being adulterated.

A Dilemma

Q. My father is an employee in the S. I. Railway. He has four children, all younger than I. He wants me to take an apprenticeship course. If I take part in the coming civil disobedience struggle, he may be dismissed and the family will starve. He says I can serve the nation by doing my share of constructive work. What is your advice?

A. Your father is right. If you are the only bread-winner, you cannot leave the family to its fate for the sake of taking part in civil disobedience. You will certainly serve the nation quite as effectively as civil resisters if you zealously carry out the constructive programme.

Vain Repetitions

Q. All agree that mechanical repetition of prayers is worse than useless. It acts as an opiate on the soul. I often wonder why you encourage repetition morning and evening of the eleven great vows as a matter of routine. May not this have a dulling effect on the moral consciousness of our boys? Is there no better way of inculcating these vows?

A. Repetitions when they are not mechanical produce marvellous results. Thus I do not regard the rosary as a superstition. It is an aid to the pacification of a wandering brain. Daily repetition of the vows falls under a different category. It is a daily reminder to the earnest seeker as he rises and retires that he is under the eleven vows which are to regulate his conduct. No doubt it will lose its effect if a person repeats the vows mechanically under the delusion that the mere repetition will bring him merit. You may ask, "Why repeat the vows at all? You know that you have taken them and are expected to observe them." There is force in the argument. But experience has shown that a deliberate repetition gives stimulus to the resolution. Vows are to the weak mind and soul what tonics are to a weak body. Just as a healthy body needs no tonics, a strong mind may retain its health without the need of vows and the daily reminder thereof. An examination of the vows will, however, show that most of us are weak enough to need their assistance.

On Behalf of Disabled People

Q. You stand for the poor and helpless. Would you not include the providing of at

least one daily meal to disabled beggars as an item of the daily routine of a 'constructive worker'? A large number of the former are lepers. There is not a city in India of any note without its quota of these hapless creatures. Their condition is deserving of your pity and consideration.

A. Valuable as this work undoubtedly is, it cannot become part of the constructive programme. It is not every form of social relief that can be made part of the Congress constructive programme. Such programme can only cover that part, the omission of which would make the attainment of Swaraj through non-violence impossible. Who can deny that Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, temperance, and the charkha are essential for achieving our object? My answer, however, does not mean that disabled humanity does not need any attention. No man or woman, whether of the Congress or not, can be worth much if he or she neglects to do his or her part of social service in the widest sense of the term.

Sevagram, 1-4-40

A CREDITABLE RECORD

The Gandhi Ashram at Padupalayam, Tiruchengodu (Dt. Salem, South India), which was founded by Rajaji who nurtured it and made it his own residence for a number of years, completed the fifteenth year of its existence at the end of 1939, and the latest annual report for 1939 shows a record of creditable service rendered to the villages round about. The main activity of the Ashram has been khadi production, and the following figures (for 1939) of the volume of production and amounts of wages disbursed speak for themselves:

Khadi production	Rs. 80,475
Yarn	lbs. 52,667
Khadi consumed by spinners under self-sufficiency scheme	Rs. 15,100
Spinning wages distributed	Rs. 35,685
Weaving	Rs. 16,494
Dhobis'	Rs. 1,355

Rs. 2,220 represented the loss met by the Ashram in supplying improved implements to spinners at half price. The khadi activity of the Ashram covered 283 villages. 3,182 spinners were on record, and their yearly earnings ranged from Rs. 5 to Rs. 75, the variation being accounted for by the difference in time devoted to the work. The average annual earning of a spinner was Rs. 11-4-0, a weaver Rs. 145-12-0, and a dhobi Rs. 80—the spinner and the dhobi being part time workers. To many of the latter the work served as a second string to the bow. The figures of income may seem meagre to a city-dweller, but in villages where income stands at the low level of about Rs. 2 to 3, even this is a substantial addition and may in some cases even help to keep the wolf from the door. The weaver weaving handspun yarn has an advantage over his mill yarn weaving brother in that, whereas the latter experiences great

difficulty in finding a market for his finished product, the former is freed from any such worry, is provided with work all the year round, and has to submit to no exploitation by middlemen. The sales of khadi effected through the agency of the Ashram amounted to Rs. 87,000 for the year.

The Ashram also runs at Tiruchengodu 4 schools for Harijans and also a hostel having 17 boarders. It has a free hospital where the average daily attendance is 40 and on which Rs. 1,866 were spent in the year under report. The apiary work is well on the way of being permanently established. An institution like this, which has more than justified its existence, should not be allowed to feel handicapped for want of funds which should readily come forth in the form of donations.

C. S.

THE BASIC EDUCATION COURT

The Basic Education Court in the recent Exhibition at Ramgarh was very attractive and certainly interesting for those who were at all keen on the new scheme of education. The presence of a class of a few dear little boys, neatly clad in khadi shorts and shirts, zealously spinning away on their taklis, added life to the exhibits of yarn and the products from various schools. This was the third exhibition of its kind since the scheme came into being. It was heartening to sense progress. The cloth produced from this yarn should compete favourably with similar quality material in A. I. S. A. bhandars. Its sale need not then be a difficulty. Cardboard articles, I was glad to notice, were improving and due attention was being paid to produce only marketable things — files and boxes for confectionery; the latter giving ample scope for varying patterns and accurate measurements to the pupils, should not become a burden to any establishment. Then the Bihar bamboo and "moos" small carding bow which even a child of six can manipulate has been perfected and its go.samer-like carding was a joy to behold. Its cost is now two pice; hence it is possible for each child to possess his own in class. New products that deserve special mention were "asans" made in Loni and Bihar schools from waste yarn and the wood work of the Training Centre, Wardha. The bread and fruit platters made of seasoned wood were particularly charming in design and well polished and finished. Then there were ladles of varying sizes, takli and charkha winders, sliver makers, etc. etc.

Charts showed a definite improvement. They were divided into economic, educational and administrative spheres, showing results hitherto achieved as well as possibilities for future improvement. Those defining the correlation between the craft and various subjects were specially interesting.

The most original thing in the Court, however, were the pictures that decorated the walls.

They were the handiwork of a young artist, Shri Nihar Ranjan Chaudhuri, a pupil of Shri Nandalal Bose. He spent three months in just reading all the literature available about the new scheme of education. After that he spent days and weeks at a time in most of the basic schools in the provinces watching and listening to both pupils and teachers. The inner meaning of the scheme definitely inspired him to the extent of enabling him to depict its soul through the medium of his art. The pictures portrayed four crafts, spinning, wood work, cardboard and agriculture. The artist also depicted four possible crafts which are being tried in Kashmir and Allahabad, e. g. paper-making, leather work, pottery and basket weaving. The paintings show how the teacher begins his task, how the tools should be handled, how the pupils should sit or stand, how they should be clad, how various postures help better production, why accuracy must be adhered to, how attractive and colourful the class rooms may be, how neatness and order are a natural outcome of a wise use of material and tools, how patience is developed through correct correlation between the brain and the hand, what joy comes from seeing the result of the labour of one's hands, and how their task completely absorbs both pupil and teacher. The details of each craft were well mastered and the colouring of the pictures was delicate and alive. Two which portrayed excursions to river and countryside were specially joyous. There was too a pictorial forecast of the elevating effect of the new education, the children being shown as model citizens, free from the taint of separatism. The artist has followed the Indo-Persian school of art in all his designs. The paintings were all on handmade paper and mounted on khadi. Indigenous colours were used throughout. The pictures should constitute a good nucleus for any Basic Education Centre or Museum.

Sevagram, 30-3-40

A. K.

Scholarships for Harijan Girls

Applications are invited from Harijan girls all over India (including States) for the Thakkar Jayanti Scholarships for Higher Vocational Education. Higher Vocational Education includes study of the Fine Arts, Medicine, Nursing and Midwifery, Law, Engineering, Teachers' Training, etc. In very exceptional cases College Scholarships for Arts and Science courses will be awarded to Harijan girls from provinces and states where Harijans are educationally very backward. Such provinces and states will be Bihar, U. P., Delhi, Sind, Gujarat, Kathiawad, Mahakoshal, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Rajputana, Central India and Hyderabad States. The scholarships will be awarded to Harijan girls studying in recognised colleges, professional schools, or universities and such other vocational institutions as may be approved by the Sangh. Applications will have to be made to the General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Kingsway, Delhi, on prescribed application forms which can be had from the office of the Sangh before the 10th June 1940.

A. V. Thakkar

General Secretary

Delhi, 29-3-40

Harijan

Apr. 6

1940

A BAFFLING SITUATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A question has been put to me: "Do you intend to start general civil disobedience although Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah has declared war against Hindus and has got the Muslim League to pass a resolution favouring vivisection of India into two? If you do, what becomes of your formula that there is no Swaraj without communal unity?"

I admit that the step taken by the Muslim League at Lahore creates a baffling situation. But I do not regard it so baffling as to make civil disobedience an impossibility. Supposing that the Congress is reduced to a hopeless minority, it will still be open to it, indeed it may be its duty, to resort to civil disobedience. The struggle will not be against the majority, it will be against the foreign ruler. If the struggle succeeds, the fruits thereof will be reaped as well by the Congress as by the opposing majority. Let me, however, say in parenthesis that, until the conditions I have mentioned for starting civil disobedience are fulfilled, civil disobedience cannot be started in any case. In the present instance there is nothing to prevent the imperial rulers from declaring their will in unequivocal terms that henceforth India will govern herself according to her own will, not that of the rulers as has happened hitherto. Neither the Muslim League nor any other party can oppose such a declaration. For the Muslims will be entitled to dictate their own terms. Unless the rest of India wishes to engage in internal fratricide, the others will have to submit to Muslim dictation if the Muslims will resort to it. I know no non-violent method of compelling the obedience of eight crores of Muslims to the will of the rest of India, however powerful a majority the rest may represent. The Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. We are at present a joint family. Any member may claim a division.

Thus, so far as I am concerned, my proposition that there is no Swaraj without communal unity holds as good today as when I first enunciated it in 1919.

But civil disobedience stands on a different footing. It is open even to one single person to offer it, if he feels the call. It will not be offered for the Congress alone or for any particular group. Whatever benefit accrues from it will belong to the whole of India. The injury, if there is any, will belong only to the civil disobedience party.

But I do not believe that Muslims, when it comes to a matter of actual decision, will ever want vivisection. Their good sense will prevent

them. Their self-interest will deter them. Their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which the partition would mean. The "two nations" theory is an untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts. A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward sign between a Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Muslim. The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the south among the poor who constitute the masses of India. When I first met the late Sir Ali Imam I did not know that he was not a Hindu. His speech, his dress, his manners, his food were the same as of the majority of the Hindus in whose midst I found him. His name alone betrayed him. Not even that with Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah. For his name could be that of any Hindu. When I first met him, I did not know that he was a Muslim. I came to know his religion when I had his full name given to me. His nationality was written in his face and manner. The reader will be surprised to know that for days, if not months, I used to think of the late Vithalbhai Patel as a Muslim as he used to sport a beard and a Turkish cap. The Hindu law of inheritance governs many Muslim groups. Sir Mahomed Iqbal used to speak with pride of his Brahmanical descent. Iqbal and Kitchlew are names common to Hindus and Muslims. Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide.

And is Islam such an exclusive religion as Qaid-i-Azam would have it? Is there nothing in common between Islam and Hinduism or any other religion? Or is Islam merely an enemy of Hinduism? Were the Ali Brothers and their associates wrong when they hugged Hindus as blood brothers and saw so much in common between the two? I am not now thinking of individual Hindus who may have disillusioned the Muslim friends. Qaid-i-Azam has, however, raised a fundamental issue. This is his thesis:

"It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. This misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time.

The Hindus and Muslims have two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together, and indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different,

and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state."

He does not say some Hindus are bad; he says Hindus as such have nothing in common with Muslims. I make bold to say that he and those who think like him are rendering no service to Islam; they are misinterpreting the message inherent in the very word Islam. I say this because I feel deeply hurt over what is now going on in the name of the Muslim League. I should be failing in my duty, if I did not warn the Muslims of India against the untruth that is being propagated amongst them. This warning is a duty because I have faithfully served them in their hour of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been and is my life's mission.

Sevagram, 1-4-40

Harijan Work in Indore

Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru who was invited to preside at the recent celebration of "Harijan Day" in Indore, sends a note about Harijan work there. A summary is given below.

Harijan Day is celebrated on March 1st every year since the Maharaja Sahib's granting of civic rights and allowing entrance to State temples to Harijans. This year the occasion was marked by the laying of the foundation stone of a sweepers' colony for which Rs. 60000/- have been given by the Maharaja Sahib from his privy purse. During the course of a few months houses for 80 families will be completed and it is hoped that this donation will be repeated until the housing problem of sweepers of Indore City has been completely solved. A humble beginning in the form of a thrift and credit society and an Industrial Home were inaugurated and a detailed programme of work for this year drawn up. This includes the starting of a students' hostel. The programme was well received by the authorities of the State who were approached for financial help. The President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Indore, has moved a resolution in the Municipal Committee, which it is hoped will soon be adopted, to raise the pay of sweepers and make their service permanent with the usual maternity benefits, leave rules, provident fund etc. Social service in the form of removal of illiteracy ... 3500 Harijans were made literate ... teaching lessons of thrift, clean living, avoidance of debt, temperance etc. was carried on throughout last year with the help of several young caste Hindu men and women who received certificates for their work on March 1st. A few sweeper women joined the evening worship in the Gopal Mandir in company with Caste Hindus. The joy on their faces was good to behold.

It is to be hoped that the progress made will be steadily maintained.

Sevagram, 31-3-40

A. K.

KHADI CAN

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

Is it possible to produce all the cloth we need by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? What will it cost to the purchaser? With the help of colleagues I am trying to answer these questions. In doing so, in order to be on the safest side, I have taken the most conservative calculations.

For this reason I have taken the total population of India to be 40 crores, and the average annual need of cloth to be 18 square yards per head. This works out at 720 crore yards per year, or less than 2 crore yards per day. This must then be the average daily production of cloth for India's total need.

It is also assumed that 80 per cent of the total population (or 32 crores) is rural and agricultural. Generally 40 per cent of the total population is estimated to be fit for labour. In India the estimate is perhaps more conservative than necessary. For, in villages, men begin to work for bread at a very early age and continue to do so almost till the end. Spinning and some of its incidental operations safely allow children and old men to be made use of. Still, on account of the extremely ill-nourished condition of the villagers, their productive efficiency is much below normal, and so I have accepted the estimate of 40 per cent. This gives us about $12\frac{1}{2}$ crores as the labouring population.

In the production of khadi, the proportion of spinners to other craftsmen (such as carders, weavers, dyers, etc.) varies according to the methods and implements of production employed. Shri Vinoba has been carrying on experiments in this line. For conservative calculation I have taken his figures. According to him, among 100 full-time khadi producers, there should be 55 spinners and 45 other craftsmen (ginners, cleaners, carders, weavers, etc.), and they would produce 44 square yards of cloth per day. According to the prevailing methods about 75 full-time spinners would provide work to 25 weavers and other craftsmen, and would produce about 60 yards of cloth per day of between 12 to 16 counts. (A full-time spinner is estimated to produce yarn equal to $\frac{4}{5}$ of a sq. yd.)

Therefore, according to Shri Vinoba, for producing 2 crore square yards per day, we require 2.5 crore full-time spinners and about 2 crores of other textile craftsmen, or 4.5 crore full-time khadi producers in all. In a population of $12\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rural workers, this figure, by itself, is sufficient to dispel any doubt about India's capacity to produce her own cloth. According to the other calculation, this figure would be much smaller.

At present there are very few spinners and other craftsmen working full time, i. e. eight hours a day. Much of the khadi is produced either during leisure hours all the year round or during periods of unemployment. Some quantity is also produced for home consumption, and it is desirable that this habit should, for

the progress of khadi, be encouraged as much as possible. It will, therefore, be safe to assume that on an average in all processes up to spinning, workers put in on an average only 3 hours' work per day. On the simplest good village charkha this amount of labour should enable a spinner to produce on an average from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ hanks per day (hank=840 yds.). This works out at 3 spinners per day for each square yard of khadi. Therefore, to produce 2 crore yards per day, we should need 6 crore spinners working for 3 hours per day. Thus the whole khadi production would engage 6 crores of part-time workers and a crore of other full-time craftsmen, or 7 crores in all.

There is no doubt that 7 crores of people are available in India for this work, without detriment to agriculture and to other occupations and industries. Not only so, but it leaves a good margin for the expansion of this industry, if more production were needed. For then it could be made more remunerative than at present, and improvements in implements, consistent with rural conditions, could also be introduced with greater confidence.

This brings us to the question of cost. Let it be remembered that in the economics of khadi, the question of cost affects by way of actual out-of-pocket charges only those who cannot or will not card and spin for themselves and their dependants. On a very liberal calculation these cannot be more than 6 crores in India.

They will have to purchase their khadi, and a majority of them would be consuming more cloth than the average of 18 yards per head. A good part of it will also be of counts finer than the average 12 to 14 counts assumed for the rest of the country. It will not be wrong to estimate their demand at 30 yards per head. This means that it will be necessary to produce 180 crore yards of khadi for sale. This comes to half a crore of yards per day, or 25 per cent of the total cloth needed. As for the rest of the people, they will have to do some labour (at the most an hour per day) without feeling any actual saving in out-of-pocket charges.

The present A. I. S. A. rate of spinning works out to about $\frac{3}{4}$ anna per hank, and yields to a full-time spinner the wage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 as. per day with the present implements and rough methods of work. To reach the standard minimum living wage of eight annas per day, the wage must be steadily raised up to 2 as. per hank, along with training and the supply of improved implements. The present average khadi costs at pre-war rates nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more than the mill cloth. Khadi of superior count cost not less than 3 times. (Since the war the mill cloth has become more costly and so the proportion is less than before.) If the wage is increased, it would be costlier still, though on account of improvements, not in proportion to the increment. If we leave aside the A. I. S. A. rate and for the time being

content ourselves with giving such wage as prevails in each season in each locality, the rate would work out to at least half an anna per hank. Even assuming that there is no change in the cost of other factors of khadi production and in the currency economy of the country, this rate would make khadi only twice as costly as mill cloth. Having regard to the fact that the production of the cloth through charkha and hand-loom ensures better distribution of wealth and consequently retention of wealth in the villages and also reduces unemployment, it must improve the purchasing power of the people to a considerable extent. This means that those who have to clothe themselves by purchasing ready-made khadi will also, in return, be in a better position to manufacture articles needed by the khadi producer. Costlier khadi will not, therefore, be to the disadvantage of the middle class purchaser. On the contrary a graduated increase in the spinning wage as contemplated by the A. I. S. A. would be, in the long run, still more advantageous from the national point of view. Instead of investing huge sums of money in dead engines, a moderate investment in millions of living human engines rotting for want of employment in villages, will be cheaper and economical in terms of national accounting. And then the improvement in the methods and implements of producing khadi without giving up its rural character will also be a great factor in the reduction of cost. Every day new experiments are being made in these directions, and there are great hopes of steady progress.

The rise in the price of cotton on account of war brings to light another difference between khadi and mill cloth. In the production of khadi, more is spent on labour than on the raw material. Consequently a rise in the price of the raw material (without any change in the wages) does not appreciably affect the price of khadi. This is not so in mill cloth, which rises and falls in price almost in the same proportion as raw cotton. Of course there is also one more way to reduce the price of khadi without reducing the wage. That is through 'a voluntary tax in labour' as suggested in the article so entitled in *Harijan* of 20th January last.

The conclusion is that quantitatively it is quite practicable to produce all the cloth we require, without running the mills, that the problem of high price will affect not more than 25% of the population, that it is possible to mitigate that factor in various ways partially if not fully; and for the rest, the costliness will be more an advantage than otherwise, and this, again, in the long run and in an indirect manner be advantageous even to the purchaser. It is also in the interest of those interested in large scale industrialisation and mechanisation to leave this industry of the masses safe for them. It is likely that the nation will be able to move with greater confidence and less disturbances in some of the other spheres of industrialisation.

SEVAGRAM KHADI YATRA

The khadi lovers of Wardha district have been holding an annual conference in the different villages in the taluka for the last six years under the inspiration and guidance of Shri Vinoba. The object of the conference is to propagate khadi. It has been named Khadi Yatra or pilgrimage. People generally come to the conference trudging long distances on foot and live there for two days the life of the village folk in every respect. It is organised by the Gram Seva Mandal, whose workers are scattered over these villages, engaged in various constructive activities. People from different villages invite the khadi yatra to their village, and give every possible help in a most willing and enthusiastic manner. This year Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj, Secretary Gram Seva Mandal, came to Gandhiji with the suggestion that the yatra might be held in Sevagram. Gandhiji had no objection to it, provided the villagers of Segaon—now called Sevagram—wanted it. They did, and the yatra was held on 30th and 31st March in open fields of the village.

On the morning of the first day, the yatrīs took out a prabhat pheri; on the second day, they took part in village cleaning. Two hours in the afternoon were devoted to community spinning. Gandhiji addressed them after the evening prayers on the 30th night. About 1,500 people had gathered from the surrounding villages and the Wardha town for the occasion. The audience sat in darkness but for an electric bulb fitted to the loud speaker battery. His speech was preceded by the usual evening prayer of the Ashram. The prayer includes a recitation of the eleven vows. Taking his cue from it, Gandhiji said:

"Just now you recited the eleven vows as part of your prayers. It is our formula for gaining internal and external emancipation. Working within its orbit success may appear at times difficult, but there need be no despair, if we have faith. The greater the difficulties, the greater should be our faith. Even so, faith is needed for the prosecution of the khadi programme.

"Although the people of Sevagram gave an invitation and I agreed to the holding of the yatra here, that does not mean that I consider this place to be fit for the holding of such yatra. My test would require a high percentage of adoption of khadi. As it is, perhaps, not more than 20 per cent of the Sevagram folk wear khadi. Those that do, have not adopted it fully and with an understanding of all its implications. The adoption of khadi with all its implications means revolution in one's life. It means purity in its wide sense and a readiness to lay down one's life for the sake of the country's freedom. Do the people of Sevagram come up to that test? I am afraid not. I confess the failure is partly mine. I have not

put forth sufficient effort to give them the needed education. I would like you to hold the next yatra in a place which comes at least within a measurable distance of the ideal that I have laid down.

"At Malikanda we reduced the size and scope of the Gandhi Seva Sangh and turned it into an institute for carrying out experimental research into the principles for which the Sangh stands, as for instance, truth, ahimsa, khadi, and their interrelationship. I have said that there is a vital connection between khadi and ahimsa. But I have not fully proved it. My reason follows my heart. Without the latter it would go astray. Faith is the function of the heart. It must be enforced by reason. The two are not antagonistic as some think. The more intense one's faith is, the more it whets one's reason. And so, although my faith in khadi is daily growing, I have not put my reason in cold storage. I listen carefully to all adverse criticism with an open and receptive mind, extract from it what is worth extracting and reject the chaff. I am always ready to correct my mistakes. A full and candid admission of one's mistake should make one proof against its repetition. A full realization of one's mistake is also the highest form of expiation. I would like all co-workers to test with their reason all I say. When faith becomes blind it dies. It is a drawback in khadi work that many workers do not apply their reason to their work. We must find out why the progress in khadi is slow. It may be that we have erred in detail, we may find that we have hereafter to place more emphasis on self-spinning than on production for sale. At one time I myself had suggested the ideal of immediate introduction of a standard wage of eight annas a day for the spinners. But under the advice of experienced khadi workers, we satisfied ourselves with three annas standard wage for the time being, keeping the higher figure before us as our goal. Even this rise is phenomenal. Shall we be able to sustain this wage?

"Take now the political aspect. I have said that we can get Swaraj through khadi. If you have real faith in it, you will not rest till you have proved it to the whole world by your reason. The link between khadi economics, politics and sociology cannot depend on unreasoned faith. The wheel is the one thing that can become universal and replace the use of arms. If the millions co-operate in plying the charkha for the sake of their economic liberation, the mere fact will give them an invincible power to achieve political independence. You must have noticed how insistent I have become about the fulfilment of the khadi programme as a condition precedent to the launching of civil disobedience. If our preparation is complete, the struggle may be rendered unnecessary. And if it does become necessary, it will be invincible and of a short duration. But if only a few

take to the charkha, it becomes necessary for them to sacrifice their all in order to quicken the conscience of their compatriots and the English rulers. The efficacy of their sacrifice will depend upon the degree of their purity and innocence. Mere wearing of khadi without knowing its implications cannot help. For, when it becomes the vogue even evil-doers will wear it. Khadi like God's sunshine and air is for all alike, but all do not thereby become eligible for satyagraha. Khadi, purity, and readiness to sacrifice oneself are the three essential conditions for a satyagrahi. The charkha is the external symbol. Without it your sacrifice will not be non-violent. I have no cut and dry plan of fight before me. I only know that I must be ready for it unless I am a hypocrite or a fool.

"Lastly, since the yatra has taken place here, I suggest that you draw up a programme for making the whole of the village of Sevagram khadi-clad within a year. The experiment will exercise your faith and your reason and may give you the key for making khadi universal."

Questions and Answers

The khadi yatra was over at 5 p. m. on 31st March, but as Gandhiji had agreed to answer questions, if there were any, after the evening prayer, many people stayed on for the night. Here are some of the questions with Gandhiji's answers.

Q. Has takli been introduced into the basic education scheme with the economic, i. e. self-support, or the educative end in view.

A. Anything introduced in basic education can only have one end in view, i. e. the educative. The object of basic education is the physical, intellectual and moral development of the children through the medium of a handicraft. But I hold that any scheme which is sound from the educative point of view and is efficiently managed, is bound to be sound economically. For instance, we can teach our children to make clay toys that are to be destroyed afterwards. That too will develop their intellect. But it will neglect a very important moral principle, viz. that human labour and material should never be used in a wasteful or unproductive way. The emphasis laid on the principle of spending every minute of one's life usefully is the best education for citizenship and incidentally makes basic education self-sufficient.

Q. How can khadi and spinning lead to Swaraj?

A. If millions co-operate, it cannot but generate tremendous strength which can be put to any use one likes. The charkha provides the best medium for such co-operation. It provides dignified employment and food and clothing for Daridranarayan. This cannot but produce mass consciousness and non-violent strength for gaining Swaraj.

Q. Must one who takes to khadi take to spinning as well?

A. From the economic point of view it is enough to take to khadi. But if khadi is to be our weapon for winning Swaraj, spinning is of equal necessity. Khadi gives us economic self-sufficiency, whereas spinning links us with the lowest paid labour. In militarised countries everyone gives a certain time for military purposes. Ours being a non-violent basis, everyone should do sacrificial spinning for a minimum period from year to year. Maulana Mohamed Ali used to call the takli and the yarn our arms and ammunition for winning Swaraj. The analogy is telling. Is it too much for us to give half an hour or one hour per day to spinning as a measure of voluntary conscription? I remember, at the beginning of the last war when I was in England I was given pyjama suits to stitch for the soldiers. Many others from the most aristocratic families including some venerable old ladies and gentlemen were doing such work. We all finished our quota of work as we were required to. No one considered it beneath his or her dignity to do so. Towards the end of the war far more work was given by the whole nation. Yet no one complained. I warn you that, although today I am asking you only to give half an hour or one hour per day to spinning, I may have to be more exacting as the situation develops.

Q. Should civil resister prisoners offer satyagraha in order to get the permission to wear khadi and spin regularly in jail?

A. A satyagrahi willingly submits to all jail discipline. He never wishes to embarrass the authorities. To insist on being allowed to spin in jail when you do not do so with religious regularity outside, would be a species of violence. I would not recommend that course to anybody although I can conceive of exceptional cases. — Appa Patwardhan for instance — who might go to the extreme length in order to secure that permission. We have not behaved as ideal prisoners in the past. There has been violence and untruth in our actions. I do not want that to be repeated. We may plead with the jail authorities. I would be faced with a dilemma if I were not allowed these facilities. What I have said of spinning applies equally to khadi."

Sevagram, 2-4-40

S. N.

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MARIJAN

12 Pages

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[1 ANNA 6 PIES

THE DEENABANDHU

I

When I saw C. F. A.—that is how many of his friends referred to him, some called him Charlie, and I latterly had come to address him as Borodada, none of us who were nearest to him ever referred to him as Deenabandhu, which name, however appropriate, never seemed to stick to him—a few weeks ago at Calcutta recovering from his first operation, I had a fear that, though he had been restored to us, he was not likely to be with us for long. And yet his loss creates such a terrible void that it seems impossible to reconcile oneself quite to the inevitable. A friend who writes to me a letter of sympathy, knowing what the loss means to me, says I must be feeling as though I had lost my dear father. Quite true. But though I am young enough to have been his son, and he had a venerable beard, it was quite impossible to regard him as a father. In fact it was impossible to look up to him as an elder or anything else. For he was friend to all—the oldest and the youngest, the richest and the poorest, the highest and the humblest. When he sat down with my boy to read *Kubla Khan* and mingled his mirth with his own, when he sat down with Gandhiji to discuss Dominion Status or Independence, or with Dr. John Mott to discuss Gandhiji's attitude to Christianity, there was in him the same childlike innocence and simple regard for truth. I remember vividly the early morning when twentytwo years ago I was introduced to him by Gandhiji. From that moment his overflowing affection and friendliness made it impossible to look up to him.

* * *

When thirtysix years ago he decided to come to India, there were friends who remonstrated with him. He had won a triple First and was a Cambridge Don. If he stayed at home, he might one day be venerated as the seniormost Professor of History in Cambridge, or if he entered politics he might one day be Prime Minister. He would not be moved from his resolve. "India calls" were the two words he uttered with such deep conviction that it silenced all remonstrance. When two or three years ago friends found that he was feeling the effects of a none too robust health and approaching age, they asked him to settle down in a quiet spot in England and give more fruits of his pellucid pen to the world, he said 'no', he could not

think of settling anywhere else but India. When the surgeon who performed the two operations on him suggested that he should go to England or Europe and have the second operation there, he resolutely said 'no'. He knew that Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla, who bore all the expenses of his prolonged illness, would gladly bear those of an air-flight and operation at 'home'. But how could he leave his real home? "Whatever happens to me," he said, "must happen here." I do not know an Englishman who loved India more, and who has served India better. That was not because of an emotional impulse—there were perennial wells of emotion in him, but nobody made the choice of his vocation out of emotion—but because he knew India, went on with the years knowing her and loving her more and more, he knew the wrong that his countrymen had done to India, consciously or unconsciously, and he had resolved to atone for it. He was a *tapasvi* in the true sense of the term.

* * *

It was a triple atonement. The first was by a conscious endeavour every day of his life to wipe out the reproach of 'superiority' attaching to Englishmen. The second was by slaving for India—the flood-stricken and the famine-stricken and the earthquake-stricken at home, and the oppressed Indian in South Africa and Kenya, in Fiji and New Zealand, in Trinidad and Tanganyika. The third was by opening the eyes of his Missionary brethren to the rich spiritual heritage of India, which they had ignored, misunderstood and even misrepresented, and by showing them the true way of Christ. I do not know that he made any Christian convert, but I know that he had won the hearts of millions, and hundreds are shedding silent tears over the loss of their guide, philosopher, and friend.

* * *

And he had the richest equipment for the sacred mission of atonement he had undertaken. He had ahimsa in a larger measure than most people I have known. He had woven into his life the principal attribute of the Bhakta of the Gita—who paineth none, and who is pained by none. The very mention of the Beatitudes made him beam with serene joy, giving one the impression that the joy was the reflection of the inner light that comes from an observance of them. I have not yet come across a better exemplar of the Biblical proverb—a soft answer turneth away wrath. All this gave him the

strength to bear the Cross that everyone must bear who is on the strait and razor-edged path of *tapasya*.

* * *

And don't I know the terrible weight of that Cross? The proud regarded him as an outcaste, the wise laughed behind his back saying he was a simpleton full of sob-stuff. But his humility and single-minded devotion to the cause would never dismay him. He bore all insults, humiliations, snubs, sarcasms with a smile. If Dr. Grenfell of Labrador set a supreme example of physical endurance that all servants of humanity have to possess, C. F. A. set a supreme example of mental endurance.

* * *

But he was not a man easily to take a denial. No task was too mean or humble for him. He would run errands, take a note to the Viceroy, or to an irate official who was in no mood to yield. But on most occasions he succeeded in appealing to the human side of people and worked wonders. In South Africa he worried General Smuts time and again. When the Final Agreement was about to be signed came a wire to Gandhiji saying Kasturba was seriously ill. But Gandhiji refused to go until the Agreement was signed by General Smuts. Charlie ran to Smuts who was deeply touched, signed the Agreement, and released both to go to Durban. At the time of the last Yeravda fast of August 1933, he worried Sir Reginald Maxwell at all hours of the day and night until the final release of Gandhiji. In 1932 during the Premier's Award Fast, he was now with Lord Halifax, then with Sir Samuel Hoare, then with Mr. MacDonald, and saw that there was not a moment's delay in announcing the decision. On countless other occasions he took upon himself the mission of peace and worked at it without regard for the result. And I have seen him not only running errands, but ready to do the most tiresome clerical jobs like copying, revising typescript, etc. 'His soul was like a star, and on himself the lowliest tasks did lay.'

* * *

Not that he did not err. He was very human indeed and made plenty of mistakes, but no one knew how to make better amends. He had a kind of 'will to believe' which often landed him in scrapes out of which he found it difficult to extricate himself. He came across blackmailers who sometimes found him an easy victim, but he had the joy of Hugo's Bishop who was happy to have lost his candlesticks. 'Better to be deceived than to deceive,' sings Kabir; 'to be deceived yields joy, to deceive is a sure source of misery.'

II

On three or four occasions I saw him during the convalescence before the fatal second operation, and every day, after the second operation, for a few minutes every morning and evening. On the first occasion when I met him after he

had emerged from the first operation, he said: "Last night was a night of peace and bliss. Somehow the Beatitudes which I like most did not haunt me. What came upon my mind again and again as a never-to-be-effaced memory were some parts of the Gospel of St. John and the last nineteen verses of the second Discourse of the Bhagavadgita. They are still there with me. And oh, it was bliss to have Bapu here yesterday."

* * *

On the second occasion he said: "This has been a miracle, this recovery. And yet how we fret unnecessarily!" With the faith of one who believed with the Apostle that 'the very hairs of our head are all numbered', he said: "Not one day more or one day less than He feels it right that I should live. To know this is a benediction." And with this he hugged me in a close embrace, muttered some words I could not hear, and then said: "Let us today have the great Upanishad prayer: From the unreal, lead me to the Real; from darkness, lead me to Light; from death, lead me to Immortality."

* * *

On the third occasion he said: "Let me unburden myself of one or two things that have been pressing on my mind. You know the little doctor who has been so good to me. He wants an autographed photograph of Bapu, and I have promised it to him. You must remember to get him that." I asked for his name, but he did not know. He asked me to call the nurse. She was not quite sure, but she promised she would find out. When she gave me the name, I had to leave Calcutta. But I said: "I shall see that he gets it." Then he said: "And now there is another thing. You know our friend gave me Rs.— for Palestine work. I was to have gone there. Twice I had very nearly gone, but could not actually go, though I have been doing work for the Jews off and on. Anyway the money was unused, when as you know — approached me with her troubles, and I gave her half of it. Now there is a little money that I have in the bank which can go to make good this loss. Please explain this to our good friend and tell him I can return the whole amount if he so wishes, otherwise if he permits I can give that small amount to my sisters. But ask Bapu what he thinks. In any case do write to the friend. I had no right to use his money as I did, and it worries me."

* * *

On the last occasion he was full of the Ramgarh resolution, he said he knew that victory was sure to come, and he began immediately to discuss the European situation, but I stopped him from exerting himself. Then he said: "I have been thinking more and more of the Gita. What a capital idea it is — the one of man's eternal war with evil. There are wars on the physical plane and we know them. But there

are mightier wars on the spiritual plane which we have to be unceasingly fighting."

* * *

One can thus see the atmosphere that he had created around himself and the thoughts and prayers that occupied his mind. On the day of the second operation an hour before the ordeal I saw him. I gave him Bapu's and Rajkumari's messages and the prayers of us all. He beamed. Then he smiled and said: "They have shaven off my beard and moustache. All clean gone!" I said: "You will remember that Gurudev also had to lose his and was none the worse for it." Then he said: "Whatever happens to me, Mahadev, don't forget that little doctor. Bapu's autographed photograph for him!" If Socrates would forget the cock he owed, then would C. F. A. forget his debt to the doctor. I am ashamed to say that I had not carried the photograph with me, but now his debt shall be paid. But he was already feeling the effect of the medicine he had been given, and so he said: "Now I go to sleep with my God."

* * *

Then every day I saw him with the Bishop of Calcutta, but we rarely engaged him in a talk. "It is a blessing to have you here," he would say, and just close his eyes, or sometimes he would ask the Bishop to pray. He knew that a dear friend Dr. Paton had, like me, gone from farther South to be with him during the ordeal. He used to see him with the Bishop and me, but had not the strength to talk with him. So on the evening before the last he called me and said: "I hope to be better tomorrow and to be able to talk to Paton. Tell him." But it was not to be. Those indeed were the last words I heard from his lips, for on the last day he was in a semi-conscious condition. But there were no groans or signs of pain on his serene face which when he slipped into the Eternal showed the stamp of the 'Peace that passeth all understanding'.

III

Though he tramped about like a wandering Jew and was here, there and everywhere, he found time for writing numerous books. As early as 1908 he declared that "few things have pained me more than the false and one-sided picture given of the Hindu religion" by some of the Missionaries, and accuses the Church in India of "an unChristian lack of sympathy with what was good and noble." (*North India—Handbooks of English Church Expansion*) He implores the Missionary to shed his 'superiority' and his 'Sahibhood', and tells them: "As those who desire to be one in heart and soul with the people of the land, we must not expect or even wish them to approximate to our standard of living, but must continually expect and wish ourselves to approximate to theirs." "There is," he adds, "a vernacular of thought and habit and temper to be learnt as well as a vernacular language." But he still talks in this book of "rich additions to the Faith". That phase did

not last long. Came the years of fruitful companionship with the late Shri S. K. Rudra and the Poet and Munshi Zakauallah. He studied the Upanishads, left the Cambridge Mission, and associated himself closely with the Poet's work. In a beautiful monograph on Munshi Zakauallah he describes how he, a devout follower of Christ, and the Munshi, a devout follower of Muhammad, sat together from day to day adding to each other's spiritual treasure, but without thought of either converting the other to his faith.

In his *What I Owe to Christ*, which may be called his spiritual testament and which was the ripe fruit of years of experience, he declares his final faith:

"Such an intimate and devoted companionship between a Christian Missionary and a Mussalman, without the least thought of conversion, was by no means common at that time. There might have been some danger of misunderstanding on the part of other Mussalmans. But Susil's (Rudra's) friendship at this point stood me in good stead, for he was well known all over Delhi as having no sympathy with proselytising methods, and I too soon came to share with him that character. Susil Rudra and the leading Indian Christians in Delhi expressed the strong opinion that silent influence carrying with it the fragrance of a true Christian life was worth all the propagandist teaching in the world..... 'Charlie,' Susil would say to me, 'I find it difficult sometimes to read St. Paul's Epistles. He is like you Englishmen — always trying to force someone to his own point of view and 'compassing sea and land to make one proselyte'. Christ Himself is free from such forceful methods to obtain success."

The son of a Fundamentalist father, he had started life by declaring that he could not possibly believe in eternal punishment, and that it was no longer possible for him to receive the Holy Communion side by side with the parents, and he ended up with the faith quoted above, declared a few years ago.

* * *

In politics, too, he had had a difficult inheritance. His father held firmly to the view of India as "a British possession" whose destiny had been entrusted by Providence to the British. "At times," he confesses, "it became painfully evident how deep the fibres (of this inheritance) had gone, and how hard it was to eradicate them completely." But a few years in India were enough to make him stand out for full freedom from the foreign yoke. In his book on Munshi Zakauallah, he summarises some of the discussions he used to have with the Munshiji. "Don't you see," he would say to him, "we have no intervening power in our own country? Does not the presence of an intervening power in India only stir up greater strife? Have not the two communities got to settle their own differences without the interference of an outside party?" Then he says: "I had very often spoken to him of the evils

I saw to be inherent in foreign rule; and I had put forward very strongly the idea that India should govern herself independently, and not to be tied any longer by the strings of a Government many thousands of miles away. This anomaly of the foreign and distant administration had always seemed to me preposterous."

But his outstanding contribution was an essay on Independence wherein he made out a strong plea for a declaration of Indian Independence. He exclaims that it can brook not a moment's delay, and bases his thesis on two fundamental maxims of Seeley in his *Expansion of England*. "Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration," said Seeley. "This is a terrible fact of history to be faced," said C. F. A. "Any further remaining in a state of dependence within the British Empire would appear to mean an increasing measure of national deterioration. We must therefore awake and shake ourselves free." Then there is the second maxim which drives us Indians on the horns of a dilemma: "To withdraw the British Government from a country like India which is dependent on it, and which we have made incapable of depending on anything else, would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes, and might possibly cause the most stupendous of all conceivable calamities." This, he declares, is a vicious circle — perpetual dependence, perpetual subjection, perpetual dependence! India must shake herself free, Gandhiji had given the *mantra*, and complete non-cooperation with the foreign rule in a non-violent manner is the only remedy. "The sentence about subjection," said C. F. A., "ought to be written on the heart of every Indian with all the humiliation it implies. Until the humiliation is more deeply felt, there is no hope" of the remedy being applied.

It was the death of this unique friend of India that Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians — Indian and English — had assembled on the 5th of April to mourn at the St. Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta. The servants and bearers and chauffeurs who inquired daily about his health knew that it was a friend of the poor who had passed away, and they too shared the grief of the rest.

Sevagram, 8-4-40

M. D.

The Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1384 pages. 18 chapters. Copious Index of 32 pages. 219 illustrations. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound; Rs. 6 leather-bound. By V. P. P. Rs. 6 and Rs. 7 respectively. Published by Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Available at (1) *Harijan* office — Poona 4; (2) *Harijan* office — 81 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Lines Station, Bombay 2. "Every village worker knowing English will make it a point to possess a copy," says Gandhiji. Several eminent doctors have spoken highly of the book.

Educational Reconstruction

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Notes

A True Friend of the Poor

In the death of C. F. Andrews not only England, not only India, but humanity has lost a true son and servant. And yet his death is a deliverance from pain and a fulfilment of his mission on this earth. He will live through those thousands who have enriched themselves by personal contact or contact with his writings. In my opinion Charlie Andrews was one of the greatest and best of Englishmen. And because he was a good son of England he became also a son of India. And he did it all for the sake of humanity and for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. I have not known a better man or a better Christian than C. F. Andrews. India bestowed on him the title of Deenabandhu. He deserved it because he was a true friend of the poor and downtrodden in all climes.

Sevagram, 5-4-40 (Statement to the press)

Andrews' Legacy

Nobody probably knew Charlie Andrews as well as I did. Gurudev was *guru* — master — to him. When we met in South Africa, we simply met as brothers and remained as such to the end. There was no distance between us. It was not a friendship between an Englishman and an Indian. It was an unbreakable bond between two seekers and servants. But I am not giving my reminiscences of Andrews, sacred as they are. I want Englishmen and Indians, whilst the memory of the death of this servant of England and India is still fresh, to give a thought to the legacy he has left for us both. There is no doubt about his love for England being equal to that of the tallest of Englishmen, nor can there be any doubt of his love for India being equal to that of the tallest of Indians. He said on his bed from which he was never to rise, "Mohan, Swaraj is coming." Both Englishmen and Indians can make it come, if they will. Andrews was no stranger to the present rulers and most Englishmen whose opinion carries weight. He was known to every politically-minded Indian. At the present moment I do not wish to think of English misdeeds. They will be forgotten, but not one of the heroic deeds of Andrews will be forgotten so long as England and India live. If we really love Andrews' memory, we may not have hate in us for Englishmen, of whom Andrews was among the best and the noblest. It is possible, quite possible, for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate till they have evolved a formula acceptable to both. The legacy left by Andrews is worth the effort. That is the thought that rules me whilst I contemplate the benign face of Andrews and what innumerable deeds of love he performed so that India may take her independent place among the nations of the earth.

Sevagram, 9-4-40

How Not to Do It

Prof. Ranga is a co-worker whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for a long time. He is brave and good-natured, but he has the knack of often saying things he ought not to and doing wrong things at the wrong time. He sent me a telegram when he had decided to break the order of internment served upon him. He knew that he was under discipline. If he had left me the time, I should have asked him to obey the order to confine himself to his place, Nidubrole. By compliance he would have shown a fine spirit of discipline and today he would be doing constructive work in his place and earning the privilege of joining the civil disobedience brigade. As it is, in my opinion, he has harmed the cause and done no good to himself or anybody. He has harmed the cause by setting a bad example to those who look up to him for guidance. If I could persuade him, I would certainly advise him to inform the authorities that he had committed a breach of internal discipline for which he was sorry and that, if he was discharged, he would gladly proceed to Nidubrole and remain there till the order of internment was withdrawn. I make bold to say that, if he followed my advice, he would help me and help the country's cause.

Sevagram, 9-4-40

M. K. G.

CHARKHA — SWARAJ — AHIMSA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent says now that civil disobedience is in the air I must once more, even at the risk of repeating myself, summarise in a single article my argument showing that there is a vital connection between the charkha, Swaraj, and ahimsa. I gladly make the attempt.

The spinning wheel represents to me the hope of the masses. The masses lost their freedom, such as it was, with the loss of the charkha. The charkha supplemented the agriculture of the villagers and gave it dignity. It was the friend and solace of the widow. It kept the villagers from idleness. For the charkha included all the anterior and posterior industries — ginning, carding, warping, sizing, dyeing and weaving. These in their turn kept the village carpenter and the blacksmith busy. The charkha enabled the seven hundred thousand villages to become self-contained. With the exit of the charkha went the other village industries, such as the oil press. Nothing took the place of these industries. Therefore the villages were drained of their varied occupations and their creative talent and what little wealth these brought them.

The analogy of the other countries in which too village handicrafts were destroyed will not serve us because, whereas the villagers there had some compensating advantages, India's villagers had practically none. The industrialised countries of the West were exploiting other nations. India is herself an exploited country.

Hence, if the villagers are to come into their own, the most natural thing that suggests itself is the revival of the charkha and all it means.

This revival cannot take place without an army of selfless Indians of intelligence and patriotism working with a single mind in the villages to spread the message of the charkha and bring a ray of hope and light into their lustreless eyes. This is a mighty effort at co-operation and adult education of the correct type. It brings about a silent and sure revolution like the silent but sure and life-giving revolution of the charkha.

Twenty years' experience of charkha work has convinced me of the correctness of the argument here advanced by me. The charkha has served the poor Muslims and Hindus in almost an equal measure. Nearly five crores of rupees have been put into the pockets of these lakhs of village artisans without fuss and tomtomming.

Hence I say without hesitation that the charkha must lead us to Swaraj in terms of the masses belonging to all faiths. The charkha restores the villages to their rightful place and abolishes distinctions between high and low.

But the charkha cannot bring Swaraj, in fact it will not move, unless the nation has faith in non-violence. It is not exciting enough. Patriots yearning for freedom are apt to look down upon the charkha. They will look in vain to find it in history books. Lovers of liberty are fired with the zeal to fight and banish the foreign ruler. They impute all the vices to him and see none in themselves. They cite instances of countries having gained their freedom through seas of blood. The charkha devoid of violence seems an utterly tame affair.

In 1919 the lovers of the liberty of India were introduced to non-violence as the only and sure means to Swaraj and to the charkha as a symbol of non-violence. The charkha found its proud place on the national flag in 1921. But non-violence had not gone deep into the heart of India, and so the charkha never came into its own. It will never come into its own unless the vast body of Congressmen develop a living faith in non-violence. When they do so they will, without needing any argument, discover for themselves that there is no other symbol of non-violence than the charkha, and that without its universalisation there will be no visible expression of non-violence. It is common ground that without non-violence there can be no non-violent disobedience. My argument may be false, my data may be faulty. But holding the views I do, let me proclaim that without fulfilment of the conditions prescribed by me I simply cannot declare civil disobedience.

Sevagram, 9-4-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4, and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Harijan

Apr. 13

1940

ALL ON TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"My immediate object in writing to you is to draw your attention to the activities of the Khaksars. What has taken place in Lahore is well known to you. The Khaksar movement has been declared to be an unlawful association. I enclose a synopsis of the writings and speeches of Alama Mashriqui. They must have been brought to your notice before. But I have marked the portions which show that it is a movement directly opposed to non-violence of which you are an apostle. It is feared that the ban may be removed. If that happens, we will attribute it to what appears to us to be an impossible attitude adopted by the Congress—creating deadlock in seven provinces out of eleven. The British have no doubt from the very beginning adopted the policy of divide and rule, but the policy adopted by the Congress has contributed no less to the British relying solely on the support of the Muslims. The suppression of a violent movement like that of the Khaksars falls within the special responsibilities of the Governor under Section 52 (1) (a), but the Governor may refrain from adopting such a course for the simple reason that it may lead to the resignation of the present ministry and the addition of an eighth province to the seven in which the constitution has already been suspended. If the ban is removed, Hindu and Sikh organisations will be formed on the same lines as that of the Khaksars. The Akalis assembled at Attari the other day resolved to enlist a lakh of men to the ranks of their 'Dal'. If that plan materialises, there will be bloodshed in the land. Can you remain a quiet and inactive observer of the carnage which will be the necessary result of these movements? What do you propose to do to prevent such a catastrophe?"

This is an extract from a letter from a well-known Punjabi. He is right in surmising that I must have received Khaksar literature. I am not publishing what my correspondent has sent. I am studying the papers and hope to be able as soon as possible to give a *resume* of the literature in my possession. There is no doubt that it is a military and militant organisation. No Government can allow private military organisations to function without endangering public peace. I am quite sure that the Punjab Government will not permit the Khaksar organisation to be revived in its original form. I quite agree with my correspondent that, if the Khaksars are permitted to function as before, the Sikhs and others will have to be treated likewise. This cannot but lead to a clash.

My correspondent, however, suggests that, if the ban is removed, "we will attribute it to what appears to us to be an impossible attitude

adopted by the Congress—creating a deadlock in seven provinces out of eleven." I am unable to subscribe to the view. The Congress resignations had nothing to do with the communal tension. They were an honourable protest against the British Government making India a belligerent country over the responsible heads of the eleven provinces which were supposed to be autonomous and resorting to other arbitrary acts in connection with the war. The resignations were the least and the mildest step the Congress could have taken. But events have justified the step on other grounds too. Communal bitterness would have increased if the Congress ministries had continued. So long as the Congress retains its non-violent policy, it cannot administer the affairs of the country except with the willing consent of the vast majority of the people. More majority through the ballot box does not count. If I have my way with the Congress, I would not allow it to hold power with the aid of the British bayonet. I did not hesitate to express my dissent publicly when the Congress ministers were obliged to make use of the police and even the military to suppress public violence. They were bound to use them if they were to remain in power. My point was that, having suppressed violence as they were bound to, the Congress might have made a public declaration that it had not attained non-violent control over the people and that therefore, consistently with its policy, it should abdicate.

But I fear that in holding this view I am in a minority of one. My non-violence is not exhausted with the effort to displace the British Government. Such non-violence would be poor stuff, hardly deserving the name. Therefore, if I can help it, there will be no Congress ministry without a substantial communal settlement. I am quite clear that real independence is impossible without a consistent non-violent technique. I am equally clear that there is hope of India gaining real independence if the Congress will refuse to compromise on it and will adhere to the means and for so doing dare to wander in the wilderness.

The Khaksar menace is no menace in itself. As a symptom of a deeper disease it is a portent. To bring into being rival organisations is a simple thing, but it is no remedy. It merely multiplies the evil. If I had my way, I would ask the people to meet the Khaksar violence with non-violence. But from the papers and the correspondence before me, I observe that the people seek outside protection against the danger, real or imaginary. That means the consolidation of existing authority, supplemented perhaps by private defensive preparations. I am interested in neither.

I have not discussed the terrible toll of deaths the Khaksars had to pay. My sympathies are wholly with the bereaved families. I say nothing about the shooting. A special tribunal

is inquiring into the whole affair. If the tragedy leads to a searching of hearts, whatever the finding of the Committee, it will not have been enacted in vain.

Sevagram, 8-4-40

A HUMBLE TRIBUTE

Many tributes have been paid and will continue to be paid to the personality and work of Charlie Andrews. I had the privilege of knowing him from my early years. His kindly eyes and smile which were but an index of the loving heart that beat within his breast will always remain with those who came in contact with him. It is rarely that one can say about any person that he or she never spoke a harsh word to or of anyone. But it is true of Charlie. I have seen him return from interviews with officials where harsh words had been said to him and about those whom he loved. But no anger ever entered his heart, and he knocked again and again at the doors of those who misunderstood him, his overflowing love for India, and the burning desire that his England should do justice by her. Many instances come to my mind of his kindness and generosity. Hundreds of young men owe their education to his help. On more than one occasion has he returned to our house bereft of his coat and drenched with rain because he felt that some poor hill-man carrying a heavy load on his back needed the garment more than he did. Money given to him for something he needed himself has often fulfilled another's want. And always these unselfish acts were performed with the utmost joy. Tears would come to his eyes when he heard of oppression or injustice anywhere, and his utter humility was one of his greatest attractions.

With his unique career at Cambridge of which University he was a triple first and his facile pen, he was told by an eminent divine that he was throwing away a brilliant future in the Church of England by coming to India. "The highest office here can be yours with your rare gifts." The simple answer given was "India calls". And India never ceased to call him. While he loved his own country with a rare devotion, I always felt he was happiest in Indian homes and how many that have loved to have him and minister to him will miss one who through all these years has been such a loyal friend.

His death has left an aching void which it will not be possible to fill. Rarely are Englishmen able to identify themselves as he did with those whose interests seemingly or from the material point of view conflict with England's.

Requiescat in pace, and may the fragrant memory of a dedicated life enable us to give ourselves in greater and greater measure for the service of suffering humanity.

Sevagram, 5-4-40

Amrit Kaur

A CHINESE VISITOR

All foreigners of note that visit India are naturally drawn to Sevagram. Recently no one has done more than Pandit Jawaharlal to raise the status of India in the eyes of the world. And with his burning interest in world affairs he never ceases to emphasise the necessity for us, however immersed we may be in our own struggle, to view the same in the light of a larger struggle for a new order. By his visit to China he has brought that land and its problems very near to us. Many Chinese friends have come and brought their message of good will. The other day a devoted admirer of the great Chinese leader Sun Yat Sen came to pay his homage to Gandhiji, armed with a number of pertinent questions.

"Do you believe that the British, knowing them as you do, will give you independence without a fight?" he commenced.

"It all depends," replied Gandhiji. "I do not think they would want to have a fight if they were conscious of our strength. But today they do not feel our strength."

"Have you any means other than civil disobedience to enforce your will?"

"Yes. If we had no internecine quarrels, the British Government would not be able to resist us."

"You are aware that in China we have paid heavily for unity. We have had to suffer 25 years of civil war. Might not India have to suffer the same horrors if the British withdrew?"

"It is impossible to say definitely what will happen. It is, however, not necessary that there should be internal war. I imagine conditions in China were different. The whole populace there was fired with the spirit of revolt. Here we in our seven hundred thousand villages do not fly at each other's throats. There are no sharp divisions between us. But non-violence applied to large masses of mankind is a new experiment in the history of the world. I am buoyed up by my faith in its efficacy; the millions may not have caught that faith, and it may be that civil war will be the price we have to pay for our liberty. But if we win truly non-violently against the British, I am sure there will be no civil war."

"After 25 years of civil war in China we have now found one person to represent us in our Generalissimo. Is it not possible that the Indian people will need someone more martial than you with your spiritual leadership?"

"If there is civil war, it will have proved my bankruptcy. A militarist will then be the need."

"In the event of Indian independence would India develop along republican lines? Is democracy suited to the character of the Indian people?"

"These are problematical questions and it is difficult to say definitely one way or the other. If we evolve non-violently, democracy will not

only suit us but we shall represent the truest democracy in the world."

"If the British withdrew, could you protect yourselves?"

"Yes, if both Hindus and Muslims evolve non-violently."

"Is it true to say that the majority of Indians of the upper class do lip loyalty only to nationalism and in their heart of hearts want British rule?"

"I am of opinion that the vast majority does not want British rule. They want freedom from foreign domination."

"If the British withdrew, would you keep any Englishmen here?"

"Yes, if they will transfer their allegiance to us and if they will serve India with their great ability, their technical knowledge and powers of research."

"Would you receive the help of a third party to free you from your yoke?"

"Never. We have to find ourselves through our own inner strength, otherwise we must fall. Any structure built with outside help must of necessity be weak."

"The British are a bargaining nation, are they not? Have you anything with which to bargain with them?"

"Very little. And in any case I would not bargain for my liberty."

"Do you believe conscience can make a man good?"

"Yes, but it can make a coward of him too!"

"Can religion make a man moral?"

"Yes, but it must be real religion, that which inspires one from within with a spirit of love and service."

"In China we used to think that communism would never take any root, but it has now got a definite hold. Can the same be said of India?"

"I may say that communists have not made much headway yet in India, and I somehow feel that the character of our people will not easily lend itself to communist methods."

"Is it true that an Indian is a Hindu or a Muslim first and an Indian afterwards?"

"It is not true, generally speaking, though neither will sell his religion for his country."

"Religion plays no part in our political life," said the Chinese friend, "and this applies to Chinese Muslims too. Is India likely to develop more as an Eastern nation, or will the bond with the English be a difficult thing to get rid of? It seems to me that English modes of life and thought have taken deep root here."

"You are right where cities are concerned. But you will find, if you were to go there, that the villages, which are the real India, are wholly untouched. All the same, English ways and customs, their methods of administration, language and thought have had a devastating effect on so-called educated India. And this cultural conquest may perhaps never be wholly got rid of."

"India is a nation of so many races. Do you think that should prove to be an obstacle to unity?"

"None whatever."

"It is strange how we and you have the same problems, social and otherwise."

"Yes, and that is why we are really so close to each other—friends in distress." And here Gandhiji related, as he often loves to relate, incidents from his vast experiences, how well he knew the Chinese colony in South Africa, how he was their lawyer, what close contact he had with them, how they became his comrades in the fight for vindication of the rights of Easterners there. He laughingly twitted the Chinese friend of the proverbial "inscrutability" of the Chinese as well as of the Japanese. He told him how Sevagram Ashram had the good fortune to have a Japanese monk at the moment—"quiet, disciplined, kind, but with a characteristic reserve which does not enable any of us to know his real mind. It may be a good thing, it adds to his dignity, it certainly adds to his peace of mind, and he is untouched, unruffled, by domestic difficulties and quarrels. I felt the same with the Chinese friends in South Africa. I addressed them hundreds of times, I made no distinction between them and Indians, but I always felt that your people had built a wall round themselves. You are so highly cultured and perhaps, therefore, artificial. Take your art"—and Gandhiji pointed to a lovely picture of hand-woven silk, framed and hanging on the wall, which the Chinese mission of goodwill had given him recently—"it is a work of beauty and joy, but that art is inscrutable to me. But I do not mean this in a bad sense. I have trusted my Chinese co-workers and they were loyal and I am much drawn to China and the Chinese."

"May I ask one or two more important questions before leaving?" said the Chinese friends. "Do you expect to see India independent?"

"Yes, of course," came the reply in no uncertain terms. "I want to see India free in my lifetime. But God may not consider me fit enough to see the dream of life fulfilled. Then I shall quarrel, not with Him but with myself."

"But without an army how can you ever succeed?"

"Well, we have done so far. We are nearing our goal without having fired a single shot. It will be a miracle if we succeed. But there is nothing to make me doubt the efficacy of the weapon of non-violence. Whether, however, we have the requisite degree of it within us has yet to be proved."

"Is there hatred against the British?"

"Yes—alas—but if we remain non-violent, hatred will die as everything does from disuse."

"It is very hard for us to get rid of hatred against Japan."

"Yes, it will take generations for you as you are using violence against them. I do not

say that you should not have defended yourselves violently, but under those circumstances hatred cannot die."

"Are the British easier to deal with than any other people?"

"They are as easy, in terms of non-violence, to deal with as anyone else. But not having dealt with anyone else I cannot say from practical experience. All conquerors of India have reacted to what is noble in Indian culture and in Indian nature, the Muslims included. I believe the Germans would have done likewise. It may even be that the English reaction has been less than what others' may have been because of their insularity and colour prejudice."

If Gandhiji had the time, there would have been more questions, but before getting into the car the visitor said, "My half hour has been the fulfilment of a long cherished dream. I shall never forget it."

Sevagram. 7-4-40

A. K.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Domestic Difficulty

Q. You have rightly said that no one who has not renounced untouchability in every shape and form can take part in Satyagraha. Supposing a Congressman's wife does not share his conviction in this regard and won't let him bring Harijans into his house, what should he do—coerce his wife into conformity with his views, renounce her, or renounce the Satyagraha struggle?

A. No occasion for coercing your wife. You should let her go her way and you should go yours. This would mean her having a separate kitchen for herself and, if she likes, also a separate room. Thus there is no question of renouncing the struggle.

Teachers and Satyagraha

Q. What part should a teacher who has faith in your constructive work play in the coming struggle, that of an active Satyagrahi or a passive Satyagrahi only?

A. The data given by you are insufficient, but from what you have given I can say that you should play the passive part.

State Praja Mandals

Q. What is the duty, in the event of civil disobedience, of members of Praja Mandals in the States and the rest of the people of the States?

A. If civil disobedience is started by the Congress, it will be as against the British Government. The people of the States cannot and ought not to offer any civil disobedience in the States. Hence it follows that the Praja Mandals will remain unaffected by the Congress civil disobedience. But individuals of the States can, if they wish, join the civil disobedience campaign in British India. They can, therefore, send in their names to the nearest Congress committee outside their State.

The More Essential

Q. Which is the more essential requirement in your mind for starting civil disobedience—your inner urge which may make you fight even single-handed, or the fulfilment of your conditions by Congressmen? What will be the position if they are prepared and you have not felt the call?

A. There can be no inner urge if my conditions are not fulfilled. It is possible that there may be apparent fulfilment of conditions but there may be no inner response in me. In such a case I cannot declare civil disobedience; but it will be open to the Congress to repudiate me and declare civil disobedience independently of me.

Non-Congressmen

Q. Will those who are not now either Congress members or active Satyagrahis be asked to join the movement? If so, how?

A. They should become Congress members and have their names registered as Satyagrahis.

A. B. C. Classes

Q. Why should not all Satyagrahis ask to be included in 'C' Class only?

A. There is a great deal to be said in favour of your suggestion.

Secrecy

Q. You should give your opinion clearly about secrecy. During the last struggle there was a great deal of secrecy to outwit the authorities.

A. I am quite clear that secrecy does no good to our cause. It certainly gave joy to those who were able successfully to outwit the police. Their cleverness was undoubted. But Satyagraha is more than cleverness. Secrecy takes away from its dignity. Satyagrahis have no reason to have secret books or secret funds. I am aware that my opinion has not found favour among many co-workers. But I have seen no reason to change it. I admit I was lukewarm before. Experience has taught me that I should have been firm.

Damage to Property

Q. You know that many Congressmen openly preached that there was no violence in damaging property, i. e. destroying rails, burning thanas when they are not occupied, cutting telegraph poles, burning post boxes, etc.

A. I have never been able to understand this reasoning. It is pure violence. Satyagraha is self-suffering and not inflicting suffering on others. There is surely often more violence in burning a man's property than doing him physical injury. Have not so-called Satyagrahis preferred imprisonment to fines or confiscation of their property? Well has one of my critics said that I have succeeded in teaching disruptive disobedience till at last it has come home to roost, but that I have signally failed in teaching people the very difficult art of non-violence. He has also said that in my haste I have put the cart before the horse and therefore all my

talk of civil disobedience is folly if not worse. I am not able to give a satisfactory reply to this criticism. I am but a poor mortal. I believe in my experiment and in my uttermost sincerity. But it may be that the only fitting epitaph after my death will be "He tried but signally failed."

Sevagram, 7-4-40

TWO QUESTIONS FROM AMERICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writing from America propounds the following two questions:

"1. Granted that Satyagraha is capable of winning India's independence, what are the chances of its being accepted as a principle of State policy in a free India? In other words, would a strong and independent India rely on Satyagraha as a method of self-preservation, or would it lapse back to seeking refuge in the age-old institution of war, however defensive its character? To restate the question on the basis of a purely theoretic problem: Is Satyagraha likely to be accepted only in an up-hill battle, when the phenomenon of martyrdom is fully effective, or is it also to be the instrument of a sovereign authority which has neither the need nor the scope of behaving on the principle of martyrdom?

2. Suppose a free India adopts Satyagraha as an instrument of State policy, how would she defend herself against probable aggression by another sovereign State? To restate the question on the basis of a purely theoretic problem: What would be the Satyagrahic action-patterns to meet the invading army at the frontier? What kind of resistance can be offered the opponent before a common area of action, such as the one now existing in India between the Indian nationalists and the British Government, is established? Or should the Satyagrahis withhold their action until after the opponent has taken over the country?"

The questions are admittedly theoretical. They are also premature for the reason that I have not mastered the whole technique of non-violence. The experiment is still in the making. It is not even in its advanced stage. The nature of the experiment requires one to be satisfied with one step at a time. The distant scene is not for him to see. Therefore my answers can only be speculative.

In truth, as I have said before, now we are not having unadulterated non-violence even in our struggle to win independence.

As to the first question, I fear that the chances of non-violence being accepted as a principle of State policy are very slight, so far as I can see at present. If India does not accept non-violence as her policy after winning independence, the second question becomes superfluous.

But I may state my own individual view of the potency of non-violence. I believe that a State can be administered on a non-violent basis if the vast majority of the people are non-violent. So far as I know, India is the only country which has a possibility of being such a

State. I am conducting my experiment in that faith. Supposing, therefore, that India attained independence through pure non-violence, India could retain it too by the same means. A non-violent man or society does not anticipate or provide for attacks from without. On the contrary such a person or society firmly believes that nobody is going to disturb them. If the worst happens, there are two ways open to non-violence. To yield possession but non-cooperate with the aggressor. Thus, supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the State will let him in but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way would be non-violent resistance by the people who have been trained in the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's cannons. The underlying belief in either case is that even a Nero is not devoid of a heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery. Practically speaking there will be probably no greater loss in men than if forcible resistance was offered; there will be no expenditure in armaments and fortifications. The non-violent training received by the people will add inconceivably to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal bravery of a type far superior to that shown in armed warfare. In each case the bravery consists in dying, not in killing. Lastly, there is no such thing as defeat in non-violent resistance. That such a thing has not happened before is no answer to my speculation. I have drawn no impossible picture. History is replete with instances of individual non-violence of the type I have mentioned. There is no warrant for saying or thinking that a group of men and women cannot by sufficient training act non-violently as a group or nation. Indeed the sum total of the experience of mankind is that men somehow or other live on. From which fact I infer that it is the law of love that rules mankind. Had violence, i. e. hate, ruled us, we should have become extinct long ago. And yet the tragedy of it is that the so-called civilised men and nations conduct themselves as if the basis of society was violence. It gives me ineffable joy to make experiments proving that love is the supreme and only law of life. Much evidence to the contrary cannot shake my faith. Even the mixed non-violence of India has supported it. But if it is not enough to convince an unbeliever, it is enough to incline a friendly critic to view it with favour.

Sevagram, 8-4-40

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SPINNING WHEEL IN CHINA

The revival of handspinning and handweaving in China under the stress of war has already been alluded to in these columns. The January number of the American magazine *Asia* contains an article entitled "Tale of a Spinning Wheel" by Lewis S. C. Smythe, which describes another effort in the same direction. The writer is a Westerner participating, at the invitation of the Chinese Government, in the organization of Industrial Cooperatives in China. He has been a professor of sociology at the University of Nanking (now removed to the interior territory of Chengtu) and has been granted leave for the new work he has been called upon to undertake. Many of the factories situated on the west coast of China have been destroyed by the Japanese invaders, and the Chinese have to fall back upon hand production for many of their urgent needs. A plan was thus made in January 1939 for making army blankets by simple hand methods. In course of his investigations for a suitable spinning wheel which was the first necessity in the new programme, the writer chanced upon an improved model which had been simplified by a Chinese by mounting the spindle directly over the treadle wheel. Further improvements were carried out in the structure of the wheel to make it more efficient for spinning the sort of woollen yarn needed for blankets. To make the required number of blankets (150 thousand) in time for the coming winter 7,500 wheels and 750 handlooms were needed. Further work in the direction is thus described :

"The local women soon learned that with the new wheel it was easier to produce an even yarn; greater production could be secured; and for beginners the new wheel was much easier to learn to operate. Expert women workers can produce two catties of yarn per day. Consequently the local weaving union decided to provide its fortythree weaving cooperatives with the new type of wheel. Women living with their families and others who register at the union office will be supplied with the wheels on condition that they spin for the blanket programme. They will be trained in the use of wheels on condition that each one trains ten others. Later, some of these women will be organized into spinning coops. Fifty men from the weaving coops were trained also and are to supervise the spinning so that the work will be kept up to standard."

The aluminium required for making 'flyers' (spindles) is expected from the remnants of the Japanese aircraft destroyed by the Chinese! The Japanese bombers have not yet been able to penetrate the interior. Coastal cities and towns have been laid waste but the far-off villages still remain untouched. And it is here that the revival of the handicraft economy is going on.

"The women who spin and the men who weave are scattered in countless villages beyond the attack of Japanese bombers. The machine coop that makes the new wheels is far out in the country on the side of a hill. The carpenters and machinists who turn the pile of logs and scrap iron, delivered by boat, into humming spinning wheels have plenty of air and sunshine. The strong brown backs of the

sawyers swing to the tune of 'We'll beat the Japs yet, we'll beat the Japs yet.' For C. I. C. has taught them a new way in which they can use their skill and strength to help save their fellow countrymen."

Efforts are being made to devise anew or duplicate some sort of small scale carding equipment from English models. The new wheel is also reported to produce better yarn from uncarded wool than from machine-carded wool. Admittedly this is an effort made necessary by war conditions, and whether it will continue even in peace times remains to be seen. Readers will please not ask further questions about the wheel, as it is impossible to get any more information or to procure a wheel referred to here from China. The importance of the activity lies for us primarily in the example it provides us of determined corporate effort in which even women and children participate, inspired with a desire to render some service to their country. It also testifies to the fact that rural surroundings and rural handicrafts are proving the last resort of an invaded nation. As the writer of another article in the same issue of *Asia* says:

"It is interesting that today, when China is facing imperialist Japan with such determination, she is reaching out into these districts, not with forts and machine guns, but with the idea of bringing together the various peoples by helping them in industry, in education and health and in the possession of more of the better things of life. The industrial cooperative, instead of the desperately maintained fort, is seen today to be the better way."

And what missionary zeal inspires the volunteer men and women who tread the countryside imparting to hundreds of their compatriots the knowledge of the new technique of spinning and weaving! Here is a description which bears reproduction:

"Our chief claim to fame on the way up was the new-type spinning wheel which we carried, around which would gather groups of interested womenfolk. Spinning in this locality is done by the oldest known method, and a machine which enabled one person to spin two catties instead of half a catty in one day was certainly some improvement. Weavers here, we found, also had the oldest methods known. Two women stood at a little distance from each other, with the warp around their waists, and passed the shuttle through it by hand. The result was not good, a loosely woven article. Some of these people around Sungpan are already receiving instruction in the use of both the improved spinning wheel and the improved loom. To them it is a real advance in civilization, and their teacher is thrilled to be able to impart the knowledge he acquired in an orphan's industrial class in Kwanhsien. He was a lad from the Sungpan Valley whose people had lost all in the earthquake. He had drifted to Kwanhsien, and had been taken in charge by the authorities and taught a trade. Filled with the missionary spirit, he now tries to impart what he has learned, and the audience is certainly appreciative."

How much more intensive and widespread endeavour do we need for the prosecution of a programme which is with us not a mere war measure but for some of us is also calculated to form the basis of a new economic order based on peace.

C. S.

MY POSITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has, in his criticism of my reply to Qaid-e-Azam, put some questions which I gladly answer. I must adhere to my statement that I have never spoken to anybody on the communal question as a Hindu. I have no authority. Whenever I have spoken to anybody I have spoken as a Congressman, but often only as an individual. No Congressman, not even the President, can always speak as a representative. Big things have always been transacted on this planet by persons belonging to different organisations coming together and talking informally in their non-representative capacity. I fear that even the answer I am about to give must be taken as representing nobody but myself. In the present instance I have reason to say that probably I do not represent any single member of the Working Committee. I am answering as a peace-maker, as a friend (and may I say brother) of the Mussalmans.

As a man of non-violence I cannot forcibly resist the proposed partition if the Muslims of India really insist upon it. But I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth. My whole soul rebels against the idea that Hinduism and Islam represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines. To assent to such a doctrine is for me denial of God. For I believe with my whole soul that the God of the Quran is also the God of the Gita, and that we are all, no matter by what name designated, children of the same God. I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were Hindus the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion.

But that is my belief. I cannot thrust it down the throats of the Muslims who think that they are a different nation. I refuse, however, to believe that the eight crores of Muslims will say that they have nothing in common with their Hindu and other brethren. Their mind can only be known by a referendum duly made to them on that clear issue. The contemplated Constituent Assembly can easily decide the question. Naturally on an issue such as this there can be no arbitration. It is purely and simply a matter of self-determination. I know of no other conclusive method of ascertaining the mind of the eight crores of Muslims.

But the contemplated Constituent Assembly will have the framing of a constitution as its main function. It cannot do this until the communal question is settled.

I still believe that there can be no Swaraj by non-violent means without communal unity.

And eight crores of Muslims can certainly bar the way to peaceful freedom.

If then I still talk of civil disobedience, it is because I believe that the Muslim masses want freedom as much as the rest of the population of this country. And assuming that they do not, civil disobedience will be a powerful means of educating public opinion whether Muslim, Hindu or any other. It will also be an education of world opinion. But I will not embark upon it unless I am, as far as is humanly possible, sure that non-violence will be observed both in spirit and in the letter. I hope the Nawabzada has no difficulty in believing that whatever is gained by civil disobedience will be gained for all. When India gets the power to frame her own constitution, the Muslims will surely have a decisive voice in shaping their own future. It will not be, cannot be, decided by the vote of the majority.

Lastly, I suggest to the Nawabzada that he wrote in haste the lines about the President of the Congress. For they are contrary to the history of our own times. And he was equally in haste in suggesting that "the sole objective of the Congress under Mr. Gandhi's fostering care has been the revival of Hinduism and the imposition of Hindu culture on all and sundry." My own objective is not the issue in the terrible indictment. The objective of the Congress is wholly political. Nothing is to be gained by making statements that are incapable of proof. So far as my own objective is concerned, my life is an open book. I claim to represent all the cultures, for my religion, whatever it may be called, demands the fulfilment of all cultures. I am at home wherever I go, for I regard all religions with the same respect as my own.

Sevagram, 9-4-40

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 10]

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Danger of Delay

Q. You say you will not launch civil disobedience till Congressmen are fully trained in non-violence and disciplined. That is right. But in the meantime the country is being bled white. Increased railway fares, duty on sugar, the reduction of sugarcane prices are only a few instances 'n point. Is it right to delay the struggle till our best workers are picked off one by one, and thus lose the fight without 'striking a blow'?

A. I can cite far more telling instances than you have given for justifying civil disobedience. But civil disobedience is not being delayed for want of justification. It is being delayed for want of preparation. I should be a stupid general if I began the fight in spite of my knowledge that my resources are poor. If the leaders are picked off by the Government without just cause, it would mean an invitation to the Congress to fight. I would not answer the invitation if I were not ready. The leaders' being picked off can do the country no harm. For we know that disciplined jail-going is itself a part of the struggle. Moreover, the imprisonment of leaders will test our strength as an organisation. A non-violent organisation implies the equal education and therefore equal fitness of all units. That we have not arrived at that stage shows our ignorance of the working of non-violence.

Authorised and Unauthorised Strikes

Q. In your leading article of March 30, you have hoped that passive Satyagrahis will not interfere with the course of the struggle by "precipitating strikes of labourers". There is just this cryptic word "precipitating" and nothing more. When I read it first, I did not particularly notice it. But I had to do a lot of explaining later. Unless a very careful reader or trained to understand your way of thought and expression, one is likely to go astray. One may miss the force of the word "precipitating" and understand it as if you frowned upon all strikes of labourers.

With the recent Ahmedabad fight for a war bonus, no one would be entitled to regard you as an opponent of labourers' strikes as such. The strike in Ahmedabad was indeed averted, but you had approved of it and the workers realised their demands. The work in Ahmedabad

was done methodically. There was proper presentation and working out of labour's demands, completing of arbitration, full notice and balloting of the over hundred thousand votes on the question of the strike. I believe that, if after such methodical work a strike cannot be averted, you will approve of it and only assure yourself that there is no violence.

A. You are right. I consider myself to be an expert in organised strikes. My first successful attempt was made in South Africa under most adverse circumstances. I improved the technique in Ahmedabad. I do not claim to have reached perfection. I know that strikes can be made irresistible. I have discountenanced only unauthorised strikes. The Congress has not gained control over labour. Some Congressmen have. Almost all the strike leaders have their own methods. All of them are not non-violent. Some are ruled by selfish considerations. Some others are unscrupulous. What I, therefore, ask for is at least passive, if not active, co-operation. I shall not need strikes for the purpose of the struggle. What shape mass civil disobedience will take, if it ever comes, I cannot say. But I can say what it will never do if I have anything to do with it. I know that, if the Congress had non-violent control over all labour in India, the Congress could become far more powerful than it is today. That control will come when the Congress has one policy about labour and has enough workers to give effect to it.

Untouchability and Conversion

Q. If the object of the Congress in the liquidation of untouchability is to give Harijans a status of equality with the rest, is this not achieved by their conversion to Islam? Why does the Independence Pledge allocate the programme of the removal of untouchability to the Hindus only? Does this not show that the Congress is anxious to maintain a Hindu majority and therefore denies to the Mussalmans their right of conversion?

A. Liquidation of untouchability cannot be attained by the conversion of untouchables to Islam or any other religion. For it is the so-called Caste Hindu who has to rid himself of the sin of untouchability. He can wash away the stain only by doing justice, however tardy, to the outcaste. You will thus see why Muslims are not invited by the Congress to share the burden with the Hindus. They have committed no sin against the untouchables. I cannot prevent you from looking at a simple but

necessary social reform as a political dodge to maintain a majority. Tens of thousands of Hindus who are doing penance have no thought of majority. All they want is to do justice to those whom, under the guise of religion, Caste Hindus have reduced to a state worse than slavery. Lastly, you are hopelessly wrong in suggesting that the Congress denies the right to Muslims to convert 'untouchables'. The Congress cannot prevent anybody from doing conversion work. Whether you will exercise the right in the right manner or wrong is for you to consider.

Sevagram, 15-4-40

PRINCELY EXTRAVAGANZA

I

In the course of his speech at the recent meeting of the Chamber of Princes, the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner is reported to have said:

"It has been alleged in Congress circles that the Princes are an imperial creation, that they are vassals of the Crown and have no status apart from the Crown, that the question of the States is a red herring drawn across the path of India's progress for imperialistic purposes, that the problem of the States is a bogey raised by the British Government...I may here be permitted to state that many States, big as well as small, owe their existence to the strong arm of their former Rulers and that too before the establishment of the British Empire in India. Their claims cannot be dismissed in this airy fashion which ignores irrefutable historical facts...If one might point out in all friendliness, it is British India which is the creation of the British Government.

The allegation has also been made that the Princes are unfriendly to the Congress. But that is not a correct statement of the situation. It is the Congress, however, which has of late shown active hostility to the States, and some of its prominent spokesmen have expressed the view that they do not want the States in the Federation, and that they would tear the treaties of the States as if they were scraps of paper and even that they would like to see the States done away with."

Not an Imperial Creation?

Unfortunately, this kind of extravaganza has become but too common of late in Princely utterances. The description of the Constitutional position of the Princes in relation to the Paramount Power as 'vassalage' or 'subordinate co-operation', one may in all respect point out, is not of Congress coining. It was laid down by the duly appointed representatives of the very imperialist order to which, the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner has declared times without number, the Princely order are proud to belong.

As for the other statement to which the Maharaja Saheb took exception, viz. that the Princes are an imperial creation, the very definition of Indian States in the Government of India Act of 1935 is significant. It runs:

"Indian State means any territory, not being part of British India, which His Majesty recognises as

being such a State, whether described as a State, an estate, a Jagir or otherwise."

In other words, their status is made to depend purely on "recognition by His Majesty". The history of British relationship with Princely India is littered with instances of States that were made or unmade, of zamindaris being elevated to chiefships and *vice versa*, by a breath of the imperial power according to the shifting needs of its policy. Take the case of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa, 26 in number, which collectively cover an area equal to that of an Indian Province and affect the destinies of 46 lakhs of population. We have it on the highest authority that "there was nothing in the nature of the connection of Government with the proprietors that would preclude their being brought under the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts if it should ever be thought desirable," when they first came into relation with the British Government in 1803-1804 on the cession of Orissa by the Marathas. But in the Regulations of 1805 all these States, except Baud, Pal Lahara and Athamallik "of which no mention was made", were exempted from the Bengal Regulations "on grounds of expediency alone". The process was repeated in C. P. where "sound policy suggested the establishment...of a succession of Rajput chiefships as barriers to the revival of Maratha sovereignty which the Peshwa had finally resigned in 1818." And so, every part of this large tract, "in which civil and predatory war had obliterated all political landmarks, was placed under some constituted authority; and thus from the wreck there emerged no less than 145 chiefships, which are now recognised and placed under the Governor-General's Agent in Central India."²

In Kathiawad, after a prolonged controversy, in which three members of the Government of Bombay, including Sir Bartle Frere, the then Governor of Bombay, laid it down as their considered and definite opinion that Kathiawad was British territory, and the Government of India, in their despatch dated 14th April 1864, to the Secretary of State for India, recommended that the matter might be referred for final decision to law officers of the Crown, the question was in the end decided arbitrarily. 212 States were newly created, leaving aside 12 first and second class States which formerly existed. The principle followed in assigning a particular class to a particular chief was the number of villages he possessed, his income, and his other status. "Even landholders possessing one or two entire villages were placed in the sixth and seventh class." It appears in the course of time, of the newly created 212 States, those of the lower classes from fifth to seventh gradually disappeared through a process of sub-division of their estates

¹ Report of the Constitutional Position of the States in Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces, By Mr. A. C. Lothian I. C. S. (1932), Para 28.

² Lee Warner: Protected Princes of India, p. 108

among their sons in succession and they were reduced to mere peasantry. Some of them were found absolutely incompetent to exercise their powers, and they were all deprived of their powers. [Vide papers regarding Keating's Classification and paper book Privy Council in Hemchand v. Sakarlal (1936), appeal cases, P. 237]

Now take the reverse. The total number of States in *The Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. IV of 1907 is given as 693. But the list for 1925 contains only 562 States, the smaller figure for 1925 being due chiefly to the reduction of States from 148 to 89 in Central India Agency, from 52 to nil in Burma, and from 26 to 1 in Assam. Even the powerful Rajas of Jodhpur, Bharatpur, etc., we find, show a history of variations in their status that are startling.³

Further instances can be multiplied. It will thus be seen that the statement that the Princes are an imperial creation, is, in a very large number of cases out of the total 562 that comprise Princely India, literally and historically true. But the statement is true in another sense too. Pax Britannica has deprived the States' people of their "natural right to have capable and vigorous rulers". The system of rule obtaining in the States today has neither the essential qualities of autarchy nor the constitutional sanctions of the popular system of government, but is, *sui generis*, a by-product and mainstay of the Imperial system in India.

"Strong Arm" — an Illusion

The Maharaja Saheb in his speech referred to the "strong arm" of the ancestors of some of the present rulers of the States big and small to which, he contended, they owed their existence. Without wishing in the slightest way to detract from the glory of the house of Bikaner which is admittedly one of the most exalted in Princely India, one may be permitted to cross the t's and dot the i's of the Maharaja Saheb's statement. The first treaty between Bikaner and the British Government was concluded on March 9, 1818, the request for Treaty in 1908 being not granted. Under it the latter

"Engaged to protect the principality, while the Maharaja and his successors agreed to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy. By article 5 the Maharaja and his successors agreed not to commit aggression on anyone.

3. "Even the powerful Rajas of Jaudhpur and Bharatpur etc. were called Zamindars by the Moghul Government, down to the latest period, and we know the nature of their tenures. They were bound to attend in succession on the person of the Emperor at the head of a fixed quota of troops, their own countries were and are still subdivided into the lands of their military retainers or Thakores or the revenue lands, on the same principle that prevailed under the Hindu Government in the Empire at large." (A Sterling: An Account Statistical, Geographical and Hisiorical of Orissa proper or Cuttack.)

By article 7 the British Government undertook to reduce to subjection the Thakores and other inhabitants who had revolted and thrown off his authority. The Maharaja undertook to pay all the costs. (Italics mine)

In 1830 the British Resident had made preparations to send forces to Bikaner to assist the chief in reducing the rebellious nobles. The chief was however given to understand that he had no right to call on the British Government for military aid against his disaffected subjects at any future period." (Atchison's Treaties vol. III, p. 337)

"In 1871 discontent arose, the State was in debts, and exactions of the Maharaja to increase the revenue gave rise to acute unrest. The Thakore left Bikaner and took refuge in British territory. A British officer was deputed to make inquiries and to adjust the difference between the Maharaja and his nobles.

In 1883, the affairs of the State relapsed into confusion, a resident Political Agent was appointed to Bikaner, and the Maharaja was required to conform to certain conditions so as to ensure to the political officer the power, of removing the abuses and of controlling the administration." (*Ibid*)

One wonders whether these cullings would be included by the Maharaja Saheb under the category of 'irrefutable historical facts' by which he swears. But if they are any guide, it would seem that the fortunes even of the illustrious house of Bikaner have depended less on the 'strong arm' of its previous rulers than upon the shifting exigencies of the Imperial policy. As the Butler Committee's report observed:

"It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the Indian States came into contact with the British power they were independent. Some were rescued, others were created by the British...Through paramountcy and paramountcy alone have grown up those strong...relations... on which at all times the States rely for their preservation through the generations that are to come. Through paramountcy is pushed aside the danger of destruction and annexation." (*Butler Committee's Report*)

Sevagram, 8-4-40

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Harijan

Apr. 20

1940

DANGER SIGNAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The happenings in Ajmer are a danger signal, if the facts received by me are correct. I have no reason to doubt their accuracy. The facts are these. There was a khadi exhibition held during the National Week by known workers. The promoters had arranged a series of lectures on the importance of khadi and other village industries. The National Flag was hoisted as is usual at these functions. The authorities served a notice that a flag having been erected on the rampart of the fort had caused annoyance to some of His Majesty's subjects and should be hauled down within an hour. The promoters claimed that the ground was under municipal jurisdiction, and that they had authority from the municipality to hold the exhibition. The protest was of no avail. The flag was unceremoniously hauled down by the police and addresses prohibited. If the exhibition was held under the permission of the municipality, the interference with the flag was clearly illegal. But apart from the illegality, the hauling down of the flag was a highly provocative act. An insult such as this can easily lead to unexpected results. I suggest that the matter is one for the Central authority to investigate. I hope that the Central authority does not want to provoke a clash which is highly likely if incidents like the Ajmer one are repeated. It would be deplorable if the non-intended happened.

The promoters telephoned to me for advice immediately the incident happened. Contrary to their expectations I advised the workers to submit to the order. Ordinarily I would not have a moment's hesitation in advising disobedience of such an order. I am the author of the flag. It is dear to me as life. But I do not believe in flag waving. This flag represents unity, non-violence, and identification through the charkha of the highest with the lowliest in the land. Any insult to the flag must leave a deep scar on an Indian breast. But today unity is lacking; the Muslim League has declared its hostility to the flag; those who honour it do not accept the authoritative implications of the flag. And the nation is preparing for a vast struggle. In a situation such as this I felt that the best course was to suppress the impulse to answer the insult. I felt that the restraint would be a test of the discipline of the workers in Ajmer. It would be a lesson to all India in the non-violent technique, and an opportunity for the Central authority to undo what appears to have been a wanton interfer-

ence with the ordinary peaceful non-political activity of the Congress. It should be remembered that the exhibition had nothing whatsoever to do with the impending struggle. I congratulate the workers on their prompt compliance with my instructions. They have strengthened the Congress by showing their capacity for observing discipline.

Sevagram, 16-4-40

JAIPRAKASH'S PICTURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following draft resolution was sent to me by Shri Jaiprakash Narain. He asked me, if I accepted his picture, to put it before the Working Committee at Ramgarh.

"The Congress and the country are on the eve of a great national upheaval. The final battle for freedom is soon to be fought. This will happen when the whole world is being shaken by mighty forces of change. Out of the catastrophe of the European War, thoughtful minds everywhere are anxious to create a new world — a world based on the co-operative goodwill of nations and men. At such a time the Congress considers it necessary to state definitely the ideals of freedom for which it stands and for which it is soon to invite the Indian people to undergo the uttermost sufferings.

The free Indian nation shall work for peace between nations and total rejection of armaments and for the method of peaceful settlement of national disputes through some international authority freely established. It will endeavour particularly to live on the friendliest terms with its neighbours, whether they be great powers or small nations, and shall covet no foreign territory.

The law of the land will be based on the will of the people freely expressed by them. The ultimate basis of maintenance of order shall be the sanction and concurrence of the people.

The free Indian State shall guarantee full individual and civil liberty and cultural and religious freedom, provided that there shall be no freedom to overthrow by violence the constitution framed by the Indian people through a Constituent Assembly.

The State shall not discriminate in any manner between citizens of the nation. Every citizen shall be guaranteed equal rights. All distinctions of birth and privilege shall be abolished. There shall be no titles emanating either from inherited social status or the State.

The political and economic organisation of the State shall be based on principles of social justice and economic freedom. While this organisation shall conduce to the satisfaction of the national requirements of every member of society, material satisfaction shall not be its sole objective. It shall aim at healthy living and the moral and intellectual development of the individual. To this end to secure social justice, the State shall endeavour to promote small scale production carried on by individual or co-operative effort for the equal benefit of all concerned. All large scale collective production shall be eventually brought under collective ownership

and control, and in this behalf the State shall begin by nationalising heavy transport, shipping, mining and the heavy industries. The textile industry shall be progressively decentralised.

The life of the villages shall be reorganised and the villages shall be made self-governing units, self-sufficient in as large a measure as possible. The land laws of the country shall be drastically reformed on the principle that land shall belong to the actual cultivator alone, and that no cultivator shall have more land than is necessary to support his family on a fair standard of living. This will end the various systems of landlordism on the one hand and farm bondage on the other.

The State shall protect the interests of the classes, but when these impinge upon the interests of those who have been poor and downtrodden, it shall defend the latter and thus restore the balance of social justice.

In all State-owned and State-managed enterprises, the workers shall be represented in the management through their elected representatives and shall have an equal share in it with the representatives of the Government.

In the Indian States, there shall be complete democratic government established and in accordance with the principles of abolition of social distinction and equality between citizens, there shall not be any titular heads of the States in the persons of Rajas and Nawabs.

This is the order which the Congress envisages and which it shall work to establish. The Congress firmly believes that this order shall bring happiness, prosperity and freedom to the people of all races and religions in India who together shall build on these foundations a great and glorious nation."

I liked it and read his letter and the draft to the Working Committee. The Committee, however, thought that the idea of having only one resolution for the Ramgarh Congress should be strictly adhered to, and that the original, as framed at Patna, should not be tampered with. The reasoning of the Committee was unexceptionable, and the draft resolution was dropped without any discussion on merits. I informed Shri Jaiprakash of the result of my effort. He wrote back suggesting that he would be satisfied if I could do the next best thing, namely publish it with full concurrence or such as I could give it.

I have no difficulty in complying with Shri Jaiprakash's wishes. As an ideal to be reduced to practice as soon as possible after India comes into her own, I endorse in general all except one of the propositions enunciated by Shri Jaiprakash.

I have claimed that I was a socialist long before those I know in India had avowed their creed. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred. Unfortunately Western socialists have,

so far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for enforcing socialistic doctrines.

I have always held that social justice, even unto the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force. I have further believed that it is possible by proper training of the lowliest by non-violent means to secure redress of the wrongs suffered by them. That means is non-violent non-cooperation. At times non-cooperation becomes as much a duty as cooperation. No one is bound to cooperate in one's own undoing or slavery. Freedom received through the effort of others, however benevolent, cannot be retained when such effort is withdrawn. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom. But the lowliest can feel its glow as soon as they learn the art of attaining it through non-violent non-cooperation.

It therefore gladdens me to find Shri Jaiprakash accepting, as I read his draft, non-violence for the purpose of establishing the order envisaged by him. I am quite sure that non-violent non-cooperation can secure what violence never can, and this by ultimate conversion of the wrong-doers. We in India have never given non-violence the trial it has deserved. The marvel is that we have attained so much even with our mixed non-violence.

Shri Jaiprakash's propositions about land may appear frightful. In reality they are not. No man should have more land than he needs for dignified sustenance. Who can dispute the fact that the grinding poverty of the masses is due to their having no land that they can call their own?

But it must be realised that the reform cannot be rushed. If it is to be brought about by non-violent means, it can only be done by education both of the haves and the have-nots. The former should be assured that there never will be force used against them. The have-nots must be educated to know that no one can really compel them to do anything against their will, and that they can secure their freedom by learning the art of non-violence, i. e. self-suffering. If the end in view is to be achieved, the education I have adumbrated has to be commenced now. An atmosphere of mutual respect and trust has to be established as the preliminary step. There can then be no violent conflict between the classes and the masses.

Whilst, therefore, I have no difficulty in generally endorsing Shri Jaiprakash's proposition in terms of non-violence, I cannot endorse his proposition about the Princes. In law they are independent. It is true that their independence is not worth much, for it is guaranteed by a stronger party. But as against us they are able to assert their independence. If we come into our own through non-violent means, as is implied in Shri Jaiprakash's draft proposals, I do not imagine a settlement in which the Princes will have effaced themselves. Whatever settlement is arrived at, the nation will have to

carry out in full. I can therefore only conceive a settlement in which the big States will retain their status. In one way this will be far superior to what it is today; but in another it will be limited so as to give the people of the States the same right of self-government within their States as the people of the other parts of India will enjoy. They will have freedom of speech, a free press and pure justice guaranteed to them. Perhaps Shri Jaiprakash has no faith in the Princes automatically surrendering their autocracy. I have. First because they are just as good human beings as we are, and secondly because of my belief in the potency of genuine non-violence. Let me conclude, therefore, by saying that the Princes and all others will be true and amenable when we have become true to ourselves, to our faith, if we have it, and to the nation. At present we are half-hearted. The way to freedom will never be found through half-heartedness. Non-violence begins and ends by turning the searchlight inward.

Sevagram, 14-4-40

C. F. A. — THE MAN

It was by his vigorous championship of the student victims of the Lahore Martial Law regime that I first came to know of him. I was then a student going up for my Bachelor of Arts degree, from the Government College Lahore, and though students of our college escaped the worst indignities of the Col. Frank Johnson regime, what one saw around one was enough to choke the soul of any patriotic and self-respecting young man. What disappointed us students—and particularly me—most was the supine attitude of some of the religious leaders whom we had been taught to look up to and the inglorious way in which they truckled to the irate commandant's *démarche* for the rustication of a certain percentage of students in certain colleges. The percentage was arbitrarily fixed and the required quota had to be rusticated, guilt or no guilt. "What sort of God-fearingness is that," we asked ourselves, "which does not even enable one to cast out fear and stand up for right and justice against oppression? Instead of sympathy, we got from 'wise heads' counsels of prudence only. We were shunned and avoided as hot-heads responsible for the country's troubles. Those were dark days indeed, and despair clutched at the heart of aspiring youth.

It was then that Charlie Andrews' voice was heard, clear, ringing, strident, espousing their cause and giving expression to their outraged feelings. He personally came to Lahore to do his bit for them, and his residence became the Mecca of all rusticated students. It was usual in those days to compare the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy with the massacre of Glencoe. But that did not satisfy Charlie Andrews' historical sense. "No. It is worse even than that," he rejoined, "considering the distance that humanity has travelled since that remote Highland tragedy."

It was a portent. For an Englishman who loved his country it was too much to sit still over his country's misdeeds.

That gave one the key to his entire personality. Charlie Andrews was, above all, a humanitarian, a servant of God who had made the whole world his family, and who recognised no frontiers of colour, caste or creed. None deserved better the title Deenabandhu which grateful India affectionately gave him, in recognition of his ceaseless labour of love for the sake of the poor. The cry of the distressed never found him unready. Ill-health never deterred him. He was ready at a moment's notice to proceed to the ends of the earth in response to the cry of humanity whether it was from China or British Guiana, South Africa, Trinidad or Fiji. In fact the more forlorn a cause the greater was his sympathy for it. Like his master Jesus Christ, he never hesitated to pitch himself against principalities and powers to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed. In fact, he considered that to be the core of Jesus Christ's teaching, and identified the Christ's Kingdom of Heaven with the realization of his utopia of social justice upon earth.

His Christianity was as wide as his humanity and the scriptures of other faiths were to him not less dear than that of his own. It was a favourite saying of his that, but for his Indian and non-Christian contacts, his own understanding of Christ would have remained incomplete. He literally followed Christ's saying, "Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff," sometimes with romantic results. The only occasion when as Gandhiji's cashier I entrusted him with a ten rupee note to pay off his tongawalla, was when Gandhiji was convalescing after his appendicitis operation in the Sassoon Hospital, Poona. In the evening Charlie Andrews returned and innocently told me to pay off the tongawalla as the ten rupee note had "slipped out" of his "open pocket"! I shall never forget the trouncing which I got from Gandhiji when I reported the matter to him. "Could you not foresee," he thundered, "he would give it away to the next beggar, if he did not lose it? You might as well entrust a baby with cash."

Miss Agatha Harrison, Charlie Andrews' gift to Gandhiji and India, who acted sometimes as his secretary, used to tell us: "The first thing I do, when he returns from India, is to empty his pockets, lest important messages from friends across should go to the laundry instead of their proper destination. Charlie is a baby and needs to be mothered!"

There it was, with all his depth and seriousness, his unmatched erudition and wide experience, he had the heart and innocence of a child of seven and was

"As the greatest only are
In his simplicity sublime."

Yet with all the serious side of his nature, Deenabandhu was not devoid of humour. I shall never forget how at the time of the Second Indian Round Table Conference, during our stay together at 88 Knightsbridge in London, he once set the whole company of us roaring with laughter as he recited with inimitable mimicry his parody of the poem "Hunting the Shark", substituting for "thirtytwo boxes" in the original "thirtytwo venerable Bishops", Gandhiji having just had a meeting with the Bishops at Lambeth Palace that day: "Thirtytwo Bishops all carefully packed, his name well written on each." The adventure in the improvisation, however, proved to be still-born, because, as often happened in C. F. A.'s own case, the keys of the boxes were all left behind!

One of the last meetings that I had with him was in Gandhiji's company as he lay on his sick-bed in the Presidency Hospital, Calcutta. Again and again in the course of his talk he reverted to the "inner universe", in which he had, during his illness, found ineffable peace. "As the outer senses become attenuated, this inner universe unfolds itself to you. Although it is invisible, it is real, and embraces man's entire existence. Just now, when the whole world seems to be rushing headlong to its doom, the need has become all the greater to renovate our soul by the rediscovery of and plunge into this inner universe," he remarked to Gandhiji. As the time to take leave drew near, he grew more and more restless and several times anxiously inquired whether his ward-sweeper had returned. We could not at first understand the reason for his anxiety, till I suddenly remembered how during Gandhiji's 21 days' fast for Hindu-Muslim unity at Delhi, he had brought to Gandhiji, by special appointment, the sweeper of "Dilkhush" (the name of Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh's bungalow, at the Ridge where Gandhiji was staying). He afterwards recorded in his poetical style in *Young India* the ineffable joy of the poor man at the darshan, which the curious can still read with benefit. It was so characteristic of Deenabandhu, even in extremis, to be thinking of the "poor, the lowliest and the lost".

Sevagram, 9-4-40

Pyarelal

Jaipur State and Praja Mandal

At last a settlement has been reached between the State and the Praja Mandal in Jaipur. The credit for this happy consummation belongs both to the authorities and Sheth Jamnalalji. Let us hope that the settlement will lead to cordial relations between the authorities and the Praja Mandal, and that the co-operation will result in progressive betterment of the people of the State in every respect. For this the State will have to show toleration and the Mandal restraint in all its doings and utterances.

Sevagram, 14-4-40

M. K. G.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4, and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

RASHTRABHASHA ADHYAPAN MANDIR, WARDHA

The Rashtrabhasha Adhyapan Mandir of Wardha has been training Pracharaks for the various non-Hindi Provinces for the last three years. Young men from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bombay, Sindh, Assam, Bengal and Orissa have been sent to their respective Provinces after a study in the national language. So far 31 Pracharaks have been trained in Hindi Adhyapan Mandir and each and every one of them has got employed in his province.

When the Adhyapan Mandir, Wardha, was started three years back, there was no other arrangement in the non-Hindi provinces for the training of Pracharaks. But now several provinces have started their own Adhyapan Mandirs. Consequently the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, has decided to re-organize the Wardha Adhyapan Mandir. This Mandir will now not train ordinary teachers. On the other hand, it will be a nucleus of higher study in Hindi or Hindustani for the non-Hindi provinces. 15 candidates will be selected for the next session and ten of them will be awarded a monthly stipend of Rs. 10 each. Only those candidates will be selected who have passed either the 'Kovid' examination of the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, or the 'Visharad' examination of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad.

The aim of the Rashtrabhasha movement is not merely to teach a new language, but to strengthen the bonds of unity between the various provinces of India. We hope, therefore, that only those who realize the importance and usefulness of the movement and who are fired with a desire to serve their country, will apply for admission. The candidates should have also attained general education up to the Intermediate standard.

The new session will begin from the 15th June, 1940. All applications should reach the office of the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, by the 15th May. Printed application forms can be had free from the Superintendent, Rashtrabhasha Adhyapan Mandir, Wardha.

SHRIMANNARAYAN AGRAWAL

Secretary, Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha.

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The Necessity of Pacifism by J. Middleton Murry. Rs. 2-10-0+3 As. Postage.

REPRESSION IN JODHPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

News about repression in Jodhpur is disquieting. The Jodhpur Lok Parishad, which according to the information in my possession has been before now held in respect by the local authorities, has suddenly been declared illegal. Several prominent workers are under detention without trial. Speeches and processions are banned.

What is worse is the speech delivered by the Maharaja Bahadur, justifying the order. It reads as if a mountain was in labour. The following are extracts from the report of the speech :

"Unfortunately there is a small but vocal minority, who, by their deeds and actions, have recently given ample proof of their determination to find fault with everything which the Government do, and of their intention to hinder and embarrass the Government by all possible means unless the reins of Government are placed in their own inexperienced hands.

I refer in particular to a political organisation, which has brought itself to undesirable prominence under the title of 'Lok Parishad'. Members of the 'Lok Parishad' have recently become increasingly violent in their denunciations of all established order and traditions. The members of this party ask us to believe that the sole panacea for the many diverse afflictions, which we in common with all communities suffer, is to vote for and place ourselves unreservedly in the hands of the 'Lok Parishad'. We are asked to believe that with the advent to power of the 'Lok Parishad' there will be created a new heaven and a new earth, and I, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, am desired to place the destinies of my house and my people in the hands of the 'Lok Parishad' in order that peace may reign, and 'freedom' be enjoyed by all.

This is indeed a tall order and a bold demand, and I am not surprised that requests have poured in to me from the great sane and sober-minded majority of my subjects to put a stop to these extravagances and pretensions. If the 'Lok Parishad' consisted of men of political and administrative experience, men of ripe education, or of high professional attainments, we might be well advised to give to their words and expressions that serious consideration which thoughtful citizens would undoubtedly accord. But we find, now that an insistent clamour focusses our attention on the subject, that the 'Lok Parishad' consists mainly of inexperienced young men, who do not appear to have achieved much success in their various vocations....

They show no sign whatever of any co-operative spirit; rather do they seem bent on finding fault whenever it is possible to do so. In their case free speech has degenerated into licence, and this at a time when a terrible war threatens in the distance and a very bad famine is at our doors....

I do not consider it consistent with my duty, as a loyal ally of the British Government, to allow a

groundless political agitation to grow and spread in my State in time of war; nor am I prepared any longer to allow an open campaign of subversive agitation manifestly designed to encourage our peasantry to revolt and to corrupt our youth."

It seems that the voice is the Maharaja's but the hand that has prepared it is not his. The speech consists of palpable exaggerations. The Parishad has more than 30 branches in the State and has many experienced men as members. I have seen correspondence in which their co-operation has been desired and sought for. The Lok Parishad has never put forth the claim attributed to it in the quotations. It has responsible government within the State as its goal. It has carried on agitation in the recognised manner. I suggest that it is highly undignified for the advisers of the Maharaja to put into his mouth words that have no correlation to facts. They have not hesitated even to drag the war and the 'alliance' with Britain to justify the high-handed action adopted towards the Parishad. The Parishad, I am sure, will come out unscathed, if the workers can stand the test of self-suffering. Those who are imprisoned will be the salt and saviours of Jodhpur, for they will be trusted by the people as their real servants. It is not right for the Princes and their advisers to ignore the time spirit and to resort to such statements and acts as cannot stand impartial scrutiny. I see from their leaflet that the Parishad have asked for an open trial. They deny all the charges that are mentioned in the Maharaja's speech. The least that is owing to the public is proof of the indictment against the Parishad. Meanwhile and whether the Parishad gets justice or not, I hope that its members will peacefully and bravely stand the sufferings that may be inflicted on them.

Sevagram, 16-4-40

Books by C. F. Andrews

The True India—A Plea for Understanding. Rs. 2-10-0 + 4 As. Postage.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Beef

Q. The Muslim public need to be satisfied on a very important question. Will the Muslims be allowed to eat their national food — beef — under a Hindu majority Government? If you can satisfy the Muslims on this all-important question, a great deal of knots will be solved. You should give a straight answer to this question in your paper *Harijan*.

A. I do not know how this question arises. For whilst Congressmen were in office they are not known to have interfered with the practice of beef-eating by Muslims. The question is also badly conceived. There is no such thing as a Hindu majority Government. If a free India is to live at peace with herself, religious divisions must entirely give place to political divisions based on considerations other than religious. Even as it is, though unfortunately religious differences loom large, most parties contain members drawn from all sects. It is moreover not true to say that beef is the *national* food of Muslims. In the first place the Muslims of India are not as yet a separate nation. In the second, beef is not their ordinary food. Their ordinary food is the same as that of the millions. What is true is that there are very few Muslims who are vegetarians from a religious motive. Therefore they will take meat, including beef, when they can get it. But during the greater part of the year millions of Muslims, owing to poverty, go without meat of any kind. These are facts. But the theoretical question demands a clear answer. As a Hindu, a confirmed vegetarian, and a worshipper of the cow whom I regard with the same veneration as I regard my mother (alas no more on this earth). I maintain that Muslims should have full freedom to slaughter cows, if they wish, subject of course to hygienic restrictions and in a manner not to wound the susceptibilities of their Hindu neighbours. Fullest recognition of freedom to the Muslims to slaughter cows is indispensable for communal harmony, and is the only way of saving the cow. In 1921 thousands of cows were saved by the sole and willing effort of Muslims themselves. In spite of the black clouds hanging over our heads, I refuse to give up the hope that they will disperse and that we shall have communal peace in this unhappy land. If I am asked for proof, I must answer that my hope is based on

faith and faith demands no proof.

Death Sentence

Q. Do you consider death sentence to be against your principle of ahimsa? If so, what form of punishment would you advocate as a substitute in a free India?

A. I do regard death sentence as contrary to ahimsa. Only He takes life who gives it. All punishment is repugnant to ahimsa. Under a State governed according to the principles of ahimsa, therefore, a murderer would be sent to a penitentiary and there given every chance of reforming himself. All crime is a kind of disease and should be treated as such.

God's Will

Q. How can an ordinary man distinguish between God's will and his own will?

A. By not regarding anything as God's will unless he has positive proof to the contrary. Not every person can know God's will. Proper training is necessary to attain the power to know God's will.

An Offence against Congress

Q. Some of the Congress committees here in Adampur Doaba during the last Independence Day celebrations got prepared national flags of uncertified khadi, and some of them got badge flags prepared from paper. They sold these to raise funds. When questioned they pleaded that they wanted funds for the Congress and could not afford to sell badge flags made out of khadi for one pice each and still retain something for themselves. At some places I even found national flags hoisted which were of mill cloth and even without the spinning wheel. I personally feel that the spinning wheel and khadi are the very soul of our flag; and a national flag which is printed on uncertified khadi and without the spinning wheel mark on it, or a paper flag cannot be called a national flag.

A. Your objection is sound. The Congress committees who used as national flags paper flags or those which were made of mill cloth or uncertified khadi or without the charkha, committed an offence against the Congress. They betrayed little regard for the flag. Any rag cannot be used as a flag. It has to conform to the prescribed pattern. If we do not respect our own flag, we have no right to expect others to do so. You have made out a case for the central office having a stock of flags of a variety of sizes. Nobody should be permitted to use unauthorised flags as national flags.

Sevagram, 22-4-40

IN THE WAKE OF MECHANISATION

I

In the race for mechanisation going on in the West, America would easily stand first—not only in the mechanisation of industrial production in which every big country is a competitor, but of agriculture also, wherein natural conditions and existence of large prairies have given her a decisive advantage over the Old World. "The farm tractor, the mechanical reaper-binder, and the other power-driven instruments of modern large-scale agriculture became the characteristic tools of the prairie farmer," and "over the past century the revolution in agriculture has fallen no whit short of the revolution in industry." (Cole) The capacity for mass production, both in industry and agriculture—in America as elsewhere in the West—has increased to such an extent that "if we consider only the mechanical resources required, our contemporary world has the electric power, the engines and the skill, to ensure, if not at once to its entire population, then at least to the peoples of Europe and North America, an adequate and varied diet, sufficient clothing, houses that satisfy civilised needs, and with all this to meet the cravings of their minds for books and music and visible beauty. The machine has made poverty an anachronism."¹ But do facts support these optimistic statements? The apparition of poverty still stalks the land, and the world is faced with the paradox of large masses of men submerged in poverty in the midst of plenty both of agricultural and industrial goods. "The dwindling of the national income, the slowing down of the whole apparatus of production, the shrinkage of international trade, the waste and misery of mass-unemployment," are stark realities, and have led serious men in the West to ask "whether even in the Great War we experienced a completer defeat of civilisation."² While millions of men have not enough to feed and clothe themselves, engines are kept idle and wheat and cotton crops are burnt. "The Brazilian Government," says an English economist, "throws into the Atlantic each season by the million the bags of coffee that would make breakfast for innumerable brick-layers. During half a day last winter I journeyed in California through apple orchards that stretched as far as the eye could reach. The trees in every third or fourth row had been ruthlessly lopped to the graft, to check the embarrassing bounty of nature for several years to come. There vanished our builders' dessert."³ Articles of food and raiment and luxuries are produced in gigantic piles, but who is to consume them? The will and the need for consumption among men are there, but they lack the wherewithal to buy the things. Then there is a slump, production has to slow down, and the economic structure gets a rude shaking from the effects

of which it takes a long time to recover. "There has arisen an apparent deficiency of consuming power in relation to the capacity of the productive system; and the world's most pressing problem has come to be, not a further increase of the power to produce, but the devising of means for the full use of the productive resources already at hand." There must be something radically wrong with an economic order which piles up means of rapid and gigantic production, then stints the fruits thereof to men most in need of them, and is ultimately reduced to a state in which not only the engines of production are perforce to be kept idle but their valuable products destroyed. Discerning men have even gone to the length of saying that "in our society a merciful man who had perfected a beneficent labour-saving invention might well conceal it." This is then the grim dilemma facing the present-day world.

Economists in the West have been sharply at variance in diagnosing the disease and suggesting remedies. There are a few among them who, though not sworn enemies of mechanisation, have been witnessing the tragic results it has led to, have been disillusioned, and have begun to doubt seriously its once trumpeted benefits. For instance, says one of them:

"Of what use is it that scientists should devise means of making human labour more productive, if the result is to be that the increase of productive power becomes a positive cause of unemployment and distress? Of what use is it to devise machines for the lightening of labour, if these machines will only throw more and more people out of work and income? And what are we to say of a world in which the farmer, when he sows his crop, has to pray for a bad harvest in order to rescue him from his financial difficulties? We live in an odd world and no mistake."⁴

Says another:

"Machinery, then, has not brought mathematics into our daily life, or rather it has brought numbers and order into one side of it, into our productive activities, and even there they are the sovereigns of petty kingdoms, for each of the many units of production is isolated within its own walls. The other side of our daily life, distribution, we abandon to chance, and the pulls of unequal forces. The result is that the machine has brought its curses in full measure; its blessings it stints. It has torn whole populations from the relative humanity of village life, it has blasted our landscapes, withered our trees and poisoned our streams; it has abolished the craftsman's pride in his creative skill; it has doomed the majority of its servants to a life of deadening monotony and strain. But for lack of an ordered market, we enjoy neither the security which its regular motions promise, nor the leisure and abundance latent in its infinite capacity of reproduction."⁵

A sombre picture this—which should suffice to disturb the naivete of those of us who cling

1. H. N. Brailsford: *Property or Peace*, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4. G. D. H. Cole: *World Chaos*, p. 65

5. H. N. Brailsford: *Op Cit.*, p. 92-3.

with a childlike faith to mechanisation and large scale industrialisation. And things are not likely to change much so long as the economic world order remains substantially what it is today.

II

There may be differences of opinion among economists about the diagnosis and remedies of the economic ill-health from which the world is suffering, but there is no gainsaying the fact that mechanisation leads directly to displacement of human labour and unemployment. "Its first effect," says J. A. Hobson, "as shown by statistics, is to save 'labour'—that is, to create more unemployment." Once large scale mechanisation is introduced and the wheels of high speed machinery set going, there can be no halfway house or halting till human labour is utterly done away with and lifeless robots take its place. This is the logical and inevitable culmination of the process which has come to be known as 'rationalisation'. "Modern machinery not only dispenses more and more with the need for either physical strength or manual skill, but also goes further towards the positive displacement of labour.... In the latest development of industrialism the emphasis has been more and more upon this absolute displacement of labour.... In these circumstances the obvious way of lowering costs is to get rid of labour altogether, or to use far less of it, and especially in America and Germany this form of rationalisation has been pushed of late to astonishing lengths.... The displacement of labour through mechanisation has been going on faster than ever.... The chief means of reducing costs nowadays is the absolute displacement of human labour."⁶

C. S.

(To be continued)

PRINCELY EXTRAVAGANZA

II

The Imperial Game and States

The policy has undergone several gradations at different periods of its history. But the one primary consideration that runs like a connecting thread through them all, as I shall presently show, has been about strengthening and perpetuation of the Imperial hold on India. The three distinct phases through which it has passed have been described as those of 'Ring Fence', 'Subordinate Isolation', and 'Subordinate Union'. From the point of view of the States these may more fitly be characterized as those of 'Britain's security', 'Ascendency', and 'Empire'.

"Safety First"

During the first phase (1765-98) the guiding consideration was the safety and permanence of Britain's position in India. The Company was as yet struggling for bare existence. It was surrounded on all sides by powerful rivals and adversaries. It therefore naturally looked out for friends and helpers among local potentates. Its policy towards them had to be one of "fraternizing, ingratiating and reciprocity". Clive

(1758-67) "sought the substance of territorial power under the fiction of a grant from the Mughal Emperor."¹ Warren Hastings (1772-85), "like other British administrators of his time, started with a conviction of the expediency of ruling with the aid of the Native Power."² Both Cornwallis (1786-93) and Sir John Shore, who brought this period to a close, were advocates of the policy of "non-intervention". The idea was to create an insulating belt of friendly powers and, so far as possible, to remain within a "ring fence" of powers thus won over. There was a general dread of entanglements.³ And so we find in 1784 an Act of Parliament declare that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation." The prohibitory injunction was repeated in the Charter Act of 1793. The treaties concluded in this period are based on the principle of non-intervention and abound in such expressions as 'mutual amity', 'friendly co-operation', 'reciprocal obligation', 'perpetual friendship', 'firm alliance, etc.'⁴

Power above All

It was, however, soon felt that unless the Company could draw the neutral Princes beyond the 'ring fence' to itself and reduce them to subservience by diplomatic negotiation, its adversaries might do so and the security, afforded by the 'ring fence' might be jeopardized. Without ascendancy there was no security. Domination thus became the key-note of the second phase of its policy (1798-1858). Lord Wellesley, who saw this, determined to establish the ascendancy of the British Power over all other States in India by a system of subsidiary treaties "so framed as to deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measure or of forming any confederacy hazardous to the security of the British Empire, and to enable us to preserve the tranquillity of India by exercising a general control over the restless spirit of ambition and violence which is characteristic of every Asiatic Government."⁵

Lord Wellesley's policy was carried a step further by Lord Hastings (Earl of Moira) (1814-23). He intensified and systematised the practice introduced by Lord Wellesley.⁶ "Opposed as he certainly was to annexation, he felt that the true position of the States in the interior of India was one of isolated and subordinate co-

(Continued on p. 106)

1. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 429.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 482. 3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 488.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 192.

5. The Udaipur Treaty of 1818 is illustrative of this policy. By Article 2 "The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Udaipur. Article 3 lays down that "the Maharaja will always act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy and will not have any connexion with other chiefs and states." Article 4, again, prohibits any negotiation with other States without the sanction of the British Government.

6. Private Journal of Marquis of Hastings (1814)

6 G. D. H. Cole: *Op Cit*, p. 144-5; 148-9.

NOTICE

The next issue (to be published on 4th May) will contain 12 pages and will be priced at 1 Anna 6 Pies per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next.

Manager

Harijan

Apr. 27

1940

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Working Committee advisedly passed no startling or new resolution this time. For there was no programme before them. That of civil disobedience has to be evolved by me. But the Committee had useful discussions on many points arising out of the contemplated movement. I propose to give the readers the gist of what I told the members of the Committee, with the necessary amplification.

Civil disobedience in the face of the lawlessness that prevails in the country will easily pass for the same unless it is beyond doubt recognised as something different in kind from the prevailing brand. Thus the Khaksar defiance is admittedly and openly violent. The kisans who held up the train between Gaya and Kiul were violent under cover of non-violence. They were doubly guilty according to the non-violent conception. For they are supposed to be Congressmen. To hold up a train is disobedience without doubt. And so far as the Congress is concerned, according to the Ramgarh resolution Congressmen may not resort to civil disobedience singly or in groups without my permission. I have already said that Prof. Ranga's disobedience was also not civil. His friends have asked me to withdraw my criticism. I claim to be a special friend of his. We became friends probably before the protesters knew him. And it is because he is such a close friend that I condemned his action without mincing words. I am sure he will not misunderstand me. In any event when a man of his learning chooses deliberately to commit an act of indiscipline it must come to me as a warning against any hasty action.

Now civil disobedience, if it is really civil, must appear so even to the opponent. He must feel that the resistance is not intended to do him any harm. At the present moment the average Englishman thinks that non-violence is merely a cloak. The Muslim Leaguers think that civil disobedience is aimed at them more than at the British. I protest with all the strength at my command that, so far as I am concerned, I have no desire whatsoever to embarrass the British, especially at a time when it is a question of life and death with them. All I want the Congress to do through civil disobedience is to deny the British Government

the moral influence which the Congress co-operation would give. The material resources of India and her man power are already being exploited by the British Government by reason of their control of the whole of this sub-continent.

If by civil disobedience the Congress has no desire to embarrass the British people, it has still less to embarrass the Muslim League. And I can say this on behalf of the Congress with far greater assurance than I can with regard to the British. Working in the midst of suspicion and terrible misrepresentation on the one hand and the prevailing lawlessness outside and inside the Congress on the other, I have to think a thousand times before embarking on civil disobedience.

So far as I can see at present mass civil disobedience is most unlikely. The choice lies between individual civil disobedience on a large scale, very restricted, or confined only to me. In every case there must be the backing of the whole of the official Congress organisation and the millions who, though not on the Congress register, have always supported the organisation with their mute but most effective co-operation.

I have repeatedly shown in these columns that the most effective and visible co-operation which all Congressmen and the mute millions can show is by not interfering with the course civil disobedience may take and by themselves spinning and using khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. If it is allowed that there is a meaning in people wearing primroses on Primrose Day, surely there is much more in a people using a particular kind of cloth and giving a particular kind of labour to the cause they hold dear. From their compliance with the khadi test I shall infer that they have shed untouchability, and that they have nothing but brotherly feeling towards all without distinction of race, colour or creed. Those who will do this are as much satyagrahis as those who will be singled out for civil disobedience.

Sevagram, 23-4-40

Committee for Preliminary Agreement?

The following wire from London was received by Gandhiji on 22-4-40:

"London. Grateful to receive an exposition of your attitude to proposal that committee of Indian leaders representing all interests should try to reach agreement on essential preliminary to final constitutional settlement."—*News Chronicle*

He has sent the following reply to it:

"Proposal convening committee leaders reach preliminary agreement attractive, provided leaders elected, not nominated, according to acceptable procedure. This is my personal view. Unconsulted colleagues."—*Gandhi*

NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay office will hereafter be 8 to 11 A. M. and 3 to 7 P. M. Readers will please note the change.

MANAGER

AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

[The following interview was given by Gandhiji to a representative of *The New York Times*. A. K.]

Q. I have heard it said on behalf of Britain, "We cannot say what the new world is going to be at the end of the war; the Indian problem cannot be isolated from world problems; Dominion Status, Independence, may mean something very different then, or nothing at all, if Germany should win. Therefore why should not India accept Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster now and take her chance and her opportunity at the Peace Conference? Dominion Status under existing circumstances is the highest we can offer India." You yourself have said, "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail?" Can you throw some light on these points?

A. The legal status of India, whether it is Dominion Status or something else, can only come after the war. It is not a question at present to decide whether India should be satisfied with Dominion Status for the time being. The only question is what is the British policy? Does Great Britain still hold the view that it is her sole right to determine the status of India or whether it is the sole right of India to make that determination? If that question had not been raised, there would have been no discussion such as we are facing today. The question having been raised—and it was India's right to raise it—I was bound to throw in my weight, such as it is, with the Congress. Nevertheless I can still repeat the question I put to myself immediately after the first interview with the Viceroy: "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail?" If these powers fail, the history of Europe and the history of the world will be written in a manner no one can foresee. Therefore my question has its own independent value. The relevant point, however, is that by doing justice to India Britain might ensure victory of the Allies because their cause will then be acclaimed as righteous by the enlightened opinion of the world.

Q. Have you any views about world federation (Streit's scheme of 15 white democracies with India excluded at present) or about a federation of Europe with the British Commonwealth and again excluding India? Would you advise India to enter such a larger federation so as to prevent a domination of the coloured races by the white?

A. Of course I would welcome a world federation of all the nations of the world. A federation of the Western nations only will be an unholy combination and a menace to humanity. In my opinion a federation excluding India is now an impossibility. India has already passed the stage when she could be safely neglected.

Q. You have seen in your lifetime more devastation by war than there has been at any

time in the world's history. And yet do you still believe in non-violence as the basis of a new civilization? Are you satisfied that your own countrymen accept it without reservation? You continue to harp on your conditions being fulfilled before starting civil disobedience. Do you still hold to them?

A. You are right in pointing out that there is unheard-of devastation going on in the world. But that is the real moment for testing my faith in non-violence. Surprising as it may appear to my critics, my faith in non-violence remains absolutely undimmed. Of course non-violence may not come in my lifetime in the measure I would like to see it come, but that is a different matter. It cannot shake my faith, and that is why I have become unbending so far as the fulfilment of my conditions prior to the starting of civil disobedience is concerned; because, at the risk of being the laughing-stock of the whole world, I adhere to my belief that there is an unbreakable connection between the spinning wheel and non-violence so far as India is concerned. Just as there are signs by which you can recognise violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning wheel to me a decisive sign of non-violence. But nothing can deter me from working away in hope. I have no other method for solving the many baffling problems that face India.

Q. You want a declaration that henceforth India shall govern herself according to her own will. You also say, "It is possible for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate till they have evolved a formula acceptable to both." The British say, "We are vitally interested in defence, our commercial interests, and the Indian States." Are you willing to allow your best Englishmen and your best Indians to enter into a treaty in regard to these matters in a spirit of friendly accommodation? (the language of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1922.)

A. If the best Englishmen and the best Indians meet together with a fixed determination not to separate until they have reached an agreement, the way will have been opened for the summoning of the Constituent Assembly of my conception. Of course this composite board will have to be of one mind as to the goal. If that is put in the melting pot, there will be nothing but interminable wrangling. Therefore self-determination must be the common cause with this composite board.

Q. Supposing India does become free in your lifetime, what will you devote the rest of your years to?

A. If India becomes free in my lifetime and I have still energy left in me, of course I would take my due share, though outside the official world, in building up the nation on a strictly non-violent basis.

PRINCELY EXTRAVAGANZA

(Continued from p. 103)

operation." The motive behind this policy was twofold : (1) combinations should be made impossible among the Princes; (2) they should be rendered incapable of even independent self-defence. Peace and protection were offered to those who engaged to live "secluded and innocent". The idea was to so weaken and demoralise them that they should cease to be a menace to British Power. Residents were sent to the various courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassadors they assumed the functions of dictators, interfered in all their private concerns, countenanced refractory subjects against them, and made "the most ostentatious exhibition of their exercise of authority". Not that there was felt any real concern for the States subjects. On the contrary, Lord Hastings deprecated intervention as a "breach of faith" and ridiculed solicitude on the part of the British for the subjects of a "Native State" as "quixotic". The Princes were in outward form at least to be absolute masters of all within their territories, unquestioned and undisturbed, but only *within*.

Fishing for Excuses

This policy of "subordinate isolation cum non-intervention" had, however, some unexpected repercussions. As early as 1805 Lord Cornwallis, during his second term of office, had ruefully noted that "the States which were most intimately connected with us were reduced to the most forlorn condition, that these powers possessed no funds or troops on which they could depend, that anarchy and disaffection prevailed universally throughout the dominions." Before long, predatory gangs overran the face of the whole country and threatened the peace of the Company's territories. In short, the neighbourhood of British India became both unsafe and disreputable."

As the external menace disappeared "allies" were no longer needed who were more a liability than an asset, and the policy of non-intervention was given up in favour of that of active intervention and annexation. Lord Dalhousie laid down the dictum that "the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves." And since some colourable excuse was necessary to justify such a course, the British administrators, from regarding solicitude for the subjects of the "Native States" as "quixotic", began now to appear in the role of disinterested humanitarians and "champions of the oppressed states subjects". The patronage was transferred from the Princes to their people. Lord William Bentinck's annexations were nearly all "punishments for misrule". Hardinge talked of the "stigma of tolerating oppression, which the British Government cannot submit to." Lord Dalhousie regarded his annexations as simply "assignments made to the Company by Providence itself in its

denial of natural heirs to vacant thrones." But they were also a means of "insuring to the population of the State a perpetuity of just and mild Government!"

Consolidating Gains

The rising of 1857 marked the beginning of the third phase. The Crown of England had emerged from the maelstrom as the unquestioned ruler and Paramount Power. The question was now to consolidate the foundations of its authority. This called for a reversal of the annexationist policy of Lord Dalhousie. It has been objected that, if the policy of perpetuating the States' rule by the grant of 'adoption sanads' was accepted, it would cut off "further opportunities of accession of territory". To this Lord Canning's reply was:

"I regard this not as an objection but as a recommendation. Our first care should be to strengthen that rule within its present limits, and secure for our general supremacy the contented acquiescence and respect of all who are subjected to it; the supremacy will never be heartily accepted and respected so long as we leave ourselves open to the doubts which are now felt, and which our uncertain policy has justified, as to our ultimate intentions towards Native States. We shall not become stronger so long as we continue adding to our territory without adding to our European force; and the additions to that force which we already require are probably as large as England can conveniently furnish, and they will certainly cost as much as India can conveniently pay. As to Civil Government, our English officers are too few for the work they have in their hands, and our financial means are not yet equal to the demands upon us."

As 'Breakwaters' to Storm

"The safety of our rule," he argued, "is increased, not diminished, by the maintenance of native chiefs well affected to us." He recalled how during the troublous and anxious days of 1857-58 "these patches of native government served as breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave." "And in quiet times they have their uses. Restless men who will accept no profession but arms, crafty intriguers bred up in native courts, and others who would chafe at our stricter and more formal rule, live there contentedly; and should the day come when India shall be threatened by an external enemy, or when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our best mainstays will be found in these native states. But to make them so, we must treat their chiefs and their leading families with consideration and generosity, teaching them that, in spite of all suspicions to the contrary, their independence is safe, that we are not waiting for plausible opportunities to convert their territory into British territory, and convincing them that they have nothing to gain by helping to displace us in favour of any new rulers from within or without."

"It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that, if we made all India into Zillahs (or British districts), it was not in the nature of things that our empire should last fifty years, but that, if we could keep up a number of native states, without political power, but as royal instruments, we should exist in India so long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained." (Italics mine)

(To be continued)

Sevagram, 8-4-40

Pyarelal

THEN AND NOW

The January issue of *The Asiatic Review* that has just come to hand contains the text of a paper read by Sir Alfred Watson at a meeting of the East India Association and a summary of the discussion that followed. Among those who participated in it were Sir Michael O'Dwyer; Mr. F. G. Pratt and Lord Lamington. "What has shocked us in this country," remarked Sir Alfred, quoting Lord Salisbury's words in the House of Lords, "is that these Indian leaders have thought fit to use the international situation in order to promote a further step towards self-government." Sir Alfred proceeded to say that, though his own nerves were not so susceptible as Lord Salisbury's, he recognised that the latter did represent a point of view, and that "it was a grave misfortune to the Indian cause that those holding his (Lord Salisbury's) view should have been strengthened in their opposition to Indian aspirations by Congress action." The accusation has since been repeated in other quarters too.

The elasticity of the British conscience is proverbial. It has shown itself to be fairly tough and shock-proof when Britain really meant business. Mr. F. G. Pratt, who as an ex-Indian administrator knows both India and England well, was not slow to call attention to the fact. He reminded Sir Alfred and the house that it was in the middle of the Great War that the Dominion ministers at the Imperial Conference of April 16, 1917, had insisted upon "the full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous units of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important part of the same, and also on recognition of the right of the Dominions and of India to an adequate voice in foreign relations." It did not shock British conscience then. Nobody thought of accusing the Dominions of "political bargaining".

The chief contention of the Dominions, it will be remembered, was, as voiced by Sir Robert Borden, in moving his resolution was that the theory of trusteeship, on which the inter-imperial relations in regard to the question of foreign policy, foreign relations and common defence of the Empire were based, "was certain to prove not only entirely inadequate to the needs of the Empire but incompatible with the aspirations of the people of the Dominions in the future," and that "it could not continue indefinitely in the future, whatever might be said of it in the past." Mr. Massey remarked that, if the different parts of the Empire were to be kept together, the bonds to hold them would need to be, "while stronger than steel, as light as silk that will not chafe and not seriously inconvenience British citizens in any part of the Empire." The readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts, further, was not to be made contingent upon certain things happening in, or certain conditions being satisfied by, the Dominions concerned, as is sought to be

done in the case of India today, but were to be taken up "as soon as possible after the termination of hostilities." Most significant was the note struck by General Smuts who observed, "If we have no other resolution at this conference than this one, I am sure that we will have done a good day's work for this Empire."

The resolution, far from proving a "stumbling block" to the recognition of their claim, paved the way for the Statute of Westminster. From the operation of that Statute India was, however, excluded. India has, therefore, a perfect right to demand that before she is called upon to defend the principle of self-determination in Europe it shall be applied in full to her case by Britain, as a test of her sincerity. To call this "cold calculation" and "exactng the highest price before striking a blow", as some of the Imperial spokesmen at the East India Association did, is surely gross perversion of language which only changed times and the changed scene could make possible

Sevagram, 22-4-40

Pyarelal

WHAT BIG EMPLOYERS CAN DO

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Vithaldas Jerajani sends me the following from Shri Shantikumar of the Scindia House :

"During the National Week every effort will be made to sell khadi by hawking from place to place. Then why not approach the big offices and get them to agree to buy khadi for peons' dresses? The peons' dresses are always provided by the Companies. Last year the Scindia Company provided khadi uniforms for the peons, and this year also we are going to have the same. I have already sent circulars to the Branches of the Company to use khadi for the uniforms of peons there. I am trying to push khadi uniforms in other Associated Companies of the Scindia Company.

I am also trying to push the use of handmade paper in the office of the Scindia Company. I have been successful to some extent in this case but not to my satisfaction. I am making every effort to increase the use of handmade paper."

I have no hesitation in whole-heartedly endorsing the suggestion made by Shri Shantikumar. I would go a step further. In order that the peons who have willynilly to wear uniforms provided for them may not feel any inferiority, the big office staff should set the example by themselves voluntarily using khadi for their garments. Khadi is one of the greatest levellers. The peons should be able to take pride in their uniforms. This they will only do when they know that their employers use the same material as that of which their uniforms are made. The greater the approach on the part of employers to their employees, the greater the possibility of a peaceful solution of the difficult problem of class conflict. I therefore hope that Shri Shantikumar's effort will be appreciated by the other employers. Indeed the idea should be taken up by all public institutions such as hospitals students' hostels, etc.

The use of handmade paper is a less difficult problem. For good handmade paper is any day more artistic than and superior to the ordinary mill paper, and there is not the same difference in the prices of the two varieties as in the case of khadi and mill-made cloth. The big houses owe it to the millions to use as many handmade articles as is possible for them to do.

Sevagram, 22-4-40

ABOUT ZAMINDARS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A first class Deccan Sardar propounds the following conundrums :

"You say, on page 442 lines 4-6 of *Harijan* of 10th February, that you put Europeans on the same footing as big Zamindars and capitalists. I presume that you include in the general word 'Zamindars' Inamdars, Talukdars and big Landholders.

1. Will you be pleased to say whether you remember and realise the fact that Europeans are foreigners and their earnings and profits go out of the country to enrich other nations and make them more powerful instruments to exploit India; while Zamindars and Inamdars, particularly of Maharashtra, are *Indians*, who have patriotic blood running in their veins, and who will lay their bones in India, and all their earnings and savings, and even their extravagance will remain in this country and enrich the country? Many of these people have national interests fully at heart and are always prepared to help the national development.

2. What are the differences between a nationalist Zamindar and a nationalist non-Zamindar, in your opinion?

3. What exact position do you assign to Zamindars and Inamdars, and the capitalists in a free and Independent India? Will these classes be allowed to fully play their proper and active part in national development? Can these two classes expect justice and fair play in an Independent India?

4. Have the Zamindars and Inamdars and capitalists any place in the present Congress, consistent with their limitations and commitments?"

Answer:

1. I make no difference between Europeans and Indians, if the former conform to the laws of Free India. I cannot, consistently with my views on non-violence. Under my scheme, European settlers will not be allowed to exploit the country as most of them are doing today. Patriots will have had their reward in the shape of freedom of their country. They are no patriots who are working with selfish personal ends in view. If we create a State based on pure justice, real equality and genuine brotherhood, Europeans will cease to be foreigners. They will take pride in pooling their talents for the sole good of the country of their adoption.

I gladly acknowledge the fact that there are many Inamdars, Zamindars and other capitalists

who are as patriotic as any Congressmen.

2. A nationalist Zamindar will try to live like a non-Zamindar. He will regard his tenants as his co-proprietors; in other words, he will hold his Zamindari in trust for his tenants taking a moderate commission for the use of his labours and capital. A nationalist non-Zamindar will not regard the Zamindar as his natural enemy but will seek redress of his wrongs by the process of conversion. I have shown before now that this is not a long drawn out agony.

3. This is answered in the foregoing. Antagonism between the classes will be removed. I do not envisage a dead and artificial level among the people. There will be a variety among them as there is among the leaves of a tree. There will certainly be no have-nots, no unemployment, and no disparity between classes and masses such as we see today. I have no doubt whatsoever that, if non-violence in its full measure becomes the policy of the State, we shall reach essential equality without strife.

4. All who subscribe to the simple creed of the Congress can join it. As a matter of fact there are many monied members of the Congress. To quote only one instance, Jamnalalji is a capitalist and he is a member of the Working Committee.

Sevagram, 22-4-40

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1384 pages. 18 chapters. Copious Index of 32 pages. 219 illustrations. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 6. Published by Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Available at (1) *Harijan* office—Poona 4; (2) *Harijan* office — 81 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Lines Station, Bombay 2. "Every village worker knowing English will make it a point to possess a copy," says Gandhiji. Several eminent doctors have spoken highly of the book. "The book", says the author, "has behind it the experience of over ten thousand cases treated in the various institutions connected with the Khadi Pratisthan for the past seven years, according to the lines indicated."

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MARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 12]

POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1940

[ONE ANNA SIX PIES

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

No Confusion

Q. There is still a lot of confusion in the public mind about the Indian situation. How can one remove it?

A. Confusion should have been removed as soon as the popular ministers resigned. They were the chosen representatives of the people. They had applied themselves to their work with amazing industry and efficiency which won the unstinted praise of the Governors. They took no rest themselves and allowed none to their subordinates. They had set a definite programme before themselves which would have improved the condition of the masses. It must have cost them a lot to give up office. But they found to their amazement that Provincial Autonomy, which Sir Samuel Hoare had declared from the house-tops to be real and complete, was reduced to a farce in the twinkling of an eye. The popular ministers were to be mere registering officers to carry out the will of the central executive so far as war measures were concerned. In this most vital matter they were not consulted formally or informally. So the ministers had to resign. This one act of theirs was complete in itself. Its importance is not felt as it should be because the Congress is wedded to non-violence.

Congress Not Responsible

Q. Many people believe that the attitude of the Congress has precipitated the Muslim League resolution about partitioning India.

A. I do not think so. But if it has, it is a distinct gain. It is good that what was in should come out. It is easier now to deal with the problem. It will solve itself. One distinct gain is that nationalist Muslims have become awakened to a sense of their duty.

Muslim Rule = Indian Rule

Q. Would you prefer Muslim rule to British rule?

A. The question is badly put. You, being British, cannot get out of the habit of thinking that India is fit only to be ruled by someone. Muslim rule is equivalent to Indian rule. You might as well ask me whether I would prefer Bengali or Maratha to British rule. Maratha, Bengali, Sikh, Dravidian, Parsi, Christian (Indian), Muslim — all will be Indian rule. It makes no difference to me that some Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation. It is

enough for me that I do not consider them as such. They are sons of the soil. Muslims considered separately have eight crores of unarmed Muslims scattered over India to look to. But you have the whole British nation and your army of occupation to look to. You belong to the ruling race. You are less than one hundred thousand in the midst of 350 millions over whom you rule. It is a matter of shame both for you and us. I need not weigh whose is the greater shame. The sooner we get out of it the better for both of us.

You will now understand my answer when I say that I would any day prefer Muslim rule to British rule. I have no doubt that, if British rule which divides us by favouring one or the other as it suits the Britishers were withdrawn today, Hindus and Muslims would forget their quarrels and live like brothers which they are. But supposing the worst happened and we had a civil war, it would last for a few days or months and we would settle down to business. In status we are equal. With you, it is different. You have disarmed us. Those of us who have been trained by you really belong to you rather than to us. We are no match for you in military power. You do not know how the rule has stunted the nation. Immediately British rule is really ended, we shall grow as never before, in spite of all forebodings.

Why This Partiality?

Q. Both Prof. Ranga and Shri Jaiprakash Narain have been punished under the law. But while you were moved by the latter's sentence you have denounced Prof. Ranga, and this in spite of the fact that Prof. Ranga's offence was, if anything, a technical one, whereas Shri Jaiprakash by obstructing the war effort invited the penalty of the law upon himself. I agree that Prof. Ranga should not have broken the law. But then does not your attitude betray partiality on your part towards the one and antipathy towards the other?

A. You are hopelessly wrong. Your admission that Prof. Ranga was wrong in breaking the order shows that your cause is not just. Prof. Ranga is as good a friend to me as Shri Jaiprakash. I should have expressed the same opinion about the latter's action if he had done what Prof. Ranga did. There is no room in public life for partial friendships. Indeed, real friendship is in no need of partiality. I have

none for Shri Jaiprakash. Nor have I any antipathy towards Prof. Ranga. I have perhaps less differences with Prof. Ranga than with Shri Jaiprakash, but that makes no difference to me. Shri Jaiprakash committed no breach of an order. He delivered a speech which was regarded as contrary to law. In Prof. Ranga's case there was a deliberate breach of an order served on him. The two things are different. I have answered your question, because I attach importance to the breach. I also want to warn those who accept Congress discipline against such breaches.

A Municipal Chairman's Duty

Q. My father is the Congress Municipal Chairman of a certain place. In a recent bye-election for a ward the official Congress candidate was defeated. A local youth organisation gave a tea party in honour of the successful non-Congress candidate. My father was invited and he attended. His view was that once a candidate is elected, no matter to what party he belongs, as Chairman it was his duty to welcome him and get the best of co-operation from him in the interests of civic welfare. Some people feel that attending a function given in honour of an opponent is harmful to the party's cause.

A. Your father, I am sure, was quite right. He would have been wrong, if he had not attended the function. An opponent is entitled to the same regard for his principles as we would expect others to have for ours. Non-violence demands that we should seek every opportunity to win over opponents. And what can be better than that we share their joys and sorrows? Moreover your father as Chairman was bound to be impartial. It was, therefore, doubly his duty to attend the function.

Sevagram, 30-4-40

Gram Sevak Vidyalaya

The next session of the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya of the A. I. V. I. A. Wardha will be from 1-7-40 to 30-4-41. Admission will be closed on 1st June 1940 and students must present themselves at the Vidyalaya not later than 1st July 1940.

Application forms for admission and further particulars can be had from the Superintendent, Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganvadi Wardha, C. P.

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PRINCELY EXTRAVAGANZA

III

"Divide and Rule"

And so the policy of "subordinate union and co-operation" was launched. "The Prince was granted possession and administration but not sovereignty, and his possession was made conditional on his remaining faithful in allegiance and subordination to the Crown."¹ Treaties hereafter were no longer concluded on terms of equality. Older treaties were not revised or abrogated. "Instead, the milder and less provocative device of constructive interpretation was relied upon."² Difficulties and apparent contradictions involved in this policy were vividly described by Lord Elgin who succeeded Lord Canning (1862):

"If you attempt to crush all superiorities, you unite the native population in a homogeneous mass against you. If you foster pride of rank and position, you encourage pretensions which you cannot gratify, partly because you dare not abdicate your own functions as a Paramount Power and partly because you cannot control the arrogance of your subjects of the dominant (sic) race. Scindia and Holkar are faithful to us in proportion as they are weak and conscious that they require our aid to support them against their own subjects and neighbours....My own opinion is that Canning never intended to let the chiefs get the bits into their mouths, or to lose his hold over them. It is true that he rode them with a loose rein, but the pace was so killing that it took the kick out of them, and a light hand and silken thread were all that was required. His policy of deference to the authority of the Native Chiefs was a means to an end, the end being the establishment of British Raj in India; and when the means and the end came into conflict, or seemed likely to do so, the former went to the wall."

A Dutch Auction

Here we have an authoritative statement of the time-honoured British policy of "divide and rule" propounded with a Machiavellian skill and frankness that almost takes away one's breath. Lord Curzon's insistence on "efficiency" and his dictatorial manner with the Princes, however, introduced a 'rift in the lute' at a time when "the Government of India was beginning under political pressure to contemplate utilizing their services to counter revolution".³ Wrote Lord Minto, his successor, to Lord Morley (May 28, 1906): "I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes."

The latter demanded their price and had to be propitiated.⁴ Lord Minto and his successors,

1. Keith: *A Constitutional History of India*, p. 217.

2. *Ibid*, p. 217.

3. *Ibid*, p. 218.

4. Compare the following in support of the claim put forward by the Bhavnagar Darbar for the withdrawal of the plenary jurisdiction which, it was complained, the British authorities had unfairly estab-

while admitting in theory that "in guaranteeing the internal independence of the States and in undertaking their protection against external aggression...Imperial Government assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and would not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule," in practice gave them a loose rein. The result was that they relapsed into the self-indulgent and unenlightened despotism from which Lord Curzon had tried to pull them out thereby necessitating a long chapter of abdications which came to a head in Lord Reading's regime. Their stock, however, again soared high when it was sought to bring them into the Federation, "not, as the Simon Commission intended, as fellow self-governing units... but to make the Centre conservative and pro-English."⁵ But the Paramount Power, while it was prepared to go a long way to humour them as far as their personal extravaganzas was concerned, unceremoniously turned down their demand for release from the burden of Paramountcy as the price for entering the Federation. And even the Conservative Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, found it handy to take public notice of that usually forgotten entity, the States' subjects. "He made it clear that he did not suppose that there was anyone in the House who thought the Princes were the only people to be considered....He was unwilling to allow the House to be driven from what it thought proper to enter into a Dutch auction for the sport of the Princes." Sir Samuel Hoare too was equally frank. He plainly told the Princes that Paramountcy must remain paramount. The only way in which they could lighten the burden of paramountcy for themselves was by exchanging for it, in certain spheres, the control of the Federal Government, if they so chose. If they had the most of Federation, they would be under the least of paramountcy. But having declared its unpreparedness to enter into a Dutch auction for the sport of the Princes, whom it claimed as its vassals, to bring them into the Federation, the Paramount power now turns round and requires the Congress to do the same

lished over the Bhavnagar State Railway: "One of the ironies of the thing is that the Princes, who have taken a stern line against the spread of sedition by agitators from British India, are debarred from loyal action. The situation was summed up in 1918 by the Maharaja of Bhavnagar:

"With the control of the police of my railway taken away from me, any agitationwalla or mischief-monger from Ahmedabad, or any other part of the country, can make use of my own railway to travel and come up to Bhavnagar station, and knock at the very gate of my capital city. He can instigate my employers to go on strike, to hamper the working of the railway, to misuse the telegraph wires and generally to defy authority — and this without my being able so much to point a finger at him." (A. P. Nicholson: *Scraps of Paper*, p. 229)

5. Mr. J. Wedgewood before the Joint Select Committee.

in order to negotiate a settlement with them as a condition precedent to the fulfilment of its declaration with regard to the Indian Independence that it has made before the world!

A Mockery of Justice

This is a strange mockery of justice. The Crown claims and exercises absolute suzerainty over the Princely order. It questions their right to introduce reforms in the States without the previous consent and sanction of the Political Department. They are liable to be set aside for "not listening" to the advice that the Crown's Representative might give them. Yet it is the Congress which is today charged with failure to settle terms with them. Nationalist India would welcome them into partnership with itself on a basis of absolute equality provided they came as free agents, representing the will of their people. It refuses to admit them as a wooden horse of Troy within its body politic. To describe this attitude as one of 'hostility', as the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner has done in his speech, is surely a travesty of true facts. The Maharaja Saheb is beating thin air when he accuses the Congress of wanting to tear up the treaties of the States like so many scraps of paper. Nicholson's *Scraps of Paper*, surely, does not refer to the doings of the Congress. Similarly, far from asking for the abolition of the States, the Congress has offered the only solution which will restore to the States a reality and a vitality which, on their own admission, Pax Britannica has robbed them of,⁶ and give to their rulers, as constitutional monarchs, a status of honourable equality in a free India.

Sevagram, 8-4-40

Pyarelal

6. Compare the following from a statement from the Chamber of Princes:

"Protection (by the British) was from the first no unmixed blessing to them (Princes) as autocratic rulers....It detracted from the merits of autocracy as a system of government. An autocrat justifies his despotical rule, if he retains his power by his own personality and ability, but not otherwise....*The 'blessing' of external protection removes what is perhaps the greatest incentive to able administration,—the ruler's fear of his own subjects*, if he does not give them satisfaction. It is a Greek gift which indirectly has done more than anything else to keep the Indian Princes and their States from progressing at the pace of British India."—(*The Crown and the Indian States*, p. 119-120) (Italics mine)

Corrections

In article II of this series in last issue, on p. 103, col. 1, para 1, line 1, read 'gyrations, instead of 'gradations'; and on p. 106, col. 2, para 2, line 7, read 'had' instead of 'has'.

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

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THE HAND OF THE DEVIL ?

Now that the Muslim League has gone beyond even the expectations of the adepts in the policy of 'divide and rule', Lord Zetland describes the partition as "constituting something not far short of a counsel of despair", and says that its acceptance would be "an admission of failure of the devoted labours of Indians and Englishmen alike over a long period of concentrated effort." If by "the devoted labours of Indians and Englishmen" he means the labours of Indians who built up the Indian National Congress through more than fifty years, and of Englishmen like Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, and the last but by no means the least of them Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews, his words are absolutely true. Partition would not only be an "admission of failure" of those devoted labours, but it would be wanton destruction of the edifice of unity they have patiently wrought to erect. But Lord Zetland's words have a tragically ironic ring when one thinks of the endeavours that have been made "over a long period", not to unite the two communities, but to divide them, by those who were entrusted with the work of consolidating the Empire.

One wonders if Lord Zetland knows that the principal authors of the two nations theory were the Empire-builders of Britain, his predecessors in the offices that he has one time or other occupied. We cannot fix the guilt either of the monstrosity or the originality of the suggestion on Jinnah Sahab. It was conceived and defined by the "rulers". The first of those was Lord Dufferin — there were earlier ones like Sir Bartle Frere, but they had not enunciated the theory in such definite terms — who warned the Muslims against any identification with the Hindus in a political objective and propounded the two nations theory in these terms:

"But perhaps the most patent characteristic of our Indian cosmos is its division into two mighty political communities as distinct from each other as the poles asunder in their religious faith, their historical antecedents, their social organisation and their natural aptitudes; on the one hand the Hindus numbering 190 millions with their polytheistic beliefs, their temples adorned with images and idols, their veneration for the sacred cow, their elaborate caste distinctions, and their habits of submission to successive conquerors — on the other hand the Mohomedans, a nation of 50 millions with their monotheism, their iconoclastic fanaticism, their animal sacrifices, their social equality, and their remembrance of the days when enthroned at Delhi they reigned supreme from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin."

It would be difficult to compress in a brief paragraph more mischievous half-truths than Lord Dufferin did. Lords Minto and Morley went a step further by helping to perpetuate the apparent division. Lord Minto declared any electoral representation in India as "doomed to

mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent." It was a clever way of expressing the theory, but Lord Morley was brutally frank: "Only let us not forget that the differences between Mohomedanism and Hinduism is not mere difference of articles of religious faith or dogmas. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of beliefs that constitute a community. Do not let us forget that in talking of Hindus and Mohamedans we are dealing with and are brought face to face with historic issues."

Some of the Muslims of those days were easy disciples of those British tutors, and even proud giants like Sir Syed Ahmed appealed to the Mussalmans to look to their communal interests as against national interests which were illusory. But it was reserved, in the words of Maulana Mahomed Ali, "for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmed had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Mussalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unsuspecting herald of India's nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Mussalmans, namely our brave Sikh brothers, should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs. There is the hand of God."

But let me correct Maulana Mahomed Ali in one or two respects. Even Sir Syed Ahmed had not thought that the barrier he had *recognised* — it had been *erected* not by him, but by the English masters as we have seen — could in any way be permanent. In a speech at Gurdaspur in 1884, he said:

"From the oldest times the word 'nation' is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mahomedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you inhabit the same land? Are you not burned and buried on the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction — otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same country. Then all these different communities can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all."

In a Lahore speech he went even further and said: "What we do see is that we inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same governors, the fountains of benefit for all are the same, and

the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, *Hindu*, meaning to say that they are inhabitants of Hindustan."

And it must be remembered that it was Sir Syed Ahmed who used that famous simile—Hindus and Mussalmans being the two eyes of the same human body, each indispensable to the other—which later Jinnah Sahab himself adopted in one of his speeches.

And Maulana Mahomed Ali was less than fair to the Muslim leaders of pre-Jallianwalla days. There were men like Justice Badroodine Tyebji and Mr. Rahimatulla Sayani who whole-heartedly supported the Congress. But there were men like Mian Muhammad Shafi who, though they had not joined the Congress, were anything but separatists. This is what the Mian Sahab said at the All India Muslim League meeting in 1913:

"Now the Indian Mussalmans consist of two sections. Firstly those who themselves being descendants of the pre-Aryan aborigines and of the Aryan settlers in India, were converted to Islam during the long centuries of Muslim ascendancy in this country, and secondly those who are descendants of the Muslim conquerors from the West. It is obvious that the former are as much Indians as our Hindu brethren, and the latter having settled in India centuries ago and, having made it their permanent home, have as vital a stake in the material prosperity and political progress of their motherland as any other section of the Indian population. But there is, in this connection, a fact of great political importance which must not be lost sight of. The majority of Indian Mussalmans belong to the agricultural or quasi-agricultural classes, and are therefore relatively more identified with the permanent Indian interests than the other classes of our population. Under these undeniable circumstances, it is but natural that the warm blood of Indian patriotism courses through the veins of Indian Mussalmans with the same vitality as is the case with those articulate classes whose patriotic spirit finds loud expression from the public platform and in the press."

There were others like Mr. A. Rasul, Syed Hassan and Syed Ali Imam, and later Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. In 1915 the Ali Brothers cast in their lot with the nationalist Mussalmans. Jinnah Sahab, whose utterances of an earlier day we examined the other day, was a disciple of those Mussalmans who stood for a united nation. But he is now recanting his earlier professions, denying his Muslim tutors and evidently going back to the teaching of the British tutors. He forgets that he is flying in the face of those experienced Muslim leaders who like Mian Muhammad Shafi had patiently argued out and rejected the separatist theory.

As for Lord Zetland, one would respectfully remind him that the tribe of Dufferins and Colvins and Mayos is not extinct. Lord Hailey supports the two nations theory as much as Lord Zetland professes to disown it. "The

Mussalmans," he said recently, "can never forget that until our arrival in India they ruled the whole country. They are deeply suspicious of any political development which may place them under the control of a Hindu majority. They are not merely a political minority as we understand it, there are deep-seated social and cultural differences between them and Hindus. It is again a fact which counts for much, that they have religious connections with the warlike Mohammedan peoples on the frontier and beyond it." If, as Maulana Mahomed Ali said, "the hand of God" had worked in Jallianwalla, may it be that the hand of the Devil is working today?

Sevagram, 28-4-40

M. D.

Example Better than Precept

The Junior Maharaja of Dewas has expressed his active sympathy for khadi—and all village industries, we presume—in a manner which will leave no manner of doubt in the minds of State employees and the people of the State. The Maharaja, speaking at the Malhar Exhibition on the 1st of March, said:

"I have a proposal to place before you regarding khadi. Next year there should be a stall in the exhibition exclusively devoted to khadi, khadi goods, and giving facts and figures showing the advantages of khadi. This year I had sent Shri Sakharan Chaudhri to receive training in the processes of khadi manufacture, and I am glad that he has returned with all the training that he could get. But I want to extend the work on a wide scale, and if necessary I may send more people for training. I also propose to spend an adequate amount on this object."

I would appeal to the Exhibition Committee to restrict themselves to the use of khadi for all the cloth that may be necessary in the construction of the exhibition. This khadi should be woven in, and prepared from yarn spun in, Dewas, and everyone in the State should aim at exhibiting here something of his or her own manufacture. I propose to place an exhibit myself, and so will all the members of my family. I hope all people will co-operate in the fulfilment of this object and will make of the khadi exhibition as great a success as they made of the fruit and vegetables show.

I approached in this matter other States in Central India, but I am sorry to say there was no response. I therefore have decided to do the thing myself and set an example."

Before this, on the 29th January 1940, the Maharaja had issued the following appeal in *Akhbar Martand*, a local paper:

"Make Khadi your own."

"There is an English proverb which says, 'Charity begins at home,' and everyone is familiar with the appeal, 'Support Home Industries.' Acting on these adages I would ask all the State officials to dress themselves in clothes made of khadi, white or coloured, manufactured in our State. I am speaking from experience. I use home-made khadi. I shall be delighted if my example is followed. It will benefit the people, and it will give a fillip to the cottage industries in the State."

We congratulate the Dewas Maharaja on the thoroughgoing way in which he has taken up the matter, and we hope others will follow his example.

Sevagram, 29-4-40

M. D.

Harijan

May 4

1940

OF WHAT AVAIL IS NON-VIOLENCE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian friend writes:

"Yesterday Reuter in pathetic terms related how the population of Norway under the rain of bombs and machine gun bullets was fleeing from towns completely demoralised and in panic. It is shocking that such good people should so suddenly be reduced to this helpless condition simply because they had neither the will nor the resources to develop the technique of destruction into a fine art. The futility of violence, and also, I fear, its temporary efficacy, is being proved. Of what avail was the violent defence of Norway? And yet for the time being the bigger violence of Germany seems to have succeeded! Let us hope eventually everyone will see the futility of violence and a new era may dawn. But are we really making a non-violent contribution towards the world problem? Of what avail is our non-violence to Norway, Sweden and Denmark? Virtually, are we not giving a handle to Germany? True, we are doing nothing beyond embarrassing Great Britain, and perhaps we may say that such an embarrassment is inevitable and is not caused deliberately. But the fact remains that England is in distress and by our action we are embarrassing not only England but all other good nations who have been victims of aggression. We are not likely, it seems, to succeed in changing England's heart. And victims like Norway etc. can never appreciate our attitude. In the light of our present attitude, the international world can with justification misinterpret our past help to victims of aggression like China and Spain. Were they more deserving of our help than the present victims? And if not, then why this distinction? Simply because an imperialist power, even for the sake of its own interest, happens to decide to do something which is noble and moral! You have never regretted your action during the last war when you vigorously recruited people for military purposes. This time your attitude appears to be in sharp contrast, although you say that both attitudes are right."

My correspondent is not alone in bemoaning the lot of most cultured and inoffensive people like the Danes and the Norwegians. This war is showing the futility of violence. Supposing Hitler becomes victorious over the Allies, he will never subjugate England and France. It will mean another war. Supposing the Allies are victorious, the world will fare no better. They will be more polite but not less ruthless, unless they learn the lesson of non-violence during the war and unless they shed the gains they have made through violence. The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every depart-

ment of life. Perhaps it is too much to expect of human nature. I do not, however, think so. No one should dogmatise about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation.

Indian non-violence has brought no relief to the cultured Western powers because it is still poor stuff. Why travel so far to see its inefficacy? We in India are torn asunder in spite of the Congress policy of non-violence. The Congress itself is distrusted. Not until the Congress or a similar group of people represents the non-violence of the strong, will the world catch the infection.

India's aid to Spain and China was merely moral. The material aid was but an insignificant token of it. There is hardly an Indian who does not feel the same sympathy for Norway and Denmark who lost their freedom overnight. Though their case is different from that of Spain and China, their ruin is more complete perhaps than that of Spain and China. Indeed there is a material difference even between China and Spain. But there is no difference so far as sympathy is concerned. Pauper India has nothing to send to these countries except her non-violence. But as I have said this is not yet a sendable commodity. It will be, when India has gained her freedom through non-violence.

There then remains Britain's case. The Congress has caused no embarrassment. I have declared already that I shall do nothing to embarrass Great Britain. She will be embarrassed if there is anarchy in India. That, the Congress, so long as it is under my discipline, will not support.

What the Congress cannot do is to lend its moral influence to Britain. Moral influence is never mechanically given. It is for Britain to take it. Perhaps British statesmen do not think the Congress has any to lend. Perhaps they think that all they need is material aid in this warring world. If they do, they will not be far wrong. Morality is contraband in war. My correspondent has given up the whole of his case for Britain when he says, "We are not likely to succeed in changing Britain's heart." I do not wish ill to Britain. I shall grieve if Britain goes down. But the moral influence of the Congress cannot avail Britain unless she washes her hands clean of India. It works under its own unalterable condition.

My friend does not see the difference between my recruiting in Kheda and my attitude now. During the last war the moral issue had not been raised. The Congress was not pledged to non-violence. It had not the moral hold on the masses it now enjoys. I was acting on my own in all I did. I had even attended the War Conference. And to be true to my declaration I had been recruiting at the cost of my health. I told the people that, if they wanted arms, military service was the surest way to get them. But if they were non-violent like me, my appeal was not to them. There was no non-violent

man among my audiences so far as I know. Their reluctance was based on ill-will towards Britain. This was gradually giving place to an enlightened determination to throw off the foreign yoke.

Things have changed since then. In spite of the unanimous support that Britain got during the last war from India, the British attitude was translated into the Rowlatt Act and the like. The Congress accepted non-violent non-cooperation to meet the British menace. There is the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh, the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conferences, the emasculation of Bengal for the sake of the misdeeds of a few. The Congress having accepted non-violence, I do not need to go to the people to give recruits. Through the Congress I can give something infinitely better than a few such recruits. Of that evidently Britain has no need. I am willing but helpless.

Sevagram, 30-4-40

AN ENGLISH SUGGESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An English friend writes thus :

"It is still reasonable at present to proceed on the assumption that the Muslims would accept something a good deal less than 'Pakistan'. But the trouble is that the longer the time that elapses without any compromise solution being reached, the stronger and more insistent will be the cry for 'Pakistan', so that in the end civil war or partition will be the only alternatives. I think the view held by some that there is nothing to be done but to wait upon events is fatal. It is up to the British now to use all their powers of persuasion and statesmanship to *compel* the parties to settle.

The crux of the matter is who is to control power at the Centre—Hindus or Muslims? Over this the Congress must be prepared to make great concessions. The principles of parliamentary democracy and majority rule must be jettisoned. They are not applicable when two distinct civilisations have got to lie down together. Majority rule from the Muslim point of view will mean or, at any rate, contain the menace of the dominance of one civilisation over the other. If the Congress do not recognize this quickly, I am afraid that partition will become, if not the only alternative, the best one—which will give you an idea of how bad the other alternatives will be!

If the Congress can be brought to see the need for great concessions on this point, I am sure compromise solutions can be found. I hold this necessity to be vital."

Of course the British Government can do much. They have done much by force. They can make the parties come to a solution by force. But they need not go so far. What they have done hitherto is to prevent a proper solution. In proof of my statement I commend the esteemed correspondent to the columns of *Harijan*. The only thing the British Government have to

do is to change their attitude. Will they? They can retain their hold on India only by a policy of divide and rule. A living unity between Muslims and Hindus is fraught with danger to their rule. It would mean an end of it. Therefore it seems to me that a true solution will come with the end of the rule, potentially if not in fact.

What can be done under the threat of Pakistan? If it is not a threat but a desirable goal, why should it be prevented? If it is undesirable and meant only for the Muslims to get more under its shadow, any solution would be an unjust solution. It would be worse than no solution. Therefore I am entirely for waiting till the menace is gone. India's independence is a living thing. No make-believe will suit. The whole world is in the throes of a new birth. Anything done for a temporary gain would be tantamount to an abortion.

I cannot think in terms of narrow Hinduism or narrow Islam. I am wholly uninterested in a patchwork solution. India is a big country, a big nation composed of different cultures, which are tending to blend with one another, each complementing the rest. If I must wait for the completion of the process, I must wait. It may not be completed in my day. I shall love to die in the faith that it must come in the fullness of time. I should be happy to think that I had done nothing to hamper the process. Subject to this condition, I would do anything to bring about harmony. My life is made up of compromises, but they have been compromises that have brought me nearer the goal. Pakistan cannot be worse than foreign domination. I have lived under the latter though not willingly. If God so desires it, I may have to become a helpless witness to the undoing of my dream. But I do not believe that the Muslims really want to dismember India.

Sevagram, 29-4-40

Wanton Destruction in Bidar

A correspondent is grieved that I have been silent about the shocking tragedy in Bidar (Hyderabad State). I have before now said in another connection that because I say nothing in public about certain wrongs it is not to be thought that I am oblivious to them or that I am doing nothing. I must be allowed to judge what is best under given circumstances. If all I have heard about Bidar (not all has been published in the papers) is true, nothing quite like it has happened anywhere in all India. If Hyderabad State is not to be given over to lawlessness and Hindu life and property not rendered valueless, there should be a thorough and impartial judicial inquiry commanding confidence, and full compensation should be given to those who are rendered suddenly homeless. It is to be hoped that Muslim opinion outside Hyderabad will ask for full investigation into the happenings.

Sevagram, 30-4-40

M. K. G.

THE AJMER TROUBLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Having published the gist of the case of the Khadi Exhibition organisers about the national flag incident, I am in duty bound to publish the following communique of the Commissioner of Ajmer Merwara on the incident:

"A feature of the celebration by the Ajmer Congress of what is known as the 'National Week' has been an exhibition organised by a committee known as the 'Khadi Gram Udyog Exhibition Committee'. For this a number of temporary structures have been erected adjoining the fort on a plot of *nazul* land, which is under the control of the Municipal Committee. Advantage was taken of the fact that the exhibition attracted large crowds of people to hold political meetings on a vacant plot between the exhibition grounds and the entrance to the city kotwali. At two of these meetings speeches of an extremely objectionable character were delivered, and it was evident that the organizers of the meetings who are members of the local Congress were attempting under the pretext of promoting the use of khadi and village industries in general to bring the Government into hatred and contempt. The fact that these seditious utterances were made at a place adjoining a barrack occupied by constables stationed at the kotwali was an additional provocation.

Further, the organisers of the exhibition set up a flag-staff on an outlying bastion of the fort from which the Congress flag was flown. This bastion is on Government land and is a part of the kotwali Police Station. Permission was neither sought for nor obtained for this act. Apart from the undesirability of a party emblem of this nature being displayed from a Government building, the flying of the Congress flag from the ramparts of an ancient Moghul fort, which is a protected monument, caused grave offence to certain sections of the public.

After satisfying himself by personal inspection as to the facts, the Commissioner decided to issue two prohibitory orders to prevent a breach of public tranquillity. The first order was addressed to the organisers of the exhibition by name, and it directed them to remove the flag and flag-staff within one hour and to refrain from re-erecting it within 400 yards of the fort ramparts. The second order was a general one prohibiting political meetings under the Municipal limits for a period of ten days. The issue of this order was rendered necessary by the manner in which certain partisans of the Congress had abused the opportunity which the holding of the Khadi Exhibition presented.

As far as the first order is concerned, the individuals to whom it was addressed intimated in writing their refusal to comply, whereupon the police were directed to remove the flag and the flag-staff. Action is being taken separately regarding the refusal of the organisers of the exhibition to comply with the order."

If the above version is true, the case of the Exhibition Committee falls to the ground. I may state that a correspondent claiming to be impartial sends a letter supporting the version of the Ajmer authorities. I refrain from expressing any opinion till my investigation is complete. One thing, however, is clear. The Commissioner has done everything he can to incite the Muslims against the Exhibition Committee. Prejudice against it peeps out through a portion of the communique. Even if the facts are as he has stated them, the Commissioner could have avoided the inflammatory

reference to the 'Moghul Fort'. He knew that the Exhibition Committee could have no intention of wounding Muslim susceptibilities.

I have further information that more trouble is brewing in Ajmer. But of this more when I have full facts.

Meanwhile let me draw attention to the reported tactful act of a Commissioner in the Frontier Province who, when a Congressman went to his office to hoist the Congress flag, straightaway hoisted it himself, and hoisted the Muslim League flag as well, taking care that the Union Jack flew the highest of all. But for the sense of humour and tact of the Commissioner it is difficult to say what would have happened.

Sevagram, 30-4-40

An Unjudicial Dictum

A correspondent sends me a press cutting containing a report of an Allahabad judgment of two English judges sitting as appellate court. In delivering their judgment allowing the appeal their Lordships are reported to have said:

"The case is unsatisfactory because we have no less than five persons who were in effect, if their evidence can be relied upon, eye-witnesses, and yet, having regard to the slight value placed upon truth in this country, we have seriously to apply our minds as to whether they can be believed."

This is an extraordinary pronouncement from a bench of judges. What legal basis had these two judges for the sweeping statement made by them as to the character of a whole nation? The inference is that in other countries a higher value is placed upon truth. Now if this was a universally accepted proposition, perhaps the judges would have been justified in taking legal notice of it. There is, however, not only no such acceptance but experienced observers have testified that, on the whole, greater value is put upon truth in India than elsewhere. But no judge should be influenced one way or the other by such observations as have no judicial value. I would go further and say that such observations ought not to be made by any responsible person, even on political platforms. They can never be proved. But when they are made by judges they vitiate their judgments and may lead to miscarriage of justice. Be it noted that the Allahabad judges have made use of their bias in coming to their decision and have thus proved their incapacity to hold responsible posts. The case in which the observation was made affected poor people. But the fact that only poor persons were involved makes it all the more necessary to take public notice of the judges' strictures. Who knows in how many cases this bias of theirs has resulted in defeating justice?

Sevagram, 2-4-40

M. K. G.

NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay office are now 8 to 11 A. M. and 3 to 7 P. M. Readers will please note.

MANAGER

HINDU MUSLIM TANGLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The partition proposal has altered the face of the Hindu Muslim problem. I have called it an untruth. There can be no compromise with it. At the same time I have said that, if the eight crores of Muslims desire it, no power on earth can prevent it, notwithstanding opposition violent or non-violent. It cannot come by honourable agreement.

That is the political aspect of it. But what about the religious and the moral which are greater than the political? For at the bottom of the cry for partition is the belief that Islam is an exclusive brotherhood, and anti-Hindu. Whether it is against other religions it is not stated. The newspaper cuttings in which partition is preached describe Hindus as practically untouchables. Nothing good can come out of Hindus or Hinduism. To live under Hindu rule is a sin. Even joint Hindu-Muslim rule is not to be thought of. The cuttings show that Hindus and Muslims are already at war with one another and that they must prepare for the final tussle.

Time was when Hindus thought that Muslims were the natural enemies of Hindus. But as is the case with Hinduism, ultimately it comes to terms with the enemy and makes friends with it. The process had not been completed. As if nemesis had overtaken Hinduism, the Muslim League started the same game and taught that there could be no blending of the two cultures. In this connection I have just read a booklet by Shri Atulanand Chakrabarti which shows that ever since the contact of Islam with Hinduism there has been a . attempt on the part of the best mind of both to see the good points of each other, and to emphasise inherent similarities rather than seeming dissimilarities. The author has shown Islamic history in India in a favourable light. If he has stated the truth and nothing but the truth, it is a revealing booklet which all Hindus and Muslims may read with profit. He has secured a very favourable and reasoned preface from Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan and several other Muslim testimonials. If the evidence collected there reflects the true evolution of Islam in India, then the partition propaganda is anti-Islamic.

Religion binds man to God and man to man. Does Islam bind Muslim only to Muslim and antagonise the Hindu? Was the message of the Prophet peace only for and between Muslims and war against Hindus or non-Muslims? Are eight crores of Muslims to be fed with this which I can only describe as poison? Those who are instilling this poison into the Muslim mind are rendering the greatest disservice to Islam. I know that it is not Islam. I have lived with and among Muslims not for one day but closely and almost uninterruptedly for twenty years. Not one Muslim taught me that Islam was an anti-Hindu religion.

Sevagram, 29-4-40

IN THE WAKE OF MECHANISATION

III

Of this increasing displacement of human labour and its dire results an example has just come to light from America where, as we said before, mechanisation of agriculture is proceeding at a very rapid pace. It is described in an article which appeared last year in an American Christian weekly, *Zion's Herald*, and was reproduced in the Christian quarterly *World Christianity* (now defunct) towards the end of that year. In agriculture, and particularly in cotton cultivation, in America the system of having "share-croppers" obtained till the growing mechanisation disturbed it rudely and brought "in its trail the destitution of share-cropper families and the consequent human erosion."

"Every step towards rationalisation, every advance in the utilisation of electricity and the automatic machine diminishes the consequence of the worker. His skill and experience count each year for a little less. His numbers are everywhere in excess of the demand. Industry still requires large, though diminishing, numbers of unskilled, or semi-skilled, 'hands', but the expert master mechanic has fallen on evil days."

Exactly the same thing happened in the case of these share-croppers whose story has been narrated by Mark A. Dawber, the author of the above-mentioned article. "His condition," says the writer, "has been the subject of radio, movie, and press," surveys and reports have been made, "general pronouncements concerning America's economic problem number one have been released, but the share-cropper remains, his condition not improved, but growing worse with every passing day."

The share-croppers and share-tenants, as their names suggest, are those skilled cultivators who do not own the land but raise the crops, a part of which they receive in return for their labour from the landowners. The magnitude of the problem may be realised from the fact that out of about two million farm families dependent upon the cotton crop for a livelihood, 1,830,000 are share-croppers and tenant-farmers. The share-cropper family earned \$ 38 to 87 a person per year, and a share-tenant family an average of \$ 73 a person per year. Most of the share-croppers are Negroes; most of the share-tenants are whites. Since 1935, "thousands of these have been forced off the land and are trying to eke out a living as day labourers and migrant workers, and the end is not yet."

"The sharecropper's condition has been made more difficult," says the writer, "by the introduction of machinery. As a result, thousands of sharecroppers have been dispensed with and evicted from the land and the miserable cabins in which they have lived."

And what is the prospect that the future holds out before them? The narrative goes on:

7 H. N. Brailsford: *Op Cit*, p. 258.

"The future displacement of sharecroppers when the mechanical cotton-picker shall have been perfected is well recognized. The serious displacement now in progress in the wake of the all-purpose farm tractor has been scarcely noticed. Yet tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farm labourers — whites and Negroes alike — are being swept from the land and on to relief in some of the most important agricultural sections of the country. Planters are dispensing with their croppers and tenants, retaining the few necessary to operate the tractors and paying them by the day when they work. A planter in the Mississippi Delta, to cite an outstanding example, purchased twentytwo tractors and thirteen four-row cultivators; he let go 130 out of his 160 cropper families, and retained the thirty for day labour."

The mechanical tractors and cultivators are showering their curses in the fullest measure on these helpless folk, and are bringing in their wake desolation and despair.

"The rural landscape is strewn with abandoned houses, or, as in sections of Kansas with which I am personally acquainted, the farm homes are being pulled down to avoid taxes. Residents in western Texas explain as they point: 'There used to be ten cropper families on that farm. The tractor got nine of them.' 'That farm has made a living for a dozen families ever since the land was broke; now only three are living on it and two are getting just enough to get by.' 'The tractors are keeping our families from making a living.'"

The story proceeds in its moving pathos:

"Rural schools decline. Village merchants fail. Drought and poor cotton prices have undermined them, and mechanized farming finishes them. Class bitterness is stirred, and even the government program intended to benefit the farmer has become an instrument of strife. This is the story of those who have been dispossessed from the land, the story of the machine riding ruthlessly over the lives of people, bringing bitterness and despair. Others not yet dispossessed are facing the same fate in stark fear."

Even a worm turns, and it is no wonder that "these families, described as the 'victims' of increasing mechanisation of agriculture and of government crop-adjustment programmes", make occasional mass protests, however feeble, against what has deprived them of not only their livelihood but of even the opportunity of honest labour. Here is a description of one of such groups:

"This new condition that reduced the sharecropper to a day-labour status, with no cabin to call his own, has created a revolt in certain sections of the country. In January, during a bitter winter storm, hundreds of these evicted sharecroppers, in Missouri, moved along the highway to give demonstration against the new economic status in which they found themselves. Under the leadership of Owen H. Whitfred, a Negro Baptist minister, more than a thousand men, women, and children camped along the two main highways. The march to the highways was called as a protest against the growing movement in the cotton country to abandon sharecropping in favour of day labour. The leader of the movement contended that some landowners had evicted their renters in order to avoid having to share the crop benefit payments received from the Government. Men, women, and children camped in the open. They huddled around camp fires or makeshift stoves along the desolate rights of way, sharing the contents of the steaming kettles. Most of them were Negroes, but there was a scattering of white persons. Men

feeble with age, one woman so ill she had to be carried to the highway on a cot, and babies crying from fright and hunger, all presented a distressing picture."

Some philanthropic organisations are now trying to devise some measures of relief and to find a solution of their problem by way of rural rehabilitation and cooperative farm programmes.

IV

It would not be surprising if happenings like these began to shake the faith of people in machine economy and its so-called benefits. Thus, for instance, read against the background of the above, a little paragraph that appeared in the American weekly, *The New Republic*, on 27th September 1939, under the heading "Back to Handicraft":

"The Farm Security Administration has an interesting policy which it proposes to apply to 18,000 poor farmers in the northeastern section of the country. According to Philip Henderson, regional director of the FSA, these farmers will be taught to churn their own butter, grind their own flour and weave their own cloth. He believes that substantial savings can be made in the governmental assistance going to these farmers, who now sell their products for what they can get and buy their necessities in the open market.

The Twentieth Century Fund revealed the other day that, on the average, the producer gets only 40 per cent of the consumer's dollar; the other 60 per cent goes to middlemen. Mr. Henderson's 18,000 farmers are paying prices based partly on too many small retail stores, on charge accounts, delivery service, elaborate packaging of staple products, competitive advertising that is sometimes wasteful. He is very likely right in saying that they will be better off financially to churn their own butter and grind their own flour. But what a commentary on our civilization! When the machine-powered creamery was invented, when flour and textile mills grew to gigantic proportions, they were hailed as tremendous forward strides for humanity, doing away with vast quantities of isolated, individual toil and substituting that of a few men and many machines. Here we see the trend toward technological efficiency reversed because we haven't enough collective intelligence to use our machines to set us free."

The movement may be confined to a small number at present, but there is unmistakably a swing of the pendulum, and maybe it will gather momentum with the passage of time and greater disillusionment following upon economic disasters. On us, to whom unemployment due to mechanisation is not an unknown thing, events like these reported from the West should have a sobering effect, and should make us pause and ponder before we take a plunge towards widespread introduction of machines and large scale industrialisation. Let us count the cost in human misery the country will be made to pay in the bargain. Let us, at any rate, proceed with open eyes and look before we leap.

C. S.

NOTICE

The Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, has decided to open a regular Hindi Shorthand class at Wardha from 1st July 1940. Ten candidates will be selected for training. Further information can be had from the Secretary of the Samiti, Wardha.

OCCASIONAL NOTES

A Spate of Sophistries

In the course of his speech during the recent India debate in the House of Commons—which, as Mr. Wedgwood Benn hinted, was staged primarily for the benefit of the neutral world—the former Secretary of State for India indulged in sophistries galore. One of these was that Dominion Status of the Westminster variety was one and the same thing as and identical with Independence, and since it had satisfied even ardent separationists like Mr. Tielman Ross and Gen. Hertzog, it ought to satisfy India too. What Mr. Benn did not say in his speech but which was the mostly relevant part of the matter was that the status—whatever its nature—which was accepted was entirely determined by the accredited representatives concerned without any pressure or interference from any alien stake-holders within the country or from outside. As Sir Thomas Inskip pointed out when the question of the status of the Dominions was discussed in the House of Commons, every single clause in the proposed draft bill was to be found “word for word and letter for letter in the schedule to the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1930.” “It would be a matter of very grave responsibility,” the Solicitor-General added, “to insert any Amendment in this Bill which would go contrary to the expressed desire of any of our Dominions overseas.” As I pointed out last week, the Dominions protested against and repudiated outright the doctrine of ‘trusteeship’ in inter-Imperial relations in the middle of the Great War. In the case of South Africa, although its constitution was framed after what was claimed to be a victory over the Boers, the British Parliament did not claim the right even to transpose a misplaced comma in the draft Bill embodying the Union constitution, if South Africa chose to be ungrammatical. By the same token India today asks for self-determination which is every nation’s birth-right, and refuses to barter it for any political concession that Britain might be inclined to concede. It is for India and India alone to decide what her constitution shall be and by what name her status shall be described.

The Past Recalled

Regard being had to what is going on at present it is interesting and instructive to recall what Lord Birkenhead did thirteen years ago.

The situation briefly was, the ten years’ limit fixed by the authors of the Montford Scheme for determining the next instalment of political reforms was about to expire. Lord Birkenhead, to whom it was “frankly inconceivable that India will ever be fit for self-government,” had on December 4, 1924, already written to Lord Reading: “My present view is that we ought rigidly to adhere to the date proposed in the Act for re-examination of the situation, and

that it is not likely, unless matters greatly change in the interval, that such a re-examination will suggest the slightest extension. In the meantime, little as I have liked diarchy, obviously it must be given a chance.”

In January 1925 Lord Birkenhead wrote to Lord Reading the following memorable words:

“In ultimate analysis the strength of the British position is that we are in India for the good of India. The most striking illustration of the truth of the position is supplied by the infinite variation of nationality, sect and religion in the sub-continent. *The more it is made obvious that these antagonisms are profound and affect immense and irreconcilable sections of the population, the more conspicuously is the fact illustrated that we, and we alone, can play the part of composers.*” (Italics mine)

But developments had in the meantime taken place both in India and England, and there was in the offing a chance of the Labour Party being returned to power at the next elections. A strange thing then happened. In July 1925, Lord Birkenhead pompously declared in the House of Lords that he was “no slave to dates” and was prepared to anticipate the date fixed for the revision of the constitution. On November 8, 1927, Lord Irwin announced the appointment and composition of the Simon Commission. This was ostensibly done in response to “Indian political pressure to secure anticipation of the statute”. The real reason however, as is now established by the publication of private correspondence that passed at that time between Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading, was that the former shrank from the prospect of the appointment of the Commission being left into the hands of a possible Labour Government to come. In a letter dated December 10, 1925, addressed to Lord Reading, His Lordship delivered himself as follows:

“When I made my speech in the House of Lords suggesting that it might be possible to accelerate the Commission of 1928, if some measure of co-operation were forthcoming in India, *I always had it plainly in mind that we could not afford to run the slightest risk that the nomination of the 1928 Commission should be in the hands of our successors.* You can readily imagine what kind of a Commission in its personnel would have been appointed by Col. Wedgwood and his friends. I have, therefore, throughout been of opinion that it would be necessary for us, as a matter of elementary prudence, to appoint the Commission not later than the summer of 1929.... I should, therefore, like to receive your advice if at any moment you discern an opportunity for making this a useful bargain counter or for further disintegrating the Swarajist Party. ... The Swarajist Party at this moment is undoubtedly torn by divided counsels. The reasonableness of the attitude disclosed in your speeches and mine has already inclined many important members of that party to advocate co-operation. Surely their number would be greatly augmented if it were known that they could obtain what the other Swarajists

cannot confidently count upon—acceleration. I shall myself abstain from making any speech which is in the least definite upon these lines until I hear from you. And you would, I think, be well advised to do the same....

But I am sure that, having regard to political contingencies in this country, we must keep the nomination of the personnel of this Commission in our own hands. In this matter we cannot run the slightest risk. My present view, therefore is—and I believe that the Prime Minister shares it—that we shall in any event, playing for safety, be driven to nominate the Commission in the middle of 1927. If such an acceleration affords you any bargaining value, use it to the full, and with the knowledge that you will be supported by the Government." (Birkenhead: *The Last Phase*, p. 250-51). (Italics mine.)

The Congress reply to the appointment of this all-white Commission was to pass a resolution (Madras, 1927) boycotting it "at every stage and in every form". This was a disconcerting prospect. In a [private letter to Lord Irwin dated 10th January 1928 Lord Birkenhead wrote:

"I write to you just before making the journey to Victoria Station to say farewell to the Simon Commission. I have persuaded the Prime Minister, Peel and the Attorney-General to come with me, so that the occasion will be invested with as much importance as we can give it.

I had a long talk with Simon yesterday, and once again covered the ground which seemed useful. I told him, and I am sure that you will agree, that on this first visit, and until the situation clarifies, it would be wisest to give as few people as possible the opportunity of snubbing the Commission. This is a generalisation with which I am sure you will agree, but one cannot, of course, in this office, foresee the development of events with any clearness. But I had it in my mind that as far as possible people should not on this visit be asked to meet those who are likely, in the first place to refuse to do so, and in the second to publish such a refusal with as much offensiveness as they can command. A friendly attitude of unobtrusiveness, willingness to acquire information and make friends, seems to me clearly indicated. I do not, of course, mean that where the response is likely to be friendly preliminary discussion might not take place.

We have always relied on the non-boycotting Moslems, on the depressed community, on the business interests and on many others, to break down the attitude of boycott. You and Simon must be the judges whether or not it is expedient in these directions to try to make a breach in the wall of antagonism, even in the course of the present visit." (Birkenhead: *The Last Phase*, p. 254). (Italics mine)

Finding, however, that the Commission had been successfully boycotted despite all official tactics, in February next he again wrote, this time in high dudgeon:

"I should advise Simon to see at all stages important people who are not boycotting the Commission, particularly Moslems and the depressed classes. I should widely advertise all his interviews with representative Moslems. The whole policy now is obvious. *It is to terrify the immense Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission is being got hold of by the Moslem support, and leaving Jinnah high and dry.*" (Birkenhead: *The Last Phase*, p. 255) [Qaid-e-Azam was then opposed to the Commission.] (Italics mine)

Many readers will remember how every interview was advertised and how deputations were arranged and magnified through the favoured Press.

Further lines of cleavage were suggested to the Viceroy by His Lordship in the course of the same letter:

"You will remember that in dealing with the question of the Indianisation of the Indian Army, His Majesty's Government were averse from using the phrase 'Dominion Status' to describe even the ultimate and remote goal of Indian political development, because it has been laid down that Dominion Status means 'the right to decide their own destinies', and this right we were not prepared to accord to India at present, or in any way to prejudge the question whether it should ever be accorded. I think it is fair to infer from this that separatism should be regarded as a hostile movement, and if that is so, its representatives ought not to be treated in the same way as the representatives of other political movements, which, though they may be unreasonable or ill-timed, are not illegitimate. It is a constant complaint of our friends in India that they are rendered impotent by the encouragement that is given to our and their enemies."

Sevagram, 28-4-40

Pyarelal

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4, and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

A ONE-SIDED INQUIRY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I had hoped that I would not have to say anything on Justice Nagesvara Iyer's report into the allegations of ill-treatment of satyagrahi prisoners in Mysore. But the press criticism of the action of the State Congress in abstaining from participation in the inquiry demands an explanation from me. If it was wrong for the State Congress not to participate in the inquiry, the blame was mine. The inquiry was a result of Mahadev Desai's visit to Mysore at the instance of the Dewan and the former's confidential report to me of which a copy was given to the Dewan. Mahadev Desai had recommended an open judicial inquiry presided over by a judge of known integrity brought from outside. Instead there was only a departmental inquiry by a Mysore judge. I have been for some time guiding the Mysore Congress, and the Congress acted upon my advice in not leading evidence before a Mysore judge who could not, I felt, be wholly impartial in judging the conduct of officials with whom he must have come in close official contact. It was too much to expect an impartial scrutiny by one who had risen to the rank of a judge from being a Government official.

The allegations were of a most serious character, and they were repeated in the presence of Mahadev Desai and before officials occupying the positions of Deputy Commissioner, District Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Jail and so on. Those who made the allegations were volunteers, not criminals, and a few of them held high social positions. It is impossible to treat them as liars, as the report seems to have done.

I am not yet in possession of the Judge's report. What I have before me is a highly tendentious summary of the report published by Government, interspersed by Government's own statements of certain happenings and Justice Nagesvara Iyer's comments on them in his report. It passes comprehension that the inquiry was continued when the complainants refused to appear before the officer. The judge should have dismissed the case for want of evidence. How he could have arrived at definite conclusions in the absence of material evidence it is difficult to say. The judge admits that "most of the persons who made accusations of assault and torture did not attempt to establish those charges," but that he "had a large volume

of oral and documentary evidence" adduced before him. What this "documentary" evidence was we do not know. The oral evidence was of people who had nothing to do with the inquiry but were dragged by the police before the judge to prove the Government case. The judge says he has based his conclusions "on such materials and broad probabilities". This is hardly the language of a judge. No judge of integrity and impartiality would have cared to go into the extraneous evidence that Justice Nagesvara Iyer went into, and made uncalled for animadversions against satyagrahis for refusal to give evidence before him, when he knew that their reason in doing so was that they questioned the competence, independence and impartiality of the judge. Two paragraphs in the communique are devoted to proving that the leaders of the movement adopted questionable methods of sending out surreptitious letters from jails. What this has to do with allegations of torture one is at a loss to know. It would thus appear that, far from the inquiry being into any allegations by Congressmen, it became an inquiry into allegations by Government officials which the judge has supported without giving those against whom the allegations were made an opportunity to rebut them.

My point, however, in referring to the unfortunate inquiry is that the Mysore Congress acted under my advice. The judge's biased finding confirms me in the soundness of the opinion I gave them. As satyagrahis, the members of the Mysore Congress were not interested in the guilty parties being condemned. They were interested in the truth being known. The golden lid of the one-sided inquiry covers the truth. But they should have the truth that the lid will be lifted one day and the truth will be found. The exoneration of the officials may result in the hardening of their hearts and greater maltreatment of the prisoners than before. If such is the case, the prisoners should rejoice in their sufferings and know that, if they bear them without malice, they will bring the local Congress nearer its goal.

Sevagram, 7-5-40

Two New Books

Congress and War Crisis — (Published by A. I. C. C. Office). Price Re. 1 + 2 As. Postage.

Sandhya Meditations — Posthumous work of Deenabandhu Andrews. Price Re. 1 + 2 As. Postage.

Available at *Harijan* Office — (1) Poona 4; and (2) 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

OUR CASTES

I happened to preside over a conference of my castemen in Surat the other day, and friends were surprised that I should have consented to do so in spite of my life being a flat contradiction of any kind of belief in "caste". By caste, by the by, I do not mean *varna* or the four functional and occupational divisions of Hinduism, but the multitude of sub-divisions of these *varnas* which may originally have had some correspondence with guilds, but which later were encrusted with all manner of restrictions and limitations on marriage, social intercourse, and eating and drinking together. The caste I was born in, is one of the numerous sub-divisions of the original division of Brahmanas, and a few among us still observe, as against other sub-divisions and other Hindus, the restrictions I have mentioned. Before I consented to preside over the conference I made it clear to the friends who pressed me to do so that I held very strong views on the matter, and that I should be of little use to a conference of castemen. But I was told that it was to listen to those very views that they had invited me, and that I was free to say to them whatever I liked.

There were, therefore, certain things I made absolutely clear in my address. I said that even *varna* as it obtained today was a travesty of the original conception, and that the numerous sub-divisions were still worse travesties, that even the original *varna* was a functional social division, that there was no superiority or inferiority attaching to the various functions, and that in ancient India there was plenty of intermixture by marriage and there were no restrictions on interdining. I also explained that caste seemed to me to have arisen out of the economic exigencies of the time, that it was essentially feudal in character, and that it certainly had nothing to do with religion. I also explained that, whilst we called ourselves Brahmanas, few only performed the functions of Brahmanas or had any of the qualities of the head and heart that are said to be the natural attributes of Brahmanas, and that Hindus of all *varnas* and castes could be fitly described only as Shoodras, if indeed they cared to apply the label of a *varna* to themselves. I also told them that, so far as our present practice went, many of us privately and some even publicly were infringing all the restrictions on interdining and even to a certain extent the restrictions on intermarriage. It was therefore no use pretending that any restrictions were being observed. All castes were, therefore, no better than convenient social groups. Those groups existed in all societies even in the West where there were no castes, and some kind of grouping will continue to exist until the end of time, but then it should not be allowed to exist as anything but a social grouping. Sidney Low has said in his *Vision of India*: "The

crudities and cruelties of the caste system need not blind us to its other aspects....It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him, at the outset, a member of a corporate body; protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society." This is true, and to the extent that it serves as a club or a benefit society or a philanthropic society it serves a useful function and shoulders part of the social burden of India. If Bhatiyas, for instance, looked after the social, educational and medical needs of their own group, that meant so much the less burden on India. And if castes took upon themselves the task of self-purification by purging themselves of all ugly customs and practices, it would mean fulfilment of part of the duty that Hinduism owes to itself and India.

The corollary from this was the obvious one that castes could exist only to the extent that they were not anti-social and to the extent that they subserved the national ideal, and remained only as convenient social groups. They may have their own educational institutions, but they should be flung open to all Hindus including Harijans, restriction on the number of those outside the group being allowed. They need not convert themselves into political groups and address themselves, as such, to political activities any more than Labour Unions, or Kisan Sabhas, or such other groups do; but even their existence in a restricted character would be futile if they did not support the activities of the Congress, especially its constructive programme. At any rate I could serve no useful purpose as their president if our castemen could not decide to make that contribution.

For two days we discussed the position, and I am glad to be able to say that the Conference passed two resolutions of a far-reaching character, so far as the institution of "caste" goes. I have gone into the question in some detail because what I said at Surat applies to all the thousand and one castes in Hinduism which are today so many stagnant pools or stinking wells and have got to be dredged and purified in order that they may be so many rivers contributing their share to the ocean of Hinduism. Here are the two resolutions:

"1. Whereas all the castes in Hinduism, though claiming to be based on religion, have really nothing to do with religion but are only convenient social groups, this conference resolves that it should be the goal of the Anavil community to purge itself of all the ugly practices obtained therein and to merge itself into the great community of Hindus; this conference also resolves that it accepts the Congress goal of the attainment of independence by means of truth and non-violence, and that all the activities of the community will, far from being

prejudicial to the goal, contribute to the attainment of that goal.

2. This conference accords its hearty support to the constructive programme of the Congress, viz. khadi and village industries, abolition of untouchability, communal unity, prohibition, and appeals to all the members of the community to make a solid contribution to the cause of the Congress by carrying out all these items in their daily life."

Though these resolutions were passed by an overwhelming majority, there being only two or three dissentients to the first resolution, I do not pretend to believe that the conference in any way represented the 50,000 odd people describing themselves as Anavil Brahmans and living in a few hundred villages of the Surat district. But they strike a new departure and, if every village can adopt the resolutions, it would mean a great step forward. Whatever may be the case, they indicate the direction of reform for all the groups known as "castes" in India.

There were a number of other resolutions also dealing with the particular social abuses in the community—dowry system, forced gifts of money and material by parents of the bride to the parents of the bridegroom, both before and after marriage, and so on. The conference labelled these as barbarous and shameful, and appealed to young men and women, not yet married, to sign pledges to have nothing to do with these practices. There were resolutions appealing to the members to preserve the religious character of various ceremonies by refusing to burden them with pomp and wasteful expenditure, and also appealing to parents and guardians to encourage marriages of child-widows, and to afford all facilities to grown-up widows intending to marry again. There was, however, nothing distinctive about these resolutions, and all communities do have resolutions nowadays on these or similar lines.

Sevagram, 7-5-40

M. D.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

When Gandhiji was shown Reuter's cable of Sir Hugh O'Neill's statement, he said his position was absolutely clear. The only authority that can possibly convene a preliminary conference of elected leaders is the British Government, and they will do so and find out the ways and means when they have made up their mind to part with power and recognise the right of India to frame the charter of her own freedom.

Sevagram, 3-5-40

NOTICE

The Central Office of the Harijan Sevak Sangh will award a few scholarships to Harijan girls from Bihar, U. P. and Rajputana studying in high school classes. A few scholarships are also available for Harijan students going in for vocational and industrial study from various provinces and states. Applications for the same will be received on or before 10th June 1940 on prescribed application forms which can be had from the Office of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Kingsway, Delhi.

SHYAMLAL,
Asst. Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Q. You can do Harijan work, you can organise khadi and village industries, but when it comes to Hindu-Muslim unity, you find many excuses for not organising it.

A. This charge has been brought against me by several Muslim correspondents unknown to me. But lately it has been repeated with considerable vehemence by one who knows me intimately. The complainant challenges me to deal with the charge in *Harijan*. There can be no comparison between Harijans and Muslims. I owe a debt to Harijans in need of any assistance that can be given to them. Harijan work is humanitarian work. Muslims stand in no need of my humanitarianism. They are a powerful community standing in no such need. Any work done for Muslims after the Harijan style will be resented. To cite khadi and village industries against me is thoughtless. These can be organised and are organised for all who will care to profit by them. As a matter of fact both Hindus and Muslims, and indeed others too, profit by these activities. Hindu-Muslim unity stands on its own footing. I have tried and am still trying to do my share of the work. I may have achieved no visible success, but I have no doubt that the direction in which I am working is the right one and is bound to lead us to the goal.

Bidar and Bihar

Q. You feel keenly about Bidar. You ask for justice about it and you want Muslims outside Hyderabad to see that justice is done. Do you feel equally keenly if Muslims are ill-treated as they were in Bihar?

A. I do not know what the exact reference to Bihar is. All I can say is that not one single case of maltreatment of Muslims by Hindus having been reported to me has remained without investigation by me. This has been my practice since the days of the Khilafat. I have not always succeeded in finding the truth or of giving satisfaction to the aggrieved parties that I had done my best. The Bihar charge is too vague to be answered more fully. If a particular instance were mentioned, I should be able to say what I had done about it. But supposing that I had failed in my duty to do justice, supposing further that I did not "feel equally keenly about Hindu injustice to Muslims", would that justify indifference about Bidar? I have said that there is nothing like Bidar in all the previous cases of Hindu-Muslim clashes, assuming of course that the allegations we made were true. All I have asked is that full justice and reparation should be made through a tribunal *admittedly* impartial. My proposal in the case of Bidar should be applicable to all such cases.

Sevagram, 6-5-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0.
Postage 7 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4,
and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Harijan

May 11

1940

AJMER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As soon as I read the extraordinary communique of the Commissioner of Ajmer, I asked for proof from the workers in Ajmer in support of their charges. It seems to me that in every single particular the charges are supported by documentary evidence. I have now in my possession copies of the relevant documents including a blue-print showing where the so-called Ajmer fort is, where the wall on whose bastion the Congress flag was flown, is. The statement giving a categorical denial of all the allegations of the Ajmer Commissioner is published below. From it, it would appear that the Commissioner is prejudiced against the Congress.

1. The ground including the wall and a portion behind it is in the possession of the Municipal Council as lessee.

2. Permission was duly received by the khadi workers for the use of the ground for exhibition.

3. No separate permission for flying the flag is or has ever been considered necessary.

4. The Municipal Council even voted Rs. 51 towards the expenses of the exhibition.

5. The Ajmer fort is a well-defined structure. It is at present used for the kotwali, etc. It is undoubtedly a protected monument and in possession of the Government. The outer wall is dilapidated and is included in the ground leased to the Municipal Council and is going to be demolished by them.

6. There was no complaint brought before the workers against the hoisting of the flag on the wall. It could give no offence to anybody. The Ajmer Council contains Muslim members. The decision to give permission to hold the exhibition on the ground was unanimous. Muslims freely visited the exhibition. Well-known Muslims attended the party given to Seth Jamnalalji although they knew that the flag was hoisted on the outer wall.

I have seen many denials by officials of uncomfortable popular charge sheets. But it is hard to beat the unblushing distortions by the Commissioner of Ajmer. He has not added to British prestige. If ever a case was clearly made out for civil disobedience, surely the Ajmer one is such a case. I refrain because of the turbid atmosphere and because I wish to take no action that will precipitate a crisis. The workers in Ajmer have done well to exercise self-restraint in the face of the gravest provocation. This case demands serious notice by the Central authority. In my opinion nothing short of the removal of the Commissioner from the high

office he occupies will meet the requirements of justice.

It may be argued that the Commissioner of Ajmer is no worse than many such officials who do much worse things with impunity. The argument is sound. But many thieves escape with impunity because of want of conclusive evidence. When, however, one is caught red-handed, it is well to deal with him and give satisfaction to the injured public. Lord Curzon had his grave limitations. But he believed in justice being done and therefore had no hesitation in acting sternly and promptly when a proved case came under his observation. Prevention of civil disobedience, I believe, is common cause between the Government and the Congress. The latter will resort to it when it is clearly inevitable, if, that is to say, the Congress is ready. I am leaving no stone unturned to prevent it. But if the executive officials behave as the Ajmer Commissioner seems to have done, no effort on my part may prevent a conflagration.

On the 29th ultimo, being the last Sunday of the month, all over the country there was *Jhanda Vandana*. In Ajmer too the Congress had advertised the function to take place in the Town Hall compound. But this time the Commissioner, who is also the District Magistrate, prohibited the use of the Town Hall compound for the purpose. It is debatable whether he had any legal right to prohibit the use of the municipal ground in the manner he did. But for the moment it is not relevant. The fact of the issue of the order is relevant to show the bias the Commissioner has against the Congress. The matter was referred to me by the telephone, and I advised the Congressmen to obey the order and not attempt to hold the meeting even elsewhere. But if the Commissioner is intent upon provoking a quarrel, I suppose he will not be happy till he has succeeded.

Sevagram, 6-5-40

[The following is the statement referred to in the foregoing. Ed. HARIJAN]

1. The exhibition was organised by the Rajasthan Charkha Sangh and not by the Ajmer Congress as suggested in the communique. The grounds on which the exhibition was held are in possession of the Municipality. Whether they are Nazul or not is irrelevant. Permission was duly taken from the Municipal Committee for the use of the ground. A portion was utilised for the exhibition proper and the remaining portion was fitted with loud speakers for holding public meetings in connection with the exhibition.

2. The Commissioner, who is also District Magistrate, has throughout been hostile to national activity. For instance, he demanded security even for issuing a khadi patrika, a procedure never adopted anywhere. He would not allow the use of the Anasagar Bund for a party to be held in honour of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

3. Only three public speeches were made in connection with the exhibition and not for political purposes. The first meeting was in connection with the opening ceremony performed by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. Sethji spoke on khadi, and also pointed out the unhappy position of Ajmer Merwara. He criticised the mentality of the Commissioner, who is also the District Magistrate, in demanding security for publishing the khadi patrika. I also spoke. I drew attention to the editorial note published in *The Hindustan Times*, and said that it was established beyond doubt that Mr. Hallows was suffering from neurosis. I criticised the two acts of the Commissioner. Next day, another meeting was addressed by Shrimati Parvati Devi Deedwania, a prominent Congress worker of Delhi and an ex-president of the Delhi Congress Committee. She spoke on khadi generally but made a particular reference to the happening of the Jallianwala Bagh and exhorted the audience to obtain freedom for India. I deny that the speeches were inflammatory.

4. The exhibition grounds were situated outside the boundaries of the police kotwali but adjacent to it. The police barracks are also situated inside the kotwali.

5. The flag was no doubt hoisted on a bastion on an old outer wall surrounding the Moghul Palace. This wall is on Government land, but this land, including the wall, has been leased by Government to the Municipality and is under the possession of the Municipality. The Municipality has been lending its use to different associations for holding tournaments and had allowed the municipal staff club to utilize it as their sports ground. This last step was objected to by the Commissioner not on the ground that the land was not in the possession of the Municipality but because it "*was made over to the Municipal Committee by the Government for the purpose of a public garden.*" Mr. Hallows himself says in this letter, "These are the terms on which it was leased to the Municipal Committee." As far back as 1938, the Municipal Chairman (who was Mr. Burt, Superintending Engineer, Punjab, nominated by the local Government) suggested that the wall should be demolished in order to enable the Municipality to extend the magazine garden. His suggestion was accepted by the Commissioner who, after consulting the Superintending Engineer, New Delhi, informed the Committee that the rampart could be demolished.

6. The wall does not form part of the kotwali police station. It is altogether an outer wall outside the main wall of the Moghul Palace and wholly unconnected with it. If demolished, it will not expose the kotwali which is surrounded by the main wall as shown on the plan. Even the police witnesses have not said that the wall is a part of the kotwali.

7. No separate permission for hoisting the National Flag has been ever required. The

National Flag is a component part of all national activities. The flag was hoisted in the previous khadi exhibition held six months ago in the Town Hall grounds which are also under the control of the Municipality. The question of seeking permission from Government for hoisting the National Flag on the wall, therefore, does not arise.

8. The wall on which the flag was hoisted is not at all the rampart of the "ancient Moghul Fort" as has been claimed. As a matter of fact, the ancient Moghul Fort was not a fort but the fortified palace of Emperor Akbar. It was converted into an arsenal by the British Government and was fortified during the mutiny of 1857. It is at present used as Tehsildar's courts, S. P. C. A. Refuge, veterinary hospital, and museum, etc. No sanctity attaches to the wall; otherwise Mr. Burt would never have requested the Government for permission to demolish it on the ground that it was "of no historical importance". Had it been considered a "protected monument", the Superintending Engineer, Government of India, would certainly have taken objection to the suggestion and would not have agreed to its demolition. The opinion of the Superintending Engineer was endorsed by Mr. Hallows himself [as mentioned in (1) above]. The fort inside is a protected monument, but not the rampart wall whose demolition has been allowed by the Government.

9. The flag itself could not cause any offence to anybody. The National Flag has been hoisted in Ajmer on so many occasions, several times in the Town Hall grounds, but no objection was ever taken on the pretext of annoyance.

10. Muslims attended the opening ceremony and visited the exhibition in very large numbers. Some prominent Muslims attended the garden party given to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. The National Flag was flying on the wall all the time. No complaint was received from the Muslims or from anybody by the organisers of the exhibition about the National Flag. Among the Muslims who attended the garden party were Maulvi Abdul Rashid, Junior Vice-Chairman of the Ajmer Municipality and a Municipal Commissioner elected on the Muslim League Ticket, and Messrs Zahurul Hassan and Abdul Aziz Khan, both Municipal Commissioners.

11. The Municipal Committee unanimously passed a resolution contributing Rs. 51 for the khadi exhibition. The Muslim League members of the Municipality also supported the resolution. The relations between the communities have been generally happy. It is wholly wrong for the Commissioner to suggest that the flying of the flag from the "ramparts of an ancient Moghul Fort which is a protected monument" caused grave offence to a certain section of the public.

KRISHNA GOPAL GARG
Secretary, Khadi & Village Industries
Exhibition, Ajmer

OCCASIONAL NOTES

The Cruz of the Matter

The latest issues of the Hansard received by air mail bring to light several aspects of the recent India debate in the Parliament of which the carefully edited summaries cabled by Reuter gave one no idea. For instance, it is interesting to learn that a thinking and by no means uninfluential section of the House has begun to show a growing appreciation of the Indian demand for Independence. Sir George Schuster made it quite clear in his speech that the only reasonable course for Britain was to leave it to India alone to decide as to how her future constitutional status shall be known. Not only that, it should be England's concern to set India on her own foundations in the world. "I care very little," he observed, "as to whether the words used by the Indians are Independence or Dominion Status, because, if we face realities, it must be clear that, if India reaches a stage in her own development when she is strong enough to stand on the foundations of her own strength in the world, then nothing can keep her bound within the British Commonwealth, if the united wish of the Indian people is to withdraw. What meaning has Dominion Status as a barrier? I am quite prepared to face that and more than that, I am prepared to say that we should do all we possibly can to help India to acquire the strength to stand on her own foundations in the world." "But of course," Sir George went on to remark, "having said that, Indians cannot expect us to say we look forward to the independence of India as a goal, because our hope must be that, though capable of independence, she should remain of her own free will a member of the British Commonwealth." Sir George claims himself to be a shrewd realist. But one cannot help feeling that for once, at any rate, old Homer has been found nodding! Nationalist India has never held that independence excludes free association with Britain; on the contrary our contention all along has been that it is a necessary step towards it. Britain, by identifying herself with India's cherished political aspiration will not be negating her own ideal of a free Commonwealth of nations, as Sir George fears. On the contrary, thus alone can be forged bonds which, as a British statesman remarked at the Imperial Conference of 1916, had need to be "while stronger than steel, as light as silk" and which alone can hold Britain and India together. The crux of the question that faces Britain today really is not whether India is to have her independence or not, but whether Indian independence is to come through the willing recognition of Britain or in the teeth of her opposition.

A Welcome Note

Sir Stanley Reed's speech, while containing several observations that invite a challenge,

struck the right note when he remarked:

"I urge with all the emphasis I can that we should not be lulled into a sense of false optimism by the comparative quiescence of political feeling in the last six months, but rather seize this opportunity to press on with any conceivable scheme which will bring the parties together and lay down the principles of a constitution which can be worked."

"It is essential," he continued, "that this House should make up its mind that this work must be done in India by an elected body, carrying the confidence of all classes and all major interests."

Equally welcome was the admission that the initiative in this respect had to come from Britain. After referring to the various alternative proposals for setting up a machinery to apply the principle of self-determination to India, Sir Stanley proceeded:

"I would urge that no stone should be left unturned to get together some body in India, representing as wide interests as possible, to sit down and grapple with this matter. I think we should say that we are not in the least frightened by the bogey of Independence although we ask Indian politicians to look East and West and North, and say what that 'Independence' would be worth without association with the Commonwealth, and to give the definite assurance that if there is a substantial measure of agreement in India on the basic changes in the constitution, this Parliament will not hesitate, even amid the preoccupations of the war, or with a time limit of not more than 12 months after the termination of the war, to implement these conclusions in an Act in full confidence and with the hope that it will lead, as we believe it will, to the greater prosperity and contentment of that land."

Sophistries Answered

It was, however, left to Mr. Sorensen to clinch the issue with regard to Indian independence. A spate of sophistries had been indulged in, during the debate, by the former Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and others. The former had even tried to make the neutral world believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster variety was identical with Independence, and that it was sheer unreasoning obstinacy on India's part to have rejected the same. Mr. Sorensen challenged the honesty of that statement. It was a question of plain morality, so far as England was concerned, to unhesitatingly concede India's claim to full independence:

"The Under Secretary of State said quite categorically that India could never expect independence.... I am not a lawyer, but I rather understand that from the days when the Statute of Westminster was passed it has been possible for some of our Dominions to claim such sovereign rights that they can entirely secede from organic connection with the rest of the Empire. If there is that possibility under the Statute of Westminster, will the Under Secretary say so? ... I quite agree that words can be used to mean anything or nothing.... Some people use the word 'Independence' in a far less rigid sense than others, and 'Dominion Status' is so ambiguous that it may mean something in this House and something else to people outside. I think it should be frankly recognised that Indians will insist on securing independence according to their own interpretation, and surely we wish for nothing else. If we wish for anything else, we are acting wholly inconsistent with our professions in this war."

He gave no quarter to those who were inclined to exploit the communal problem. "It must be recognised," he gently pointed out, "that there are some people who are a little overeager to seize on the admitted communal difficulties in India as an excuse either for refusing any further development towards Indian self-government or for justifying their claim that independence can never be granted to India because of internal disruption and other dangers." Applying the criterion of India's status with regard to the War, to the question under debate, Mr. Sorensen proceeded:

"Whatever may be our views, and even though we may have profound regret that India is not acting in the way we would like her to do, that is not the point. The point is that India is a free people in her own mind, if not legally. Rightly or wrongly, she has come to the conclusion that she was not consulted at the beginning of the war and yet was involved in it, and that whatever may be the lip service we pay to freedom in India, we do not intend to treat India as a sovereign nation able by her own volition to decide, as other Dominions do, her own course of action in the future. We have to go a long way yet in order to appreciate what that standpoint means. It is natural for us, because we are British and not Indian, to feel that India should not have taken this course, but if we brush Indian opinion on one side merely because it is not our opinion, virtually we do the same thing as has been done to Denmark, Norway, Finland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Those countries have been dominated by an alien will and have been told that they must accept the position for their own good, or because it is a natural necessity of the situation. These countries resent that.

The Indians are in the same position. They say that whatever the English may feel about the matter and whatever plausible or genuine explanations the English may advance, the fact remains that the Indians are under an alien will, and the British are determined that they shall remain under it. Judging from certain statements made by the Under Secretary this afternoon, it would seem as if we are going to say to the Indian people: 'You shall be free provided you agree with us, and so long as you do not claim the right to secede from the British Empire; when you do or intend to do that, you shall not be free.' We would not tolerate such action by Germany towards Denmark. I have a natural interest in Denmark as my name indicates. Denmark will never tolerate Germany saying ultimately, 'You shall be free provided you do not wish to break away from our domination over you.' That is precisely the position in India, and the more we appreciate it the better."

These were the utterances of no irresponsible firebrand with extra-territorial loyalties, or a fifth columnist saboteur. Underlying them was a burning patriotism and love of democracy which was exceeded only by an abhorrence of Nazism and all that it stands for. It was the outspokenness of a patriot who sincerely believed that it was a war of principles his country was engaged in, and that to defeat Nazism abroad it was necessary that England should renounce Nazi methods at home first.

"It may be said," remarked Mr. Sorensen, "that I ought not to say these things because they will be used by the enemy. But surely we have not

come to the stage where, through fear of our voice being misinterpreted or maliciously used by the Germans, we should not let it be heard in the rest of the world. We have today to raise our voice on behalf of democracy more vigorously than ever before.... We have to say to the world what we know and what we believe, even though it may sometimes mean the exposure of our weakness. In the long run, honesty is the best political policy.... The Congress has declared that it is preparing for civil disobedience and non-cooperation. It is useless for the Under Secretary to say that we shall not be deterred by threats of that description, for Indians can also say they too will not be deterred by threats. People with high principles are prepared to go through unlimited suffering for what they believe to be true.... If, at this time when democracy is challenged, we are prepared to implement our promise and establish freedom and independence in India, we shall be doing more than anything within imagination to win India and awaken the peoples of the world to the realities of democracy and freedom. Involved as we are in this struggle for democracy and freedom of nations and peoples, we must of necessity demonstrate our consistency. Our enemy makes a great deal of our inconsistency, but surely the best answer is not to evade what he says or, to abuse him, but to remove the inconsistency."

Sevagram, 6-5-40

Pyarelal

UNWORTHY OF WARDHA!

It was a sultry night and our carriage was crowded to suffocation. Those who could not sleep beguiled the tedium of the hours by talking, and their ceaseless chatter kept awake those who did try to sleep. There need have been no stuffiness while the train was in motion, but there were some near the windows who said that they would rather be suffocated than have the coal-dust. I would open the window when I found that the other fellow was half sleepy, and he would shut it when he found that I was too sleepy to notice it.

We had thus no real sleep until about 2 o'clock in the morning, and out of sheer exhaustion we fell off to sleep. But at about 3 or 3-30 came a hefty Sikh shouting and storming. He managed to find some room on the upper bunk, but was too bulky and long to be comfortable there. So he got down and shouted to one of the passengers to get up and make room for him. This friend, a Parsi, made room for him without the slightest reluctance. But the Sikh said: 'You better get right up,'—he was still stretching himself half-length—'you have been sleeping all night. It is nearly four o'clock, and you must leave me enough room to lie down.'

This evidently the other friend was not willing to do, as he had no sleep until 2 o'clock. The Sikh shouted: 'But will you get up or shall I summon the Station Master?'

The Parsi young man remained quiet without budging from his seat. But the Sikh friend had now attracted others who joined him in the shouting, and the hubbub brought a station official in. He saw the situation in a moment and very politely began to ask everyone to move

down a little and to make some more room for the Sikh. That, however, was not enough for the latter. He wanted to make an impression. He looked suspiciously at the Parsi friend and asked him: 'How far are you going?'

The Parsi friend gently replied: 'To Bombay.'

'Where are you coming from?'

'From Wardha.'

'Have you got a ticket? Let the Station Master find out first if you have got a ticket. I will then see how you stick to your seat.'

The conversation was going on so far in Hindi. The Parsi friend, who had kept amazingly cool, now said in English: 'What do you mean? What business have you to ask me to show my ticket? What right have you?'

The Sikh, finding that this friend was civilised enough to talk English, slightly lowered his tone now, and said: 'I did not ask you to show *me* your ticket. I wanted the station official to find out if you had a ticket.'

The Parsi: 'But you asked me first if I had a ticket. And even if you wanted the station official to find out if I had a ticket, what business had you to suggest that I might be travelling without a ticket?'

The Sikh friend offered a straight blunt explanation: 'You said you were travelling from Wardha. You have no bed-roll. You are lying down on a miserable sheet. From your looks I suspected you might not have a ticket.'

With perfect composure the Parsi friend said: 'You are now adding insult to the injury, sir. All you will judge a man from is his dress and his looks?'

'No, I do not,' said the Sikh. 'You are travelling from Wardha. If you had cheap khadi on, I should not have questioned you.'

'Then what do you see on my person? Don't you see that every bit of the cloth on me is khadi?'

He was wearing a coloured suit of khadi check, but the Sikh friend having never worn khadi evidently did not know that there could be coloured khadi. But he stuck to his guns, and said: 'But this sheet you are lying down on is mill-cloth and not khadi!'

The Parsi youth said: 'I confess it is not, but what has that to do with my having a ticket or not?'

'No,' said the Sikh, 'but how can a man perform a long journey without a good bedding? And seeing that you had just a sheet and nothing else I suspected that you might be like many of those who travel without a ticket on this train.' The Sikh friend again forgot that in the hot season a youth would not think of having anything more than a sheet to spread on the seat. But he now shifted his ground. 'You,' he said, 'being from Wardha, how can you afford to lose your temper? You are a young man, I

am much older, and so I asked you to make room for me, but you flew into a rage!'

'Is that correct?' asked the Parsi friend. 'I actually made room for you. It is you who stormed and raged and even suggested that I might not have a ticket. Don't worry what a man from Wardha should wear and how he should behave. Think of yourself and please don't forget that a blow with a word sometimes cuts deeper than a blow with a sword. That is the blow you gave me.'

The Sikh was nonplussed but he still insisted that the Parsi friend's behaviour was unworthy of one coming from Wardha. There was no one else in the compartment wearing khadi, and so the Sikh was in 'good' company. His neighbour now took up the cudgels on his behalf and said: 'You are perhaps coming from Gandhiji's ashram?'

'What if I did?'

'If you do, you ought not to lose your temper. They practise ahimsa there.'

'I see,' said the Parsi friend gently. 'I was on a visit there and do not belong to the ashram.'

The fault was first of Wardha, then of the Gandhi Ashram; the first charge was that the youth was not wearing khadi, then that he was not using a khadi sheer, and again that he had lost his temper. The Government expect satyagrahis to suffer insults, abuse, kicks, lathi blows without a word. If they do so, they are expected to bear shooting without flinching. If they fail to do so, they are no satyagrahis. Even so it is Wardha that has to keep the whole code: spin, wear khadi, lose no temper, preserve truth and non-violence in thought, word and deed. These 'non-Wardha-men' thus want the 'Wardha-men' to win Independence for them. They will enjoy it all right, but the code has to be kept by Wardha, and no one else!

Sevagram, 6-5-40

M. D.

To Correspondents and Message-seekers

In spite of my notice in *Harijan* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to harden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Sevagram, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

Vol. VIII, No. 14]

POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Democracy and Non-violence

Q. Why do you say, "Democracy can only be saved through non-violence"? (The questioner is an American friend.)

A. Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. That can never happen except through non-violence. No country in the world today shows any but patronising regard for the weak. The weakest, you say, go to the wall. Take your own case. Your land is owned by a few capitalist owners. The same is true of South Africa. These large holdings cannot be sustained except by violence, veiled if not open. Western democracy, as it functions today, is diluted Nazism or Fascism. At best it is merely a cloak to hide the Nazi and the Fascist tendencies of imperialism. Why is there the war today, if it is not for the satisfaction of the desire to share the spoils? It was not through democratic methods that Britain bagged India. What is the meaning of South African democracy? Its very constitution has been drawn to protect the white man against the coloured man, the natural occupant. Your own history is perhaps blacker still, in spite of what the Northern States did for the abolition of slavery. The way you have treated the negro presents a discreditable record. And it is to save such democracies that the war is being fought! There is something very hypocritical about it. I am thinking just now in terms of non-violence and trying to expose violence in its nakedness.

India is trying to evolve true democracy, i. e. without violence. Our weapons are those of satyagraha expressed through the charkha, the village industries, primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, and non-violent organisation of labour as in Ahmedabad. These mean mass effort and mass education. We have big agencies for conducting these activities. They are purely voluntary, and their only sanction is service of the lowliest.

This is the permanent part of the non-violent effort. From this effort is created the capacity to offer non-violent resistance called non-cooperation and civil disobedience which may culminate in mass refusal to pay rent and taxes. As you

know, we have tried non-cooperation and civil disobedience on a fairly large scale and fairly successfully. The experiment has in it promise of a brilliant future. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak. The aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiment can and will, if the people come up to the mark or, to put it another way, if God gives me the necessary wisdom and strength to bring the experiment to fruition.

Hypocrisy

Q. I agree with you that those who do not believe in the tests laid down by you for enrolment as satyagrahis should not hold office in the Congress organisation. What is, however, happening is that, while embargo upon disbelief has been effective, hypocrisy is enjoying a premium. People who have nothing in common with your programme are coming forward with the satyagraha pledge in order to capture power, their only qualification being lack of scruples. Can you as General of the satyagraha army shut your eyes to this? If not, what remedy do you propose?

A. I suppose Cowper not knowing how to deal with the hypocrite paid him a compliment by saying that 'hypocrisy was an ode to virtue.' And so it is. But the gentlemen whom you refer to will soon discover their error either by my sensing the hypocrisy and not starting the struggle, or by their being tired of a role which requires labour from them. Meanwhile I must take everyone at his or her word, and believe that those who have taken the pledge have done so in good faith. I have no right to question anybody's motive unless I have proof positive to the contrary.

Defence of India Act

Q. The resolution passed at Ramgarh says that "Congressmen and those under the Congress influence cannot help in the prosecution of the War with men, money or materials." Every resolution of the Congress has to be explained to the people by Congressmen and Congress committees. If we do that, we are sure to offend the provisions of the Defence of India Act, i. e. we will be committing an act of civil disobedience before you as General have given the word. What are we to do under the circumstances?

A. I am not quite sure that you will commit an offence against the Defence of India

Act merely by explaining the resolution to the people. But you can easily put yourself under it by adding 'ginger' to your explanation and delivering a first class harangue against British rule. In your place I would not do it. Sufficient education has been given to the people as to what British rule is. But you should lay stress on what the people have to do to get out of foreign rule. Therefore everything depends upon how you say it. You will offend against my instructions when you disobey explicit orders served upon you.

Self-determination

Q. Are you right in conceding the right of self-determination to Muslims in a matter so vitally affecting others also, viz. Hindus, Sikhs, etc.? Supposing the majority of the Muslims decide in favour of partition in terms of the Muslim League resolution, what happens to the self-determination of Hindus, Sikhs, etc., who will be minorities in the Muslim States? If you go on like this, where will be the end to it?

A. Of course Hindus and Sikhs will have the same right. I have simply said that there is no other non-violent method of dealing with the problem. If every component part of the nation claims the right of self-determination for itself, there is no one nation and there is no independence. I have already said that Pakistan is such an untruth that it cannot stand. As soon as the authors begin to work it out, they will find that it is not practicable. In any case mine is a personal opinion. What the vast Hindu masses and the others will say or do I do not know. My mission is to work for the unity of all, for the sake of the equal good of all.

What Should Be Done?

Q. In the last meeting of the Working Committee the Committee have resolved that all Congress committees should either be transformed into satyagraha committees or the office-bearers, who for any reason cannot sign the pledge, should resign and make room for others who have signed the pledge. Now, if any Congressman has no faith in your technique but has accepted it only to carry out the Working Committee's resolution and is spinning only because he wants to remain in office, is he entitled to become a satyagrahi and remain in office?

A. Surely the office-bearers should resign. The pledge taken merely to remain in office is of no value. Such a person should not hold office.

For Non-performance

Q. If anyone signing the satyagraha pledge does not observe the rules laid down in it, what action will be taken against such a satyagrahi?

A. He is liable to be removed from the position he may hold.

If A Committee Refuses

Q. If a Congress committee refuses to transform itself into a satyagraha committee, what is the position of that committee?

A. That area will be unrepresented unless

there are other Congressmen to take the place of the defunct committee.

Can They Take the Pledge?

Q. Can the following persons take the satyagraha pledge?

(a) A pleader who has given an undertaking to the court that he will not join any civil disobedience movement.

(b) A person who though he wears khadi himself buys mill cloth for others and uses mill cloth for his bed sheets, etc.

(c) A person who though a khadi-wearer himself trades in foreign cloth.

A. These persons cannot take the pledge.

Sevagram, 13-5-40

BASIC EDUCATION

The annual meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was held at Sevagram on the 2nd and 3rd May, Dr. Zakir Husain presiding.

The following members were present:

1. Dr. Abid Husain, 2. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, 3. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, 4. Acharya Kaka Kalelkar, 5. Shri J. C. Kumarappa, 6. Shri G. Ramachandran, 7. Acharya Badrinath Varma, 8. Acharya Vinoba, 9. Smt. Ashadevi, 10. Shri E. W. Aryanayakam.

The following are some of the important resolutions passed:

1. The Sangh expresses its agreement with the opinion of the Poona Conference of Basic Education that steady and encouraging progress has been made during the last two years, and that basic education bids fair to bring about a healthy revolution in the existing unsatisfactory system of primary education, with special reference to rural areas; also that it has brought a new sense of self-confidence into the life of children and a refreshing sense of healthy disciplined freedom into the school.

2. The Sangh is definitely of the opinion that, in spite of its larger initial expenditure, the basic system will in the long run be more economical than the existing one. There will, in addition, be such advantages as cannot be measured in terms of money.

3. The Sangh is of opinion that in the choice of basic crafts for schools the predominant occupation of the locality should be taken into account, provided that it is rich in educational possibilities. In order to ensure a sound economic market for the products of basic education, each Government should set up a department to make the necessary local survey for a proper selection of basic crafts and regulate the disposal of the products of the schools.

4. The Sangh requests the authorities in the various provinces to select some basic schools in their areas for intensive work so that results worked out under controlled experimental conditions may be available in the shape of data for the whole country.

5. Necessary steps be taken to induce local bodies in the various provinces to open basic

schools and to make necessary arrangements for the training of teachers.

6. A Basic Craft Sub-Committee be appointed to assist the Sangh in the following matters:

(a) The preparation of detailed correlated craft syllabi for both teachers and students.

(b) The revision of the existing syllabus in the light of two years' experience.

(c) The preparation of standards and tests for testing the efficiency of craft work at the training schools and basic schools.

(d) The preparation of technical literature and the revision of literature already produced.

(e) The preparation of a vocabulary of technical terms.

7. In view of the need for craft experts on the staff of the training centres and supervisory staff of basic education, the Maharashtra Charkha Sangh be requested to make special arrangements for the training of such experts, and Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju be requested to prepare a suitable scheme.

8. The invitation of Dr. I. R. Khan, Principal, Basic Training College, Allahabad, to hold the Second Conference of Basic Education in Allahabad was accepted.

9. The authorities of Jamia Millia Islamia be requested to make arrangements for a permanent exhibition of basic education attached to their training centre at Jamia Nagar, Delhi, and an exhibition of Basic Education may also be organised in connection with the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at the annual session of the Congress.

10. During the coming year efforts be made by the Sangh to prepare suitable literature for pupils and teachers of basic education.

Ashadevi

Favouritism

On reading my note in *Harijan* of 9th March on the Seng Khasi School, a correspondent writes:

"The school may perhaps be failing to follow the Government curriculum. But even at its worst it could not be worse than the large numbers of local mission schools which have received Government grants. It looks, therefore, as though the stumbling block is text-books. It is all too true that the books on the prescribed list are nearly all mission books, and are unusable by any non-Christian school. But it is true that all the people with influence in the Education Department, so far as Khasi education is concerned, are Christians, and the scales are weighted very heavily in favour of mission schools, and against such courageous efforts as the one referred to by your correspondent, which is making a sincere and praiseworthy effort to preserve the national culture and rescue the Khasis from the demoralising influence of the Roman Catholics and Calvinists."

This is a matter for the Assam Government to attend to. Whatever may have happened before, the scandal such as the one referred to by my correspondent should cease under a Government which is responsible to the people.

Sevagram, 13-5-40

M. K. G.

A CRY FROM SOUTH ORISSA

(By A. V. Thakkar)

For over a year I have been moving frequently in the backward areas of Orissa, now called 'Partially Excluded Areas', and almost neglecting my Harijan work. Two such extensive Oriya-speaking areas, comprising the Koraput district (or Jeypore Zamindari) and Ganjam Uplands, were transferred to the newly formed Orissa Province by Madras in 1936. Both are inhabited by aboriginal tribes such as Khonds (or Kandhas), Savaras, Parajas, Koyas, Gadabas and Gonds, and by Harijans like Dombs (or Doms) and Panos. The proportion of non-aborigines and others in these areas is about 56 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. The tribe of Savaras, which takes its name from the Shabari, a tributary of the Godavari, is the same as that mentioned in the Ramayana, a female member of which gave sweet plums with great love to Shri Ramachandra.

It is a real tragedy that the British Government has done very little in the past for the moral, material and intellectual betterment of these people. Over a century has gone by and these areas are more or less inaccessible and unknown to the man in the street. Even the money from special grants given for them by the Central Government seems to have been wasted. The Labour Commissioner's Department, which has worked well for the Scheduled or Harijan Castes, has ignored the existence of these people who have been in charge of Agents of the Madras Governor. As a result of this neglect even primary education scarcely exists, and disease, superstition and ignorance are rampant. The primitive method of cultivation by means of burning trees from the forest and sowing on manure formed by the ashes thus obtained still prevails, resulting in the denudation of forests and soil erosion on a large scale. These backward tracts have been handed over to the Government of Orissa which is proverbially the poorest province in the country. Rs. 2-8-0 per head is the revenue income of Orissa, and in addition to the cost of an expensive machinery of government, money has to be found very often for relief from havoc caused by floods or droughts. How can the Orissa Government find money to develop these areas?

Another obstacle is the fact that these tracts yield next to no revenue to the Province. The Koraput area is under the Maharaja of Jeypore under the Permanent Land Settlement, and the people of Ganjam were exempted from payment nearly a century ago by the then irresponsible India Government. Two to three lakhs of rupees per annum would go a long way to improve the lot of these backward people. It is not a large sum for the Central Government to find, and the rescuing and development of these poor people is surely a duty which may not be neglected.

As, however, there seems very little hope of the requisite financial aid coming from the

Centre, it would be a great thing if welfare work could be organized on a large scale. Workers with the necessary zeal and devotion could go and settle among these poor people and raise them educationally, morally and economically. Will organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha, and other Social Service Leagues help? All efforts to reclaim these backward classes will be a real service to the country.

It is interesting to note that under the Government of India Act of 1935 these two areas are the only ones to whom the stigma of nomination still attaches. There is no system of election to the Assembly, and even those nominated to represent them are not always members of the tribes themselves. To no other backward tribes does this rule apply.

Harijan

May 18

1940

NON-COOPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is from a God-fearing political friend whom everybody knows:

"You must have shouldered the responsibility of making difficult decisions many a time in your life, but the responsibility which the Ramgarh Congress resolution has entrusted you with is the gravest of all. The future of India, nay of the world, depends upon it.

You are far above me in wisdom and experience. But I feel you are very hard upon yourself. The experiments that you sometimes carry on in your search of truth, involving yourself and thousands of others, make me gasp.

I have been closely following your experiments in ahimsa and satyagraha and read carefully every word that you write. You feel that these weapons are effective for establishing the right and putting down the wrong in the world. But I tell you these weapons of yours have been and are being abused in the world. The reason for it, I think, is this that once the people begin to feel the strength of these weapons the latent hatred in their hearts comes to the surface and, armed with these, becomes ten times, even a hundred times, more potent for mischief. That is bound to do great harm to the country, and it may take ages to undo it. Non-cooperation has become a curse in every-day life. Its ill effects are seen in family circles, in associations, in business, in factories and in Government offices.

The most unfortunate part is this that those who are in the wrong are using this weapon against those who are in the right. An unworthy son or an unworthy daughter, a father on the wrong path, a miserly businessman or millowner, a dishonest worker, all these resort to non-cooperation to defend their indefensible conduct. My experience is that those who are in the right are perplexed and paralysed by your weapon. Non-cooperation hits one from behind and in a manner more deadly than the deadliest weapon. Twice I have seen it used in connection with political movements in India, and it brings tears to my eyes whenever I see you about to resort to it. Having learnt its use from

you, selfish people use it in your name in order to gain their selfish ends, and bring misery upon thousands of people. Therefore I beg of you not to employ this weapon in politics. It may get us some rights, but it spreads hatred among mankind, not love. We are too imperfect. You are a wise man, you are a man of God. Pray God that He may show you another way.

I request you not to embarrass the British in any way while they are engaged in this life and death struggle. But I know, by itself the Congress will not have the patience to do so, though it may under your advice. The ill-will and the hatred that would be let loose if non-cooperation is started and the communal bitterness to which it may give rise, would have an adverse effect upon the war and expose India to greater danger.

If Congressmen must embarrass the British, I feel they should go back to offices in the provinces and should face the British Government with a dilemma at every step in the Provincial and the Central Assemblies. This is the only right course and it tells upon the British public.

Again we have to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. For that we should call a conference of all the communal leaders and party leaders. If we make an effort beforehand, we might become united by the time the Government is willing to call the Constituent Assembly. No time should be lost. The demands of the Mussalmans will mount up as time goes on. I am certain God will help us to attain unity if we try for it in right earnest and without delay. God has put the reins of the country in your hands; you alone can make or mar her fate."

The writer is one of the most earnest among us. He has presented one side of the picture, but like all one-sided pictures this also is misleading.

Every powerful thing is liable to misuse. Opium and arsenic are most potent and useful drugs. And they lend themselves to great abuse. No one has for that reason suggested the stopping of their good use. If non-cooperation has lent itself to abuse in some cases, in many cases its wise use has proved absolutely efficacious. A thing has to be judged by its net effect. The net effect of non-violent non-cooperation has been of the greatest benefit to India. It has brought about an awakening among the masses which would probably have taken generations otherwise. It has prevented bloodshed and anarchy and on the whole improved the relations between the Britishers and ourselves. There is a better mutual understanding because there is better mutual respect than ever before. And yet our non-cooperation has been indifferently non-violent. I hold that non-cooperation is of universal use. Well applied, its use in politics can wholly displace the use of barbarous weapons of mutual destruction. The thing to do, therefore, is not to restrict its use but to extend it, care being taken that it is used in accordance with the known laws regulating its use. Risk of misuse has undoubtedly to be run. But with the increase in the knowledge of its right use, the risk can be minimised.

One safe thing about non-cooperation is that in the end its abuse recoils more upon the users than upon those against whom it is used.

Its abuse is the greatest in domestic relations because those against whom it is used are not strong enough to resist the abuse. It becomes a case of misapplied affection. Doting parents or wives are the greatest victims. These will learn wisdom when they realise that affection does not demand yielding to extortion in any form. On the contrary true affection will resist it.

The writer suggests the usual parliamentary programme with obstruction. Its futility, when it is not backed by readiness for non-cooperation and civil disobedience, has been fully demonstrated.

So far as the British are concerned I have already said that I will do nothing to embarrass them. I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict. But they may make it inevitable. Even so, I am praying for a mode of application which will be effective and still not embarrassing in the sense of violent outbreaks throughout the country.

Here I must say that, whilst it is true that active cooperation on the part of Congressmen is not yet much in evidence, of passive cooperation on their part there is no lack. Violent, sporadic eruptions on the part of the people would have paralysed my effort to gather together forces of non-violence in an effective manner. As it is, the restraint which they have exercised fills me with hope for the future.

Hindu-Muslim unity is a morsel by itself. But my friend is on the wrong track when he suggests that unity should be hastened for fear of Muslims raising their demands. Demands against whom? India is as much theirs as anybody else's. The way to unity lies through just demands once for all, not through ever-increasing demands, whether just or unjust. The demand for partition puts an end to all effort for unity for the time being. I hold that communal understanding is not a pre-requisite to the British doing justice, on their part. When they feel that they want to recognise India's right of self-determination, all the difficulties that they put forth as obstacles in their path will melt away like ice before the sun's rays. The right of self-determination means the right of determination by every group and ultimately every individual. The demand for a Constituent Assembly presumes that the determinations of the groups and individuals will coincide. Should it happen otherwise and partition become the fashion, either we shall have partition or partitions rather than foreign rule, or we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and submit to foreign rule, or else have a proper civil war. Anyway the present suspense cannot continue. It has to end one way or the other. I am an optimist. I have every hope that when we come to grips Hindus, Muslims, and all others will throw in their weight in favour of India which all will claim as their own.

Sevagram, 13-5-40

OCCASIONAL NOTES

The Minorities' Question

There is no doubt that during the present crisis there are more Englishmen alive to a sense of realities and to the justice of India's case than ever before. The India debate in the Commons is a sure index. But an even surer index is the opinion in the British press. Thus *The Scotsman* had an interesting controversy on the Hindu Muslim and the Princes' question between Mr. F. Burton Leach and Prof. A. Berriedale Keith. The former maintained that the Hindus and Muslims differed more widely than the Protestants of Northern and Catholics of Southern Ireland.

"The Hindus and Muslims," he said, "represent two civilisations and cultures, which are diametrically opposed to one another in nearly every way. Without upholding the intransigent claims made by some Moslem leaders, it is useless to shut our eyes to the facts and to dismiss 80,000,000 Indian Moslems as merely a religious minority, who ought to be satisfied with the security of their religion. Security for their religion, indeed, has never been threatened for two good reasons — one that Hinduism is not a proselytising faith; and the other that to undermine the religion of the Moslems would be utterly impossible and even interference with it would provoke immediate Civil War, in which the Hindus, in spite of numerical majority would stand very little chance, because the Moslems would have Afghanistan and other Moslem countries behind them."

It is curious to note how this language is just an echo of Lord Hailey's and Sir William Barton's language which revives the two nations theory which, as we have seen in these columns, was originally conceived in the British mind. Prof. Keith makes short work of this argument:

"There is no truth in Mr. F. Burton Leach's allegation that I compare the Hindus and Moslems of India with the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland or regard their cleavage as purely religious. The whole point is that just as we allowed a political minority in Ireland to induce us to deny home rule, and thus brought about a rebellion which ended with the Independence of Eire and the legislation last year to legalise treason against the King, so we shall bring about disaster in India if we allow a political minority to deny responsible Government to the majority. That form of Government was promised with the sanction of Parliament in 1917, the promise has been repeated time after time with like approval, and the issue simply is, 'Are we going to repudiate our promises and to justify Civil Disobedience and rebellion?' Mr. Leach admits that there is no danger to Moslem religion from the Hindus, which shows that their claim to deny responsible Government rests merely on their denial of the principle of democracy, majority rule. We are therefore to govern India in contradiction to the wishes of the majority of the people to please a minority. We did so in Ireland and the result is patent to all. Can history teach nothing?"

The Princes' Question

Mr. Leach employed the usual argument of the Treaty Obligations with the Princes and argued that the Princes

"are not all autocrats and that autocracy is not necessarily bad. A benevolent autocracy may be a better form of Government in some societies than a so-called democracy which might in practice be only

an oligarchy. England was on the whole better governed under the autocracy of the Tudors than under the corrupt oligarchic system of the eighteenth century which claimed to have overthrown autocracy. Many of the larger States have adopted a considerable measure of responsible Government, and several distinguished Congress politicians are serving as Ministers under the Princes. The policy of successive Viceroys has been to encourage the liberalisation of the constitution of the States. Prof. Keith's argument that 'autocracy in India is now supported by British arms only' is a complete misrepresentation of the situation from the point of view of the Indian princes and of the British Government."

This is blowing hot and cold in the same breath, praising autocracy and yet trying to maintain that responsible government is being introduced. One would like to know the Congressmen serving as Ministers in States and also to know for how many days the States could function if the support of the British arms were to be removed. But Prof. Keith's reply as a constitutional authority is worth noting:

"Mr. Leach is perfectly aware that the treaties are all subject to the paramount power of the Crown to be exercised in the interests of India as a whole. Does anyone really believe that to ask a few score of rulers to abandon absolute power and to accept the role of constitutional sovereigns, with all their wealth, prestige and the right to influence their Governments, is to break any obligation of the Crown or is contrary to morality?"

Then he adds:

"Mr. Leach indeed ruins his own case by admitting that many of the larger States have adopted a considerable measure of responsible Government. They have done so because they know that even a benevolent autocrat—and many rulers have not been benevolent and still more have been grossly incompetent—form an inferior type of Government to self-government. To ask responsible-Government provinces to federate with autocratic States is an unreasonable demand. We should make it clear at least that, if the States prefer to remain autocratic, Federation will go on without them. Less than that will be a failure in duty no less than in policy. The time for saving India is growing short. Those of us who followed the Irish fiasco with regret do not wish to see a like fate for India."

But the demand for Independence ought to make the case simpler. Let the people of British India get their right to self-determination, irrespective of what the Princes may or may not like to do. Perhaps it would be easier for them to make their choice if the British Indian people's right to self-determination were recognised.

Too Late

The *Church Times* publishes a long interview by its special representative with an Indian Christian. His name is not given, but the space devoted to this important interview indicates the importance of the source. On the minorities' question the gentleman said:

"The differences, in so far as they exist, between Moslems and Hindus were certainly got created by Great Britain; but for its own reasons those differences have been fostered by the Imperial Government. The British policy has been *Divide et impera*, and it has been directly responsible for widening the gap that already existed between the Moslem and the Hindu community. It is the Moslems of the cities of British India who have made the complaints and

have demanded protection. They have been given political and economic powers out of all proportion to their numbers, influence, education and culture. They are bound up with the British rule, and have everything to lose if Britain withdraws. In the villages, on the other hand, where British influence has not so fully penetrated there is no Moslem problem at all. Moslems live side by side with Hindus and have nothing to fear. The Princes naturally fear for themselves at the withdrawal of the British. They gave their power to the Imperial Government and, they assert, will take it back into their own hands again if Congress gains its demands. This is only an empty threat. Their power would immediately collapse if British troops were recalled. It is interesting to note that the depressed classes have not asked for special protection. Dr. Ambedkar speaks for only ten thousand out of sixty million. Nor have the Indian Christians, the second largest minority, put forward any special interest."

The interviewer asked if Dominion Status would not be the first step to full Independence. The answer was:

"Dominion Status would have been the proper preparation for freedom once upon a time. For my part I believe with many other Indians that that time has passed. Dominion Status should have been granted before, it is now too late. Such status would give Indians the right to decide all affairs, except defence, foreign policy, minority problems and so on. But these are the very questions that India wishes to decide for herself, though she would probably welcome advice about defence—as in Egypt—and make special arrangements with Great Britain. If even Dominion Status is postponed to the end of the war, Indian feeling will be hopelessly alienated, and the unrest in Ireland and among the Afrikaner in South Africa will be repeated this time in the East."

No Love of Nazi Germany

Mr. Sorenson, the Labour M. P. for West Leyton, in an article in the *London Tribune* exposed the hollowness of the pretension that the Muslim League represented the whole Muslim opinion, and showed how the reference to the eighty million Muslims opposed to the Congress was the plea "advanced pretentiously by life-long notorious imperialists who fought even the India Act every step of the way." This is how he appeals to the British Government to face the reality:

"Will this be followed by Civil Disobedience? That remains to be seen, although this is possible. In any case Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and others within, or supporting, the Congress have made it abundantly clear that there can be no co-operation with Great Britain unless and until there is the recognition of mutual respect and dignity which can only issue through the admission by Britain that India is a free nation entitled and able to work her own economy and choosing by her own unqualified volition as a recognised independent nation whether she shall or shall not cooperate with the British nation. Our Government may interpret this as it pleases, but the reality of the issue remains. And for Britain and the Labour Movement no less than for India it is of the highest value that our professions should thus be put to critical test. It is through no love of Nazi Germany that India insists on her inherent right. It is through love of the same freedom vaunted above totalitarian debasement that India now implements her insistent challenge: 'Do you fight for freedom? So do we. What about it?'"

Sevagram, 15-5-40

M. D.

A HIDEOUS EVIL

A friend from Kamalapuram writes as follows:

"A few days ago I was at the Car Festival of Hampi — the ancient Vijayanagar — which annually draws thousands of men and women, young and old, from all over these parts. I noticed certain huts constructed apart from campers' sheds on one side of the temple yard. A woman was standing at the entrance of each hut with obvious intent to attract men. The sight being unexpected and revolting I enquired of other visitors what it meant. I was told they were brothels and therefore segregated. Deeply smitten I hurried away, but on second thought felt I ought to bring the fact to the notice of the public. There were a dozen huts each with 6 or 7 victims in them. The organisers charged a little extra as ground rent for the special site. Who knows if they did not collect a professional tax too?"

I was told by one of the crowd that such doings are a normal feature of festivals. But even my informant was staggered at the unseemly and systemised organisation of these brothels under the very nose of the police. The Temple Committee, and the Police and Health Departments are jointly responsible for the happenings and arrangements at the fair. It may be that other bodies are also. The President of the District Board of Bellary is also the President of the K. P. C. C. There is a Congress Committee within 7 miles of this place where a Congress M. L. A. as well as the President reside. I expressed my horror to some prominent Congressmen who were there, but none appeared to feel as deeply as I did. The girls were mostly from the Northern Circars.

This vicious traffic may be a hideous truth. But why should organisations meant for promotion of human welfare become its agents? Can society descend to worse depths?

I wish you would raise your voice in protest."

That brothels are more often than not organised at fairs and during religious festivals, and that over and above these there are villains who lie in wait to waylay innocent young women, is no news to me. Two years ago when I was President of the Women's Conference, I raised funds for a band of women workers to go to Hardwar for the Kumbh Mela and see what they could do to combat the evil. Where our Branches exist our Standing Committee members do try to see that steps may be taken by the authorities to stop this hideous traffic. But we are really powerless to do much. Acts for putting a check on immoral traffic in women are not really efficacious, and we women have not yet done anything substantial towards creating public opinion in the matter. I do not differentiate between men members of any political party where codes of morality are concerned. In all matters of social reform my experience has been that very little help can be had from constituted authority. Our system of Government is not of the soil and therefore not human enough to feel for the sufferings of the poor. That religious bodies should exploit religious festivals for such foul deeds is a travesty of religion and is another proof of the havoc that institutional religion often works.

I hope women workers will resolve to attend these fairs and festivals not only to protect

innocent girls but also to expose the organisers of these brothels. If Congress committees will help us, it will make our task easier. But I am convinced it is we and we alone who can get rid of this evil in society. It is hard work, it is difficult, it is almost thankless, but if we feel the shame of it enough, we shall not count the cost. If public opinion is strong enough, the help of the district authorities will also be available. Mere protests are not enough — because it is strange how men's consciences the world over are singularly dead where such matters are concerned. I am sure Gandhiji will once again take this opportunity of condemning those concerned in no uncertain terms.

Sevagram, 1-5-40

A. K.

[I am quite sure that Congressmen must not tolerate this evil. M. K. G.]

KHADI WORK IN TAMIL NAD

I

The Tamil Nad Branch of the A. I. S. A. has brought out a little brochure embodying the report of khadi work done in Tamil Nad in the year 1939. The year is described as one of trial for khadi work — with accumulation of large stocks, a small balance of working capital, and continuance of famine conditions throughout the year. Production had to be cut down; and sales, though increased by special efforts, did not come up to expectations and could not help to tide over the crisis. It is worth noting that the increase in sales was not due to increased demand in cities (where there was actually a decrease by Rs. 7,000) but due to greater purchases of khadi by villagers — particularly by spinners. On the top of these difficulties came the disastrous fire in the Madras Exhibition causing a loss of Rs. 36,000 to the A. I. S. A. It redounds to the credit of the workers of the Sangh that, undaunted by these mishaps, they sustained their faith and efforts and in August last raised the spinners' wages from 3 As. for a day of 8 hours to 3 As. 6 Ps., i. e. by 22 per cent, without raising the prices of cloth — meeting the difference from Government subsidy.

Here are a few figures, culled from the tables given in the report, which show at a glance the volume of work put forth through the agency of the A. I. S. A. in the year under report:

A. I. S. A. Centres	49
Spinners on rolls (average)	55,564
Average monthly attendance	22,778
Yarn produced Hanks	61,89,814
„ Weight lbs.	3,85,958
„ Value Rs.	4,20,510
Khadi produced Sq. yds.	23,85,110
„ Value Rs.	11,84,987
Khadi sold (Urban) Rs.	6,87,121
„ (Rural) Rs.	3,83,642
„ (Other provinces) Rs.	3,85,976

The khadi production gave employment to 57,585 spinners, 2,043 weavers, 74 dhobis, 30 dyers, 42 printers, 21 tailors, 3 carpenters and

2 smiths—the total number of artisans employed being 59,800. The wages paid to them were as follows:

	Rs.
Carding	802
Spinning	4,12,276
Weaving	3,04,050
Bleaching	16,679
Dyeing	61,509
Printing	23,155
Tailoring	6,240
Carpentry and Smithy	1,505

When it is borne in mind that many of these were part time workers it will be admitted that the earnings of some of them were quite decent. It is also to be noted that, but for the employment given to them by the A. I. S. A., many, if not most, would have stood on the list of the unemployed or partially but inadequately employed. These workers, classified by community, included 1,031 Harijans, 833 Muslims, 532 Christians, and 57,404 others. "In the prosecution of my obligations to the villagers I shall recognise no distinction between man and man," says the A. I. V. I. A. members' pledge, and the foregoing figures demonstrate how khadi has served all communities alike. It has united them all in a common endeavour to rehabilitate our village economy.

C. S.

AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

[The following is the report of an interview that Gandhiji gave to a representative of *The Times of India* at Sevagram on the 9th inst.]

"I would welcome a settlement which ensures peace with honour," said Mr. Gandhi. "The Viceroy knows I am always ready."

Seated on a mat in his small barely furnished room, with a wet cloth wrapped round his head, Mr. Gandhi carefully explained his viewpoint. He spoke with great earnestness.

"I am not averse," he explained, "to coming to terms with Britain on matters like defence and commercial interests, and I am fully prepared that these adjustments should be referred to a constituent assembly as part of an agreed settlement."

Mr. Gandhi went on to explain his attitude to the constituent assembly. "I believe personally that it is the most satisfactory method of procedure; but don't forget that I preserve an open mind on the matter. If some people hold that there are other forms of procedure which are more representative, I am willing to be convinced. Today I say that the assembly should be elected on adult franchise, but here again my mind is open to alternative proposals provided these proposals have the backing of representative men."

"If the Viceroy," asked your correspondent, "declares that he will summon a conference of 'the best Englishmen and the best Indians', and if he further agrees that its terms of reference will be to arrange for the establishment of self-government within the shortest period practicable, would you accept that gesture?"

Mr. Gandhi's reply was emphatic. "Certainly, it will be acceptable. In the preliminary conference it is necessary that the best Englishmen and the best Indians should meet to adjust their differences, but in the framing of the constitution only Indians must participate."

"If the Viceroy," continued Mr. Gandhi with deliberation, "is authorised to declare that His Majesty's Government have definitely come to the conclusion that it is the sole right of India to determine the form of government under which she would live, and if with that end he summons a conference of the best Englishmen and the best Indians—the latter elected according to an acceptable procedure—to devise a method whereby a constituent assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a constitution and for solving all problems that may arise, I would accept the proposal." "But,"—and here Mr. Gandhi spoke gravely—"I don't sense the proper atmosphere today."

Asked whether if His Majesty's Government summoned a conference and acted in good faith Mr. Gandhi would be prepared to use his personal influence to induce the Congress Ministers to return to office, the Mahatma quickly replied: "Not unless there is a Hindu-Muslim agreement. I should wait."

"You did not deserve the interview," chaffed Mr. Gandhi as I said good-bye. "You brought a hot wind with you to Sevagram." The temperature was 108. He laughed uproariously at my obvious retort: "It is an ill wind which brings no one any good."

(*The Times of India*, 10-5-40)

Hindus & Musalmans of India

By Atulananda Chakrabarti

Gandhiji has said of this book: "If he has stated the truth and nothing but the truth, it is a revealing booklet which all Hindus and Muslims may read with profit." Price Rs. 2-8-0. Postage 5 As. extra. Available at (1) Harijan office-Poona 4, and (2) Harijan office-81 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Lines Station, Bombay 2.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Spinning Regularly

Q. What do you mean by 'spinning regularly'? If one spins for a couple of hours during a month or for half an hour once or twice a week, would he be deemed to have satisfied the condition about spinning regularly?

A. 'Regularly' was put in the place of 'daily'. This was meant to provide for accidental or unavoidable omissions. Therefore spinning every week or at stated intervals will not meet the case. A satyagrahi will be expected to spin daily except for valid reasons such as sickness, travelling or the like.

Satyagraha Camps and Untouchability

Q. Satyagraha camps are being organised for the training of volunteers all over the country. But the principle with regard to the renunciation of untouchability in every shape and form is not being rigorously enforced. Don't you agree that it ought to be made an absolute rule in the camps that no one who regards the touch of Harijans as polluting and does not freely mix with them should be permitted to attend them?

A. I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that he who has the slightest untouchability in him is wholly unfit for enrolment in the Satyagraha Sena. I regard untouchability as the root cause of our downfall and of Hindu-Muslim discord. Untouchability is the curse of Hinduism and therefore of India. The taint is so pervasive that it haunts a man even after he has changed over to another faith.

Partition and Non-Muslims

Q. You have said in *Harijan* that "if the eight crores of Muslims desire partition, no power on earth can prevent it." Does it not strike you that 25 crores of non-Muslims too might have a say in the matter? Does not your statement imply that you put a premium on the opinion of the Muslims while underrating that of the Hindus?

A. I have only given my opinion. If the majority of Hindus or Christians or Sikhs or even Parsis, small though their number is, stubbornly resist the express wish of the duly elected representatives of eight crores of Muslims, they will do so at the peril of a civil war. This is not a question of majority or minority. If we are to solve our problems non-violently, there is no other way. I say this not because the eight crores happen to be Muslims. I would

say the same if the eight crores were any other community.

Legal Practice and Satyagraha

Q. Knowing as you do how lying and deceit have become the stock-in-trade of the legal profession in this country, would you permit practising lawyers to enlist as active satyagrahis?

A. I am unable to subscribe to your sweeping proposition. The fact that a lawyer wants to become a satyagrahi presupposes on his part a certain standard of purification. No doubt there may be, to my knowledge there are, black sheep in the Congress. This is inevitable in any big organisation. But it would be unbecoming of a satyagrahi to condemn a man because he belongs to a certain profession.

Satyagraha and Obstructionism

Q. Is the policy of obstructionism compatible with satyagraha? Can a satyagrahi, who is supposed to stand for principles rather than party, adopt one attitude with regard to a measure when it is sponsored by his party, and another when the same measure is sponsored by the opposite party? Would you approve of this policy in Municipalities and District Boards as is being done by some Congressmen at present?

A. I have always opposed obstruction as being anti-satyagraha. Congressmen, to be correct in their behaviour, should always give co-operation to their opponents when the latter are in a majority and adopt any wise measure. The object of Congressmen should never be attainment of power for power's sake. Indeed such discriminatory co-operation will enhance the prestige of the Congress and may even give it majority.

Training Harijans as Cooks

Q. Don't you think that, if the Congress started a plan for training Harijans as expert cooks for Hindu homes and made it a rule to man every ashram or a mess meant for Congress workers with Harijan cooks thus trained, it would prove a short cut to the removal of untouchability?

A. Our ambition should be to enable Harijans to rise to the highest rank. But while that must be the ideal, it will be a good thing to train some Harijans to become accomplished cooks. I have observed that the more we draw them into the domestic circle, the quicker is the pace of the reform. Harijans who become absorbed in our homes lose all sense of inferiority and become a living link between other Harijans and Savarna Hindus.

Sevagram, 19-5-40

KHADI WORK IN TAMILNAD

II

The other feature of the work that deserves special notice is the expansion of the self-sufficiency scheme and the efforts to add to the efficiency and productive capacity of the workers by introducing improved implements. Thus during the year 630 thousand lbs. of lint were used, of which—except 10 thousand lbs.—the entire quantity was ginned by the spinners themselves on hand gins. This happened for the first time since the inception of the khadi movement. The spinners are reported to have realised the advantage of hand-ginning, and some who have land of their own have taken to growing their cotton also. The spinners in Tamil Nad generally do their own carding. Improved implements were distributed to them at half the cost price as follows: 762 gins, 870 spinning wheels, 8,761 speed wheels, 8,472 carding bows, 225 carding bows. The cost was collected in easy instalments. Harijan spinners were not only given the implements free of cost, but were paid daily wages even during the period in which they learnt spinning. To encourage better spinning 50 tests were conducted in which 439 spinners participated, of whom as many as 113 showed a speed of above 400 yards per hour, and about 40 per cent attained an efficiency which would enable them to earn over 3 As. per day.

Referring to the progress made by the self-sufficiency scheme, the report says:

"The message of khadi has reached more homes this year. 35,968 saris valued at Rs. 1,78,614 woven from yarn collected hank by hank from the spinners every time they delivered yarn to us, have been distributed among the spinners during the year. Besides, khadi other than saris, valued at Rs. 37,052 was also distributed for the use of the other members in the spinners' families. It will also be noted that the first law of production, i. e. that the producer should be the first consumer of his produce, has been well kept in view. Of the total yarn produced, i. e. 90,72,383 hanks, the spinners have deposited for their own use 28,82,769 hanks, i. e. nearly 32 per cent of the total output or 47 per cent of the yarn sold. 227 families in Tamil Nad got their own yarn woven into cloth through our various branches. 4,695 sq. yds. of cloth valued at Rs. 2,334 was thus woven. The total weaving wages paid under this head was Rs. 591."

During the year under report the 2,093 weavers working under the A. I. S. A. earned Rs. 3,04,050. Their average attendance was 24 weeks in the year, and the average weekly earning amounted to Rs. 6-2-3 — by no means a negligible amount. Whereas most of the mill yarn weavers began their careers with debt and could never get free from that burden, the hand yarn weavers could not only make the two ends meet but were able to make a little saving also — the amount deposited by them being, at the end of the year, Rs. 27,714-3-8, or an average of Rs. 13-6-0 per weaver. A

comparative study of these two classes of weavers is likely to yield revealing results, and will prove to the hilt the truth of Gandhiji's dictum that "those weavers who do not take to weaving handspun are cutting their own throats," and that "khadi is the weaver's sole protection."

There is yet another feature in the report worth noticing. The total turnover during the year was about Rs. 30 lakhs. The salaries paid to 365 workers amounted to Rs. 61 thousand, i. e. 2.1 per cent. This figure would surely compare favourably with the corresponding figure of any other business concern, and it is creditable for the workers engaged in the service. The fact that the Branch could carry on its work with a working capital of Rs. 8 lakhs and odd shows the distinct advantage enjoyed by khadi over mill production which would have required a much greater capital.

We shall look forward to getting similar businesslike reports from other branches of the A. I. S. A., for these reports, besides being authentic records of the progress made by khadi, are of great value as additions to the growing volume of literature useful to students of khadi economics.

C. S.

CHARKHA V. TAKLI

The Secretary of the Tamilnad Branch of the All India Spinners' Association writes as follows:

It is not necessary that the charkha alone should be used for spinning. Spinning on the takli is as much a training in non-violence. The takli alone is the handiest spinning implement that can be used on a mass scale at a short notice. The reasons are as follows:

1. It will take a long time to provide all those who register themselves as satyagrahis with the charkha and its component accessories. With the best of efforts it will take at least six months to complete the equipment. But thousands of taklis can be provided at a very short notice.

2. The charkha can be used only in the house of the spinner and does not have much of demonstration value. But the takli can be used anywhere and at any time. Takli spinning does not interfere with our other work. One can be talking or walking as he or she is spinning. It is easily carried about, being small enough to go into a pocket, and when others see us going about spinning they too fall under the spell and a spinning atmosphere is created.

3. It will be difficult for everybody who takes to the satyagraha pledge to learn quickly the antecedent processes of spinning such as ginning and carding. They will have to depend on slivers made ready for them. It will not be possible to provide everybody with slivers if everyone takes to charkha-spinning. Takli-spinning will require less sliver supply. Moreover, whatever Dev kapas is available, can be easily ginned by hand and made into slivers.

4. The cheapest charkha costs Rs. 2. It may not be within the reach of all to buy one. But the takli costs only two annas. One need not incur even this much of expense. A takli can be improvised with a bamboo stick and a stone weight.

5. Spinning on the charkha requires more training than the takli. The charkha often goes out of order and requires adjustment. The takli rarely goes out of order.

A FEAST FOR THE EYES

Shri Dilkhush Diwanji is an M. A. of the Bombay University, and might have been a professor in a college if he had chosen an academic career. But he elected to settle down in a village and share the hard lot of the villager. He chose Karadi, the little village where Gandhiji was arrested at the end of the Dandi March, for his field of activities and is conducting a khadi depot there which I purposely visited on my way back from Surat. The work that he is carrying on, the atmosphere he has created, the smiling faces not only of the children who surround him but also of the old women who flock to the depot — all this was a feast for the eyes.

For he has made himself one of them. He lives in a place humbler than theirs, he eats what they eat, cooking for himself, and lives and dresses himself like them.

A group of old women—some of them *very* old who could hardly see my face clearly—had gathered in the depot from a neighbouring village. Their ages must be anything between 50 and 80. Each one had a little bundle of yarn with her which she had come to deliver at the depot. Each had a little pass-book in which every little detail of her yarn was shown—the weight, the count, the quality, the wage, etc., wastage, the yarn deducted for her own khadi, and the date. Everyone referred to Shri Diwanji as "son", and the one with whom we began to talk addressed me also as "son". This "son" Diwanji had descended as a "god" among them; they had no work, they had been put on the shelves, now they had work and they earned two to three annas per day. They were proud of their income wherewith they could make small purchases, including tea, which they confessed was bad but which nevertheless had become a need!

Everything in the depot was spick and span—the books, the boxes containing yarn according to their quality, and the khadi, the sacks of cleaned and uncleaned cotton, and the stocks of yarn. There was a method and orderliness about everything. When the work was started in 1936 there were only 12 wheels, and the wages given amounted Rs. 277-3-0. In 1937 there were 42 wheels, and the work has since increased by leaps and bounds. The following figures are eloquent of the progress:

	1937	1935	1939
Wheels	42	190	599
	ms. srs.	ms. srs.	ms. srs.
Yarn	8 3	28 4	116 30
Wages	Rs. 1,159-10-0	Rs. 2,033	Rs. 10,393-4-0
Khadi	434 yards	2836 yards	10,198 yards
Khadi	{ Local Rs. 116-5-0	Rs. 629-15-0	Rs. 2604-15-0
Sales	{ Outside 157-4-0	Rs. 622-13-0	Rs. 3016-1-0

These are the details of the work done during 1939:

Yarn spun 116 mds. 30 srs.

Spivars 113 " 8 "

Khadi 10198 Yds.

Worth 5496 Rs.

Khadi { Spinners etc. Rs. 1456-8-0
Sold { Other customers Rs. 1148-7-0
to { Outside customers Rs. 3016-1-0

Spinning wheels sold 334

Other articles sold Rs. 332-8-0

Wages distributed in 1939

117 Cotton cleaners	Rs. 49-14-6
4 Ginners	Rs. 17-11-0
22 Carders	Rs. 1074-12-9
699 Spinners	Rs. 7156-6-9
8 Weavers	Rs. 1836-1-6
Others	Rs. 258-5-3
7 Workers in charge of Depot	Rs. 654-0-0

The boys in the Local Board school at Matwad have their spinning hour with Shri Diwanji. There is half an hour's silent spinning and half an hour's talk on the topics of the day. They asked me intelligent questions. They are all free from drink and the "petty vices" of smoking, tea-drinking, etc. There is an intelligent appreciation among the village-folk of the work that is going on, and I should not be surprised if the boys who are coming under Shri Diwanji's influence were to develop into workers in the cause of the uplift of their community.

Sevagram, 14-5-40

M. D.

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By Atulananda Chakrabarti

Gandhiji has said of this book: "If he has stated the truth and nothing but the truth, it is a revealing booklet which all Hindus and Muslims may read with profit." Price Rs. 2-8-0. Postage 5 As. extra. Available at (1) Harijan office—Poona 4, and (2) Harijan office—81 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Lines Station, Bombay 2.

Harijan

May 25

1940

OUR DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"In view of further ruthless aggression by Nazi Germany and the fact that Britain is hard pressed and going through deep waters today, does not non-violence demand that we should say to her that, while we do not resile in the very least from our position nor withdraw an iota of our demand so far as her relationship with us and our future are concerned, we do not desire to embarrass her in dire distress and will definitely, therefore, defer all thoughts and all talk of a civil disobedience movement for the time being? Do not our minds rebel against the very idea of a domination such as Nazidom is avowedly standing for today? Is not the whole future of a humane civilisation at stake? It is true that our independence from an alien rule is also a matter of life and death to us. But when Britain is up against an aggressor who is definitely pursuing barbarous methods, should we not make a timely and human gesture which should in the end win the heart of our opponent? Even if such a gesture makes no impression on her and an honourable settlement is impossible, will it still not be the higher and ennobling thing for us to offer non-violent battle when she is not beset on all sides? Will it not require greater strength in us and therefore mean greater and more lasting benefit, and will it not be a glorious example for a warring world? Will it not also be a proof that non-violence is pre-eminently a weapon of the strong?"

Perhaps this correctly represents the sentiment of several correspondents who have written to me since the Norwegian setback. It is evidence of the nobility of the hearts of these correspondents. But there is want of appreciation of the reality. These letters ignore British nature. British people stand in no need of sympathy from subject people. For they can command all they want from them. They are a brave and proud people. They are not going to be demoralised by even half a dozen such setbacks. They are well able to cope with any difficulty that may face them. India has no say whatsoever in the manner in which she is to take her part in the war. She was dragged into the war by the mere wish of the British Cabinet. Her resources are being utilised at the will of the British Cabinet. India is a dependency, and Britain will drain the dependency dry as she has done in the past. What gesture has the Congress to make in these circumstances? The greatest gesture in its power the Congress is already making. It creates no trouble in the country. It refrains in pursuance of its own policy. I have said and I repeat that I shall do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain. It will be contrary to my conception of Satyagraha.

Beyond this it is not in the power of the Congress to go.

Indeed it is the duty of the Congress to prosecute its demand for independence and to continue the preparations for civil disobedience to the fullest extent it can. The nature of the preparations should be appreciated. To promote khadi and village industries, communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, and to this end to enlist and train Congress members. Is this preparation to be suspended? I dare say that, if the Congress truly becomes non-violent and in pursuance of the policy of non-violence it successfully carries out the constructive work I have mentioned, it will be able to have independence without doubt. Then will be the time for India as an independent nation to decide what aid she should give to Britain and how.

The Congress contribution to the cause of the Allies in so far as it may be good, and to the world peace, is its active pursuance of non-violence and truth and the prosecution of its goal of Complete Independence without abatement and without delay.

Britain is really damaging her own cause by persistently refusing to examine the Congress position and recognise its justice and in raising false issues. The Constituent Assembly of the kind proposed by me provides for every difficulty except one, if it is a difficulty. It does not provide for British interference in the shaping of India's destiny. If that is put forth as a difficulty, the Congress must wait till it is acknowledged that it is not only no difficulty and that self-determination is India's indisputable right.

In this connection let me refer to the letters I have received accusing me of unwillingness to declare civil disobedience under some pretext or other. These friends must know that I am more concerned than they in the successful demonstration of the weapon of non-violence. I am not giving myself a minute's rest from the pursuit of the search. I am ceaselessly praying for light. But I cannot precipitate civil disobedience because of outside pressure, even as I will not refrain because of such pressure. I know that this is the time of my greatest trial. I have overwhelming evidence to show that there is much violence in the hearts of many Congressmen and that there is much selfishness. If Congressmen were imbued with the true spirit of non-violence, we would have had independence in 1921 and our history would have been written differently. But I must not complain. I must work with the tools I have. Only let Congressmen know the cause of my seeming inaction.

Sevagram, 20-5-40

OLD ISSUES

Issues of Vols. I to VI of 'Harjan' can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage). Issues of Vol. 8 will be had at the published price plus postage. MANAGER

GOD-SPEED

A band of Muslim volunteers about 30 strong, led by Abid Ali Saheb and Ali Bahadur Khan Saheb, returning from the Azad Muslim Conference held at Delhi, called at Sevagram the other day. They travelled all the way from Bombay to Delhi and back in a motor-bus halting at important places to carry on Hindu-Muslim unity propaganda, and the account of their experiences was quite thrilling and sufficient to fill one with hope. The ideal way to do this kind of propaganda is to perform such a tour on foot, but the way adopted by these Bombay friends was certainly a second-best, and perhaps the most expeditious and best for people who have not the time a journey on foot demands. They held big mass meetings wherever they halted, talked with people dispelling their doubts and fears, and did some reconciliation work too. Thus at Jwalapur, they said, the relations between Hindus and Muslims were far from good and there was even fear of a riot. After these friends went there and had a talk with leaders of parties a reconciliation was brought about with the result that a meeting was held in the mosque and it was attended by hundreds of Hindus. At some places there were slight disturbances, but as the friends were determined to do nothing by way of retaliation the disturbances were confined to one side only and were futile. The friends had composed a song *Zanda uncha rahe hamara* specially for the tour which they sang wherever they went and marched in procession. It was so simple and musical and so full of words of every day usage among both Hindus and Muslims that it caught on, and lots of people took it down to commit to memory.

It was plucky and resourceful to have planned this excursion. I dare say it was much less expensive than a train-journey and obviously most fruitful. For 27 to 30 people to travel miles on end in an ordinary Ford motor bus with all their belongings, at the height of the summer, was no joke. But they bore all the discomforts cheerfully and looked none the worse for roughing it out.

As they left Sevagram after a few minutes' talk about their experiences with Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal who was here that day, they asked for Gandhiji's message. "My message has been already given, and I have none new to give you," he said to them. "All I will say is that now that you have actively taken up this great mission, you will not cease from your effort until Hindu-Muslim unity is achieved. I would ask you to forget that you have any quarrel with the Muslim League people. Your object differs from theirs, but they also are our brothers and you cannot convert them unless you treat them as such and refrain from all personal attacks. You have to carry conviction to them, for unless you or we can

win them over there is no Hindu-Muslim unity. I wish you god-speed."

Sevagram, 21-5-40

M. D.

THIS PICTURE AND THAT

"Unhappily.... the system of Government pursued... has been based on the policy of perpetuating that very separation of the races and encouraging those very notions of conflicting nationalities which it ought to have been the first and chief care of Government to check and extinguish. From the period of conquest to the present time, the conduct of the Government has aggravated the evils, and the origin of the present extreme disorder may be found in the institutions by which the character of the colony was determined... The Imperial Government... has shaped its policy so as to aggravate the disorder. In some instances it has *actually conceded the mischievous pretensions of nationality in order to evade popular claim. The alternate concessions to the contending races have only irritated both, and impaired the authority of the Government.*" (Italics mine)

This is not an indictment of the separate electorates or of the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British Indian Government but only extracts from Lord Durham's Report on Canada. Communal cleavages are today being aggravated and exploited by Britain to keep India out of her own. All this is a replica of what happened in Canada. A cursory review of the story of Canada and the striking parallels to our own case with which it is replete, therefore, would not be uncalled for at this juncture.

Divide and Rule Policy in Canada

The first settlement of the Canadas was made in the proclamation of 1763, soon after their acquisition from the French King by the Treaty of Paris. Close upon its heels followed those discontents which resulted in the Independence of the States of America. To prevent the further dismemberment of the Empire henceforth became the primary object of British statesmen, and "an especial anxiety was exhibited to adopt every expedient which appeared calculated to prevent the remaining North American colonies from following the example of successful revolt." For this purpose the distinct national character of the French inhabitants of Canada, and their ancient hostility to the people of New England, presented the easiest and most obvious line of demarkation. "To isolate the inhabitants of the British from those of the revolted colonies, became the policy of the Government, and the nationality of the French Canadian was therefore cultivated, as a means of perpetual and entire separation from their neighbours." It also became the "considered policy" of the British Government "to govern its colonies by means of division, and to break them down as much as possible into petty isolated communities, incapable of combination, and possessing no sufficient strength for individual resistance to the Empire." The language question was not left unexploited. Further to separate the

French of Canada from the British emigrants a plan was adopted "to conciliate the former by the retention of their languages, laws and religious institutions." In Prince Edward's Island a condition was annexed to the grants of land which may fitly be described as a Canadian prototype of the Punjab Land Alienation Act. It stipulated that the Island was to be settled by 'foreign Protestants', "as if they were to be foreign in order to separate them from the people of New England, and Protestants in order to keep them apart from the Canadian and Acadian Catholics."

The Indian reader will not fail to trace in this picture the familiar lineaments of the present day 'Divide and Rule' policy that is being pursued in India. In fact almost every one of the divisive expedients which finds its apologists among the high priests of the British ruling class today will be found stripped of its sanctimonious mask and exposed in its nakedness in Lord Durham's Report.

Canada's Reply

Nor were the results dissimilar from ours. On his arrival in Canada Lord Durham found himself confronted by "jealousy between two races, so long habituated to regard each other with hereditary enmity, and so differing in habits, in language and in laws." "I expected to find a conflict between a Government and a people, but I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state... a struggle not of principles, but of races." Previous to this, in 1833, the Lower Canada Assembly had put forward the suggestion of a "Convention" for the redress of their grievances, the request being repeated in the petition which was sent by the Assembly to the King soon afterwards. It was to the effect that "delegates freely and indiscriminately chosen by all classes of the community so as to be in harmony with the interests of the province should recommend the proper modifications in government." "A general Assembly of this kind," it was said, "would prove to be a faithful interpreter of all the interests of the colony taken collectively." (Kennedy: *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution*, 2nd Edition, p. 264) The reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department in answer to this petition might as well have dropped from Sir Samuel Hoare's or Lord Zetland's lips during a debate on the Indian demand for a Constituent Assembly. "The object of the address," it ran, "is to pray his Majesty to sanction a National Convention of the people of Canada, for the purpose of superseding the legislative authorities... His Majesty can never be advised to assent, as deeming it inconsistent with the very existence of monarchical institutions." Nor did Canadian insistence on "conventions of the people" in the Ninetytwo Resolutions of 1834 gain much support with the British Cabinet. In desperation the Assembly had recourse to the only sanction known to and recognised, in the last resort, by British constitutional practice, viz. threat of rebellion.

Durham's Panacea

It was to propose a remedy for this state of things that Lord Durham was sent to Canada. During the recent India Debate, it was ingeniously argued by some speakers, in their anxiety to combat the Indian demand for a Constituent Assembly, notably by Sir George Schuster, that in India the democratic system on which political life in the West is based cannot, owing to the communal situation that prevails here, "really function as we know it", and that some distinctive type would, therefore, have to be evolved. There were not wanting protagonists of Sir George even in Lord Durham's time who similarly argued that the representative system of Government was unsuited to the Canadian conditions, and that "the principles, which are productive of harmony and good government in the mother country, are by no means applicable to a colonial dependency." Lord Durham's reply to these objectors would serve equally for our present-day Imperialists like Sir George too.

"It needs no change in the principles of Government," contended Durham, "no invention of a new constitutional theory, to apply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution and introduce into the Government of those great colonies those wise provisions, by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient..... I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way, than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain."

Imperialists Debunked

Equally withering was his reply to upholders of the 'trusteeship' doctrine who maintained that Providence had made them responsible for the good government of Canada for all time:

"The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs; but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, the greatest, sufferers; and, like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves until they choose to apply the remedy. But it surely cannot be the duty or the interest of Great Britain to keep a most expensive military possession of these colonies in order that a Governor or a Secretary of State may be able to confer colonial appointments on one rather than another set of persons in the colonies. For this is really the only question at issue."

Lastly, there was the group of habitual pessimists, who condemned all change in advance on the ground of past failures and used it as a

plea for the maintenance of status quo which provided a happy hunting ground to self-centred, wooden-minded imperialists. "We may derive some confidence from the recollection," Lord Durham sardonically told them, "that very simple remedies yet remain to be resorted to for the first time."

Therapeutic Function of Freedom

Instead of using "the mischievous pretensions of nationality" to "evade the popular claim", as the British Government had done hitherto and has been doing since in India and elsewhere, he followed the only honourable and straightforward course by prescribing what Professor Chestor Martin of Toronto University has described as "the therapeutic function of freedom to engender goodwill and co-operation in this wicked world." "When I look on the various and deep-rooted cause of mischief which the past inquiry has pointed out as existing in every institution, in the constitutions and in every composition of society throughout the greater part of these Provinces," he observed, "I almost shrink from the apparent presumption of grappling with these difficulties. Nor shall I attempt to do so in detail. I rely on the efficacy of reform in the constitutional system by which these colonies are governed for the removal of every abuse in their administration which defective institutions have engendered." (*Italics mine*) History has fully vindicated Lord Durham's judgment, and the policy which he recommended has since come to be acknowledged as the high-water-mark of British statesmanship and political wisdom.

The Rockbottom Truth

The acceptance of Lord Durham's recommendations by the British Government was due not to an overflow of altruism, but to the rise and growth of the United States of America as a powerful independent nation to which Lord Durham drew pointed attention of the Home Government:

"I am, in truth, so far from believing that the increased power and weight that would be given to these colonies by union would endanger their connection with the Empire that I look to it as the only means of fostering such a national feeling throughout them as would effectively counterbalance whatever tendencies may now exist towards separation... The influence of the United States surrounds him (the colonist of Great Britain) on every side and is for ever present.... If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence, it can only be done by raising up for the North American colonist some nationality of his own; and by giving their inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed into one more powerful."

The argument applies *mutatis mutandis* to the Indian demand for Independence. But today, instead of regarding our communal troubles as her concern, Britain hurls them in our face as a challenge, and magnifies them before the world as an excuse for the continuance of her Imperi-

alist hold. She will sing in an altogether different tune when the logic of events has purified her vision and chastened her understanding.

Sevagram, 14-5-40

Tyarela

Commendable

Shri Pragji Desai has sent us a brief report of good work done by the people of Ichhapur, a little village in Surat district, for distressed Harijans. In March last year a fire broke out in Harijans' quarters which consisted mostly of grass huts built side by side, and before any effective help could be given they were all reduced to ashes along with every one of the Harijans' humble belongings, their little stores of grain and so on, and they simply had to escape with their lives. Fourteen families were thus rendered homeless and helpless. Shri Pragji Desai, whose village is near by, ran to the spot held a meeting of the village folk, and asked them to start collections in order to rebuild the Harijans' huts. The people responded readily and collected on the spot nearly Rs. 150. They had already given to the Harijans help in the shape of food and clothes, but this little fund became a nucleus for a fund to be collected by a committee composed of the Patel and others with Shri Pragji Desai as Chairman, who now went to the neighbouring places and to Bombay to make more collections. The Mayavumshi Harijans of Bombay took up the work in right earnest and collected something like Rs. 500. Other donations came in from Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, with the result that over Rs. 2,000 were collected (including the gift of timber, etc.) and the Harijans of Ichhapur are again housed in their own dwellings. All this was the result of a voluntary effort. The villagers did not approach the Harijan Sevak Sangh nor did they approach any outsiders until they had contributed their mites, and that is why within a short time they were able to restore their homes to the homeless.

Ichhapur's example is really commendable. Let the people of Ichhapur go a step further now and abolish untouchability by asking the Harijans to come and live along with the rest of the inhabitants rather than be confined to their "untouchable" quarters. Without that thing being done there cannot be true reparation.

Sevagram, 21-5-40

M. D.

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1384 pages, 18 chapters. Copious Index of 32 pages. 219 illustrations. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 6. Rs. 6 leather-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 7. Published by Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Available at (1) Harijan office—Poona 4; (2) Harijan office. — 81 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Lines Station, Bombay 2.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 7 As. Available at Harijan office—Poona 4, and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Notes

Non-Resistance

I read the following in the daily press:

"A petition signed by a number of Muslims has been sent to the Corporation authorities that, if their previous representations for the removal of Gandhiji's portrait from all Corporation schools for Muslim boys and girls is not acceded to, the institutions will be boycotted. They contend that the display of the portrait is a form of hero worship, which is anti-Islamic."

Assuming the truth of the statement, I would strongly advise compliance with the Muslim demand. Nothing is to be gained by the Congress party resisting the demand. At the same time I would suggest to the leaders of the agitation that it is supported by wrong argument. For they have surely their own heroes. The proper and conclusive argument is that I am no longer their hero. Heroes change with the times. It is well for public bodies to accommodate themselves to such changes.

Five Questions

1. Can satyagrahis (i.e. those who have signed the satyagraha pledge) offer defence when they are arrested?

2. May a satyagrahi make an effort to get better class treatment, i.e. 'A' or 'B'?

3. Ought a satyagrahi in jail to acquiesce in the conditions imposed upon him, or should he endeavour to secure what he regards more humane and satisfactory treatment?

4. What is the minimum time for which a satyagrahi ought to spin or what is the minimum quantity of yarn he should produce?

5. Can a man sign the satyagraha pledge immediately you declare civil disobedience and court arrest, or is there any definite period for which he should have remained a satyagrahi to be eligible to take part in the civil disobedience campaign?

Answers:

1. There is no objection to offering defence, and in certain cases it would be a duty to do so as, say, in the Ajmer case.

2. In my opinion he should not make any attempt to alter the class. Personally I am against any classification.

3. He is entitled to make every legitimate effort for change to human conditions.

4. I think one hour per day should be the minimum and 300 rounds per hour is a reasonable speed. Men engaged in public work may spin less.

5. A man who intentionally refrains from signing a pledge in order to avoid fulfilment of conditions is a cheat and unworthy of being a satyagrahi. But I can conceive an honest man just signing the pledge and straightaway going to jail. Even at the risk of losing prospective pledge-takers and those who have taken the pledge, I would say that there is no immediate prospect of my giving the call.

Sevagram, 20-5-40

Andrews' Influence

Mr. A. G. Fraser of Elgin, Scotland, sends me the following touching letter about Deenabandhu:

"I write to you because of the great joy and inspiration you were to him who has just left us, Charlie Andrews, and because you, perhaps more than any other, will feel his loss. He has had a great and deeply joyful life, and amongst all the many things which made it rich, your friendship was one of the foremost. For your pleasure in him I would like to tell you one story of him.

The noblest of British Governors that I have known, Sir Gordon Gaggisberg, who literally gave his life for Africans, was anxious to know Charlie and he asked me to arrange a meeting, if possible for lunch in his club, the Army and Navy club in Pall Mall. It is one of the most rigid clubs in London in its standard of dress, so I told Gaggisberg that Charlie would not be dressed for clubland. He did not care about that, so the lunch was arranged. On the day, I was seated with Sir Gordon when the porter came and said: 'Sir, there is a man at the door who says he has an appointment with you, but I did not like to let him in till you had seen him.' I said to Gaggisberg, 'That's Charlie,' and it was. He was worse dressed than I have ever known him to be in Europe. But Gaggisberg was too delighted to meet him to think of that. We had lunch at a small central table and admirals, generals, governors came up to greet Gaggisberg who was newly back in England. He introduced them all to Charlie. Thus we retired to an alcove for a quiet talk, and Charlie's visit to British Guiana was fixed up. Thus Charlie had to go and Gaggisberg saw him down to the street and finding a taxi himself for him put him into it. As the taxi left he followed it with his eyes, his head bent. It disappeared round a corner and he stood very still. Then he turned to me and said, 'I feel as though I had been honoured to give lunch to my Lord.' It was the meeting of two great men, and they met for the sake of Indian labourers in Guiana.

You will greatly feel his loss at this time, more than even we who loved him here can know. But we do pray that you and India through you may be blessed, and you will be blessed."

Sevagram, 7-5-40

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII. NO. 16]

POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1940

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whole of Spare Time

Q. You say an active satyagrahi should devote the whole of his spare time to constructive work. What is your conception of spare time?

A. Every minute that is not required for my necessary private work would be spare time. A merchant whose whole time is occupied in making money — nothing inherently wrong in it, if it is honestly made and equally honestly spent — naturally has no spare time. He cannot become an active satyagrahi. An active satyagrahi will give the least time to his private work. The balance is his spare time. For an active satyagrahi time is more than money. He should therefore be able to give a good account of every minute. In these matters the ultimate judge is oneself.

How to Use Vacation

Q. What can students do during vacation? They do not want to study and would get tired of constant spinning.

A. If they get tired of spinning, it shows that they have not understood its life-giving property and its intrinsic fascination. What is the difficulty in understanding that every yard spun adds to the national wealth? A yard of yarn is not much, but as it is the easiest form of labour it can be easily multiplied. Thus the potential value of spinning is very great. Students are expected to understand the mechanism of the charkha and keep it in good order. Those who do so, will find a peculiar fascination in spinning. I refuse, therefore, to suggest any other occupation. But of course spinning may give place to more pressing work — I mean more pressing in point of time. Their help may be required in putting the neighbouring villages in a good sanitary condition and in attending to the sick or in educating Harijan children, etc.

Honest Doubt

Q. Some of us belong to that section of Congress workers who are not firmly of the opinion that the charkha is no good and has to be discarded along with your leadership at the earliest possible date. Nor do we belong to that happy band of your followers who have an unshakable faith in the political, economical and spiritual mission of the charkha. We believe in khadi — at any rate in the present circumstances of our country. But we cannot

truthfully say that we understand the necessity for ourselves spinning. We are city people, and there is very little scope for the charkha here as a bread-giver. However, we are anxious to be enrolled as satyagrahis. We can promise that we shall conscientiously spin as required by you, but we are not in a position to promise that faith in it which you desire. It is possible that as we ply the charkha the faith may come. But, for the present, it is as we have stated. Can we honestly sign the satyagraha pledge?

A. Of course you can be enrolled. All those who spin do not do so because of the bread-giving property of the wheel. Many spin for sacrifice, to set a good example, and to create the spinning atmosphere.

Test for All Members

Q. I am one of the secretaries of a Congress committee. I have a feeling that some of those who have signed the pledge are not carrying it out — particularly the clause about spinning. Can we put to them the question, whether they spin or not? And, if we feel that their answers are evasive or untrue, is it part of our duty to hold an enquiry into the matter? Some of us feel that we must accept their word, and not be too searching.

A. As secretaries it is your duty to devise rules so that there would be an automatic test for all members, not merely for doubtful ones, spinning or not spinning. One test will be that the members deliver to a depot the yarn they spin. Every member is expected to keep a daily record of his output. But a nagging inquiry should undoubtedly be avoided.

Recruitment v. Constructive Work

Q. Which would you prefer — whether we should devote all our time to recruiting satyagrahis or set about organising constructive work with the satyagrahis that we already have on hand?

A. Of course you will organise constructive work with those you have. This will by itself attract recruits.

Men and Women

Q. I should like to know whether you would approve of men and women satyagrahis mixing promiscuously and working together, or whether they should be organised into separate units with a clear delimitation of the field of each. My experience is that the former must lead, as it has led, to a lot of indiscipline and corruption. If you agree with me, what rules would you suggest to combat the potential evil?

A. I should like to have separate units. Women have more than enough work amongst women. Our womenfolk are terribly neglected, and hundreds of intelligent women workers of sterling honesty are required to work among them. On principle too I believe in the two sexes functioning separately. But I would lay down no hard and fast rules. Good sense must govern the relations between the two. There should be no barrier erected between the two. Their mutual behaviour should be natural and spontaneous.

Khadi and Advertisement

Q. Do you approve of the policy that is being followed by the Charkha Sangh in some places, of pushing the sale of khadi by the use, for instance, of loud speakers, popular gramophone records and the like? Don't you think that advertising apart from supplying the necessary information about the marketing of khadi is undignified and incompatible with the khadi spirit?

A. I see nothing wrong or undignified in making use of loud speakers, etc., to popularise khadi. Through these means too one does no more than give the prices and other information about khadi. It will be certainly undignified and worse if false information is given whether with or without the use of loud speakers and the like.

Will to Live

Q. It has been said that the "will to live" is irrational; being born of a deluded attachment to life. Why is then suicide a sin?

A. The will to live is not irrational. It is also natural. Attachment to life is not a delusion, it is very real. Above all, life has a purpose. To seek to defeat that purpose is a sin. Therefore suicide is very rightly held to be a sin.
Sevagram, 28-5-40

THREE WITNESSES

Apropos of the suggestion that the Congress should suspend its struggle and help Britain in her extremity, a European friend exclaimed:

"How will suspension help the Allies? The Congress occupies its present position owing to the prestige which her moral struggle gives her." To suspend the struggle is to destroy her status. Nazism will not be overthrown on the battle-field. It is the product of the last war. Today the Germans believe with the rest that the only effective sanction for the establishment of right in the present-day world is force. Their conviction is based on their past experience. The only effective check against Nazism is the successful application of the Congress principle of satyagraha for gaining Indian independence and liquidating a centuries old dispute with Britain. The Congress is unknowingly helping the Allied cause and the German people by uncompromisingly adhering to her full demand in terms of satyagraha and refusing to take advantage of Britain's distress."

It is interesting to note how even a military authority like Captain Liddell Hart arrives at a similar conclusion by arguing from altogether different premises. It was some time back that he gave the warning that nothing could be more fatal to the Allied cause than to pin their faith on a smashing victory on the battle-field. Here is what he has recently written in *The Sunday Dispatch*. After discussing the possibility of a huge German offensive and extensive air raids by the Allies into the heart of Germany, he observes:

"Cannot we find a better way, a way of 'curing Hitlerism' instead of merely crushing it down—to spring up again after another period of enforced and embittered peace?"

A declaration that we were renouncing military assault as a means of curing aggression would be a far-sighted move, reinforcing our moral position, while forestalling the growth of disillusionment over our apparent inactivity.

It might well be the first point in the development of a new technique for countering aggression, one suited to present-day conditions and our particular situation.

It should be reinforced by such a statement of our war aims brief but sufficiently explicit, as would make it clear that the German people, individually and collectively, have more to gain than to lose by a return to peaceful conditions on the basis of mutual agreement; and that their enjoyment of such a prospect is bound up with the recognition and restoration of the rights of other people.

So long as the Allied statesmen use the old military language about 'victory', so long will the German people naturally interpret the idea of peace in terms of Versailles."

It is the fashion these days to dub those who advocate this line of thinking as visionaries, while those who swear by the undiluted might of armaments and "cannon fodder" anyhow obtained are described as realists. To such the following from *World Youth* should act as an eye-opener:

"Those who call themselves realists too often distort the meaning of the terms. A realist is one who can accept a fact. And no fact has been more conclusively proved than that *peace by conquest is no peace, but war on a new front. Peace is bred when the strong surrenders to the weak the rights he could withhold.* Peace is never achieved by victory over others, but only by victory over one's self; by a proud and confident adherence to the principle of right, and of rights—the rights of others as precious as one's own."

Sevagram 28-5-40

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

The Hour of Peril

The latest, and one may hope the last, phase of the war is, to adopt Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's description, a Napoleonic phase. The use of the word by one who is a sworn enemy of Imperialism no less than he is of Nazism is significant. Imperialism and all its ruinous history apart, there is no question in anybody's mind that the arch-aggressor in the war is Hitler, and when one thinks of his sweeping and even pictorial aggression one automatically uses the phrase 'Napoleonic'. That the hour of peril is near and the situation as grave as it can possibly be is apparent from the statements of British and French statesmen. What could be more significant than these ringing words of Mr. Atlee who appealed to his countrymen to sacrifice their all in order to express "the will and determination of a free people":

"The Government is convinced that now is the time when we must mobilise to the full the whole resources of this country. We must throw all our weight into the struggle. Every private interest must give way to the urgent need of the community. We cannot know what the next few weeks or even days may bring forth, but whatever may come, we shall meet it as British people in the past have met dangers and overcome them. But it is necessary that the Government should be given complete control over persons and property, not just some persons or some particular class of community, but over all persons rich or poor, employer or worker, man or woman, or property...What is proposed is that there should be control over persons and over property. The Minister of Labour will be given power to direct any person to perform any services required. That does not necessarily mean service in munitions or factories. It does not apply only to workmen. It applies to everybody. Everybody alike must be under this control. He will be able to prescribe the terms of remuneration, terms of labour, or hours of service. Remuneration will be on the basis of remuneration for the job. If an engineer is asked to do an engineer's work, he gets an engineer's pay. If someone else is asked to do the job, he gets the pay of that job. If a professional man has to do professional work, he gets the professional pay; but if he is asked to do manual work, he gets the manual pay."

That is the least that those who have the honour to belong to a free nation should do in the hour of its peril.

India's Part

Hitler's Napoleonic exploits have stirred some of us to make statements which do credit to their generous impulses but not to their sense of reality. What can India in her crippled state of dependence do? Have Indians "the will and the determination of a free people"? Even one like Dr. R. P. Paranjpye has made this admission: "The policy of the Government has been to keep Indians absolutely dependent on Britain for their defence. This policy is now seen to have been absolutely short-sighted. Even now

no attempt is being made to organise the man power and resources of India at least for local defence. With longer vision India would have been able to give material help to Britain in her hour of trial."

Moral Gesture Needed

Pandit Jawaharlal put the moral issues quite clearly in his forceful statement made at the early stage of the present crisis. A little after this Mr. Churchill referred to the British Empire and said there was no survival for the British Empire without victory. What is forgotten, one has painfully to point out, is that the very Empire to which its soldier-statesmen are sticking on, may be a terrible handicap in the desperate race for victory. Even if crippled India were to be put upon her legs today, she could not as by a magic wand produce the material needed for a victorious violent war. But if she was put upon her legs and raised from the status of a dependency to the status of an independent ally, all Hitler's excuse for wanton aggression would be gone. What is more, British statesmen would be only making good the democratic statements that they have made—all during the past six months. "We are fighting in defence of freedom," said Lord Halifax. "We are fighting for peace; we are meeting a challenge to our own security and that of others; we are *defending the rights of all nations to live their own lives.*" (Italics mine) Mr. Anthony Eden declared about the same time that all war effort—he was talking of the Dominions—"was based, as I believe, on a positive faith, and that positive faith is Parliamentary Government by a free community." (He forgot that "war effort" in India was impossible, as there is no Parliamentary Government and no free community.) "If we really mean to build a clean, ordered, secure world after this war," said Sir Herbert Morrison, "we must be ready for sacrifices as individuals, as classes, as a *nation.*" And "all peoples have a right to live in security and independence," declared Mr. Arthur Greenwood.

But the fight is for *victory*. And as Guy Chapman, the compiler of that fine miscellany of the last World War has said in *Vain Glory*:

"The peculiarity of war lies in the fact that whole communities are directed to a single objective—*victory*; and the reason they were induced to co-operate, the clash of philosophies and creeds, is forgotten in the closer obsession of the desire to win. It is not belief in the cause, but the strength of the desire for victory which, as it waxes and wanes, is the basis of what is called morale."

Mr. Churchill's words, Lord Gort's words, and now Mr. Amery's statement repeating Lord Zetland's language, betray that "obsession of the desire to win", and forgetfulness of the very moral considerations that alone can speed Britain to victory. It is a sad reflection to make, but none the less true.

Sevagram, 27-5-40

M. D.

Harijan

June 1

1940

NOT YET

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will find in another column Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's plea for immediate civil disobedience. I endorse his prescription for ensuring world peace. For enforcing the acceptance of his prescription he would have immediate civil disobedience. Here I must join issue. If Dr. Lohia subscribes to my conception of the working of non-violence, he will at once admit that the present is no atmosphere for influencing the Britisher in the right direction through civil disobedience. Dr. Lohia agrees that the British Government should not be embarrassed. I fear that any step towards direct action is bound to cause them embarrassment. If I start now, the whole purpose of civil disobedience will be defeated.

I would unhesitatingly declare civil disobedience if the country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined. But unfortunately we have many groups outside the Congress who believe in neither non-violence nor civil disobedience. In the Congress itself there are all shades of opinion about the efficacy of non-violence. Congressmen who believe in the application of non-violence for the defence of India can be counted on the finger-tips. Though we have made great strides towards non-violence, we have not arrived at a stage when we can hope to be unconquerable. Any false step at the present time may end in the loss of the great moral prestige the Congress has gained. We have sufficiently demonstrated that the Congress has done with imperialism, and that it will not be satisfied with anything less than the unfettered right of self-determination.

If the British Government will not *suo motu* declare India as a free country having the right to determine her own status and constitution, I am of opinion that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries subsides and the future is clearer than it is. We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence.

But we shall have many opportunities of demonstrating our power if we really have it. We can make it felt at the time of peace which must come whichever party wins.

Have we got the power? Is India at ease without having upto-date arms? Does not India feel helpless without the ability to defend herself against aggression? Do even Congressmen feel secure? Or do they not feel that for some years to come at any rate India will have to be helped by Britain or some other power? If

such is our unfortunate plight, how can we hope to make an effective contribution towards an honourable peace after the war or universal disarmament? We must first demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong in our own country before we can expect to influence the tremendously armed powers of the West.

But many Congressmen are playing at non-violence. They think in terms of civil disobedience anyhow meaning the filling of jails. This is a childish interpretation of the great force that civil disobedience is. I must continue to repeat, even though it may cause nausea, that prison-going without the backing of honest constructive effort and goodwill in the heart for the wrong-doer is violence and therefore forbidden in satyagraha. Force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms invented by man's ingenuity. Non-violence, therefore, is the decisive factor in civil disobedience. At this the most critical moment in India's history, I will not play with the force whose hidden possibilities I have been humbly trying to explore now for nearly half a century. Fortunately in the last resort I have myself to fall back upon. I have been told that people cannot be non-violent overnight. I have never contended they can. But I have held that by proper training they can be, if they have the will. Active non-violence is necessary for those who will offer civil disobedience, but the will and proper training are enough for the people to co-operate with those who are chosen for civil disobedience. The constructive work prescribed by the Congress is the proper training. Given the preparation, the Congress will make perhaps the most effective contribution toward ending the war in the right way. Disarmament of India though compulsory in origin, if it is voluntarily adopted by the nation as a virtue and if India makes a declaration that she will not defend herself with arms, can materially influence the European situation. Those, therefore, who wish to see India realise her destiny through non-violence should devote every ounce of their energy towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme in right earnest without any thought of civil disobedience.

Sevagram, 28-5-40

"Will Leave No Stone Unturned"

Interviewed on Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons, Gandhiji said:

"While hourly butchery is going on in the West and peaceful homes are being destroyed, I have no heart to say anything publicly in regard to Mr. Amery's statement. Suffice it to say that I will leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock."

Mahatma Gandhi

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and 67 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

BIDAR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Five gentlemen from Hyderabad Deccan have sent me an offer to which there is a long preface containing all kinds of innuendoes against me. I need not burden these columns with their preface. If the adjectives used against me are deserved, they will stand whether I advertise them or not. If they are due to the ignorance of the authors, as I know they are, it is well for me not to notice them. Here is the offer :

"Will Gandhiji agree that the whole Samajist movement which led to this and many other incidents should be thoroughly investigated by a Commission, whose head should be a Parsi or a Christian, with an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members? We are even prepared if Gandhiji agrees to arbitrate himself, as we are confident that the evidence with us will prove the case. As a preliminary, congenial atmosphere to conduct such an enquiry is all that is required. We, therefore, suggest that Gandhiji will not hesitate to demand that all the cases pending in court in connection with the Bidar conflagration should be withdrawn. We do not, of course, plead that cases of a serious nature, as that of murder or cases having no connection with the conflagration, should be included.

Gandhiji is also of opinion that compensation should be given to those who have suffered. We fail to understand the logic behind it. If communal incidents are to be compensated, what would be the burden on the Exchequer? Would the riots not be employed as a weapon to bring financial failure upon the Government? Is it a remedy or an encouragement? It is a novel demand indeed. We hope Gandhiji will accept our offer."

I have no difficulty about accepting the offer unreservedly. If the writers succeed in persuading the Government of H. E. H. likewise to accept the offer, they will have established a precedent which may well be followed in all such cases. Needless to say, if the court suggested by my correspondents comes into being, the composition and terms of reference will have to be by agreement.

I am asked to demand the withdrawal of the cases instituted against persons suspected of complicity. They were not instituted at my instance, and I presume they will not be withdrawn on my demand. But I should have no hesitation in approving of all withdrawals if the court of inquiry is appointed. I assure my friends that I am interested in elucidation of truth, not in the punishment of the guilty.

But I am sorry I cannot forego the suggestion for compensation. Compensation has been asked because it is alleged that the authorities failed to do their duty. The question of compensation has naturally to be referred to the proposed tribunal. My correspondents assure me of the sincerity of their proposal. I do not doubt it. I shall await the results of their efforts to have the offer accepted by the State. I wish them every success.

Sevagram, 28-5-40

CURSE OF UNTOUCHABILITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several correspondents protest against my referring to the arguments advanced in favour of partition. They say that Islam is not exclusive, and that it teaches universal brotherhood and toleration. I have never denied this claim. It was because of my knowledge of Islam that I felt grieved over the arguments which go to prove the contrary. Almost every Muslim writing I take up nowadays contains disparagement of Hindus and Hinduism. It cannot be otherwise if the case for partition is to be proved. But my correspondents are angry when I point out the anomaly. They say I have hastily come to the conclusion from isolated writings of unimportant Muslims. Unfortunately, the arguments referred to by me have proceeded from important Muslims.

But where the writers score over me is in regard to Hindu untouchability. They say in effect: "You should be ashamed of bringing the charge of untouchability against the Muslim League. First cast out the beam from the Hindu eye before you attempt to deal with the mote in the Muslim eye. Has not the Hindu maintained for a thousand years complete boycott of Muslims? He will not drink or eat with him. He will not intermarry. He will not even let his house to him. Can you conceive a more effective isolation of a whole community than the Hindu has carried out? Will it not be a just nemesis if the Muslim now turns round and pays you in your own coin?"

I have admitted as much. Whatever the Muslims do by way of retaliation will be richly deserved by Hindus. My question was and is, should they do so? Does it behove a great political party to play upon religious prejudices?

Whatever the Muslim League does or does not do, it behoves thoughtful Hindus to take note of the deserved taunt and purge Hinduism of its exclusiveness. It will not be protected by artificial barriers which have no sanction in ancient Hinduism or reason. Well did Maulana Abul Kalam Azad say the other day how sick he was of hearing the cry at railway stations of Hindu and Muslim tea or water. I know this touch-me-not-ism is deep-rooted in Hinduism as it is practised today. But there is no reason why it should be tolerated by Congressmen. If they will be correct in their behaviour, they will pave the way for a radical transformation of Hindu society. The message of anti-untouchability does not end in merely touching the so-called untouchables. It has a much deeper meaning.

Sevagram, 28-5-40

OLD ISSUES

Issues of Vols. I to VI of *Harijan*, with certain exceptions, can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage). Issues of Vol. VIII will be had at the published price plus postage. MANAGER

DEENABANDHU MEMORIAL

Innumerable people all over the world, who have been plunged into sorrow by the recent death of Charles Frere Andrews, must have been feeling, in their grief, that it behoves his friends to carry on the work of service and reconciliation in which he laboured so greatly. We would not willingly let die the memory of his life; we seek a way to perpetuate, in permanent and visible form, the spirit of that life. Andrews' permanent Indian home, the place with which for over a quarter of a century he affectionately identified himself, was Santiniketan in the Birbhum district of Bengal. This Ashram was originally founded by the late Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and supported by the ancestral funds. Under the leadership of his son, the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, the educational institutions at Santiniketan, with the centre of rural reconstruction close by at Sriniketan, have far outgrown the first conception, and become a world-famous centre of international culture. To the welfare of these institutions, with their vision of universal brotherhood and their service of international understanding and peace, Andrews, the Poet's closest friend, gave his whole-hearted devotion. No private resources could be adequate for the support of such a centre of study and research, and many of the financial and other contributions which have been made to it from East and West alike have been owed to Andrews' perseverance, hard work, and faith in its future. No more fitting place can be conceived for a memorial to him, nor one which he himself would have loved better, as we who came into the closest contact with him know.

It is true that no memorial in stone and mortar can fully perpetuate Andrews' memory. That can best be done by promoting true and lasting peace between India and Great Britain as independent nations and, through their joint efforts, universal peace. But this work of reconciliation must find concrete form in some centre from which his influence can radiate. There could be no better memorial to him than that the place where he found his spiritual home and greatest human inspiration, should be so endowed as to enable it to fulfil his high hopes for it unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened. In his name and that of the Poet whose vision he so entirely shared, we appeal for this endowment to be generously given.

There are two projected developments of the work of Santiniketan and Sriniketan which Charles Andrews himself specially longed to see. The generous response of the public to our appeal for a memorial fund will enable them both to be carried out in addition to ensuring the permanence of the present established work. They are as follows:

Andrews was most appropriately called 'Deenabandhu', the friend of the poor, and the poor of the Birbhum district knew his friendship. The

rural centre at Sriniketan has a good doctor and dispensary but no hospital or operating theatre. We propose to build a small but properly equipped hospital to serve the villages round us, and to dig each year 'Deenabandhu wells' in the neediest areas. The Birbhum district is not served by the large rivers of Bengal, and lack of adequate water supply is the main cause of its grinding poverty.

It was true insight which caused an Indian friend to interpret the initials C. F. A. as meaning 'Christ's Faithful Apostle'. Christ was the centre of his life. Devotion to Him was his outstanding characteristic and the source of his inspiration and strength. During the last months at Santiniketan he often expressed the hope that in this place, where the civilisations of the world can share with each other the bases of their strength, there might be established a Hall of Christian culture which could do for India's thought through contact with the Western world what the 'Cheena-Bhawan' is expected to do for our relationship with China. The central purpose of the Hall would be the study of the teaching and character of Christ and its application to the solution of international problems. It would seek to attract scholars and students, especially of the East, to the task of interpreting in their own modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ. We envisage a modest building, sufficiently endowed to enable us to offer such scholars and students a home at a minimum cost, with simple living accommodation, meeting hall, and the library whose nucleus Charles Andrews had already begun to assemble. He himself made Santiniketan his headquarters during a life of practical Christian service which reached out from here to the ends of the earth. We hope that such a Hall would enable others consecrated to the same kind of service to enjoy the same kind of home.

The full carrying out of this programme will require a fund of at least Rs. 500,000 (£40,000). We ask Andrews' friends and admirers all over the world to give liberal support to a scheme which will make possible, in his name, the preservation and enrichment of this work nearest to his own heart.

Santiniketan and Sriniketan are in the charge of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Founder-President, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Shri Hirendranath Datta, Shri L. K. Elmhirst, Dr. D. M. Bose, Treasurer, and Shri Rathindranath Tagore, General Secretary, as trustees. The trust deed is registered. Its corpus today is valued at Rs. 1,700,000. Its annual expenditure is about Rs. 330,000.

ABUL KALAM AZAD

S. K. DATTA

M. K. GANDHI

M. M. MALAVIYA

SAROJINI NAIDU

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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"IMMEDIATE SATYAGRAHA"

(By Ram Manohar Lohia)

The turn of events in Europe has made it clear that the Allies are not as strong as was earlier imagined, and that Germany is not as weak as was made out at the beginning of the war. Germany and the Allies appear to be evenly matched, with the advantage for the present very much to Germany. The war, therefore, cannot end soon, unless there is surprise defeat and destruction of one or the other or unless a vital change of policies and aims is effected.

The longer this war continues the greater is the possibility of its extension over other countries of Europe and the rest of the world. The continuing and extension of the war can have only one consequence, destruction. This will involve not only deaths and epidemics and laying waste of cities and villages and objects of material comfort, but also the ruining of superior emotions of man. There will be increasing hunger for cruelty in all lands.

The end of the war will probably see no better results than those in its duration. The victory of Germany will produce Nazi domination over the larger part of Europe, for the Hitler principle of national security is only a respectable term for conquest and imperialist rule. But the victory of Germany's enemies, as things stand today, is also not likely to lead to any better world. Germany's enemies are themselves imperialists and, as the war drags on, their commitments with other Powers will almost surely be of an imperialist character. With the one aim of securing victory, an aim already officially accepted by their spokesmen, Britain and France may have to buy the friendship, at least the neutrality, of Japan or Italy or any other similar Power. Such a purchase can be made only at the expense of the freedom of peoples in China or in Africa and elsewhere.

It is undoubtedly true that, if the war continues long, there will be enormous destruction and nobody can say what the outcome may be. The fighting Powers, in their victory as much as in their defeat, may become too weak to enforce their treaties and contracts.

Against this background of a continuing and extending war, the Indian people has to decide its course of action. This action should be such as to secure the freedom of the country in the midst of a free and peaceful world where the enemies of freedom cannot prosper. The duration of the war and its destruction and cruelty should, so far as it lies within the power of the Indian people, be lessened.

The cry to arm the nation in co-operation with the British Government shows unawareness both of the international background and of the aim of the Indian people. Indo-British co-operation towards arming India during the present war will, firstly, defer the day of freedom and,

secondly, force the Indian people to take increasing part in destruction. As far as real national defence is concerned, the fate of people in Poland, Holland, Belgium and even France is there with their many decades of army tradition and training and long years of military mechanisation. If India is to militarise herself for national defence, let this be clear that two decades at least of industrial and army preparations would be necessary, and any amount of arming during this war will leave us helpless, either voluntarily or otherwise, in the hands of a bigger Power.

We have to think of some other way consistent with our aim and the international background.

Those world forces which are anxious to remove aggression and conquest and foreign rule must without delay collect on a platform which will give them strength and deprive their enemies of confidence. Such a platform can be short and simple.

(1) All peoples will be free. The peoples newly freed will determine their constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise.

(2) All races are equal, and there will be no race privileges in any part of the world. There will be no political bar to any man settling wherever he likes.

(3) Credits and investments of the nationals and the government of one country in another will be scrapped or submitted for review to international tribunals. Such credits and investments will then be owned not by individuals but by the nation.

When these three principles will have been accepted by the peoples of the world a fourth will also come into operation.

(4) There will be total disarmament.

If the world that is not Hitler's were really anxious to establish peace and freedom in the world, it would straightaway accept the first three principles of this platform and put them into immediate operation in the territories under its control. This would generate forces of incalculable strength and an atmosphere of gripping goodwill. The world that is Hitler's will either quail or bow. Even if that does not happen and the war continues, it will be short and decisive.

The Allies are showing no inclination to accept this platform of ideals, and the progress of war in Europe is accompanied by incredible destruction and terror and fear of more. The battles in Holland, Belgium and France, destructive of human culture as they are, appear to be only the beginnings. The worst may yet come.

In waiting for the British Government to take the initiative or in allowing for a further long period of preparations, the Indian National Congress will be indirect party to the prolongation of the war and its consequent miseries and dangers to the Indian people and the

world. The freedom of India may not wait, not only in her own interest but in that of world peace. Satyagraha must now be declared.

If the Congress gives without delay the call of satyagraha to the Indian people for the two principles of the Constituent Assembly and of cancellation or impartial review of British credits and investments, it will do its duty by the Indian people and might generate just those world forces which will bring the war to a speedy end and assure reconstruction of the world on the basis of freedom and peace.

Satyagraha here and now is not an attempt to exploit Britain's recent defeats. On the contrary these defeats have heightened India's responsibility towards herself and also towards the Britain which is anxious to defeat all that Hitler stands for; and satyagraha will only be the expression of this heightened responsibility. Nevertheless, a period of two weeks or a month—as a further delay would not be in keeping with the rapid pace of change in the world—may be given to Britain to make up her mind about the platform of ideals which alone can defeat Hitler. Incidentally, the Congress will thus invite the United States, Russia and even Germany to revise their policies and aims. If Britain and others should still misunderstand the satyagraha of the Congress as an effort to make use of an adversary's difficulty, history will judge between them.

Notes

Kerala Congress

Mian Iftikharuddin after his visit to Kerala reported to me that the differences between rival groups that were hampering real progress in Kerala had been settled. I was happy to have the report. But letters since received from Kerala go to show that the settlement was superficial. I have before me a long resolution passed by the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee which condemns almost all my acts and writings, ridicules the constructive programme, and yet to fulfil the letter of the Congress law half-heartedly endorses the Congress resolution. I suggest to the Kerala Congressmen who are responsible for the resolution that this is neither good soldiery nor sportsmanship. The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life. Congressmen should understand the spirit of the resolution and carry it out. They will put life into me and themselves. If they cannot, it will be brave and honourable to resist in a dignified manner the present leadership and programme. The resolution before me merely confounds the people to whom it is addressed. I hope that the leaders of the majority group in Kerala will realise their mistake and retrace their steps. But whether they do so or not, the minority who have faith in the programme should quietly pursue

it and by their solid work impress the people with their sincerity.

Sevagram, 27-5-40

M. K. G.

The Beneficent Bee

The following is taken from A. W. McCann's *The Science of Eating* :

"The Van Rensselaer apple orchard in Medina County, Ohio,.....produced on the average 500 bushels of apples annually until its owner trimmed and sprayed his trees and began to keep bees, whereupon the production of the same orchard, with not a single new tree, leaped from 500 bushels to 16,000 bushels in a single season.

The Repp farm in Gloucester County, New Jersey... is now producing 1,20,000 bushels of apples. Repp himself declares that so indispensable are bees to the growing of fruit in this country that fruit growers can afford to pay local beemen at the rate of 5 dollars a colony merely to have the bees in the orchards during the time the trees are in bloom, letting the owners of the bees take them away again at once.....

Dr. Philips of the Bureau of Entomology, Washington, declares that fruit orchards cannot be planted properly on an extensive scale without maintaining in connection with them numerous colonies of honey bees and that...bee-keeping adds indirectly more to the resources of the country, by flower pollination than by the scale of honey and wax.

The orange growers of Florida now know what the bee means to their crops. Sweet cherry orchards have jumped from a production of 13 tons to 39 tons merely through the introduction of a few colonies of bees to the acre. Even the tomato is pollinated by the bee.

In Massachusetts alone there are now over 2,000 colonies of bees pollinating cucumbers, squashes, melons and pumpkins. The grape, strawberry, blackberry, raspberry, cranberry, blueberry, gooseberry, currant plum and pear need the bee.

In New Zealand red clover could not be cultivated until honey bees were imported from England.

Greater demand for honey as a sugar food means more bees. More bees mean more food of every kind."

Love of honey is, therefore, one of the most productive of the forces now engaged in the growing and harvesting of crops; in the reconstruction of the world itself.

V. G. D.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[ONE ANNA

Notes

Peace in Sirohi

Some time ago I had regretfully to comment on happenings in Sirohi. I am therefore happy to be able to note that there is now peace between the State and the people. The credit may be equally divided between the State and the satyagrahis. The satyagrahis were ably led by Acharya Gokulbhai who is a firm believer in the principles of satyagraha. Let me hope that the relations between the two will daily become more and more cordial, and that there never will be any cause for quarrel between the State and the people.

Untouchability

Shri T. S. Jadhav, President District Local Board, Sholapur, writes:

"I have been incessantly making effort to give facilities to the Harijans especially with regard to their immediate needs in respect of water supply, education, etc. The Congress Board has opened a good number of wells to the Harijans, and has also arranged to put up notices to that effect at these wells. But it is a matter of regret that the Harijans are not inclined to take advantage of this facility for fear of being put to trouble by the 'touchables'. During my tours in the district, I have been requesting the latter to allow Harijans the exercise of this legitimate right without any ill effects and exhorting the Harijans to have sufficient courage to establish their fundamental right of drinking water from any public well. This I have been doing through public meetings, articles and private discussions. As a practical instance, I go myself to a public well in a village after a public meeting with some Harijans, 'touchable' Congress workers, and a few other prominent villagers, and all of us drink water from the well after it has been drawn by a Harijan. But it is found that the 'touchables' who take part in this function are often boycotted and the Harijans visited with various kinds of troubles by the 'touchables' who do not participate in the function. No doubt the nature of this boycott and that of the infliction of troubles is becoming milder and milder day by day; but in whatever form it may be, it is there and serves as a hindrance in the way of removal of untouchability. Can you suggest anything more?"

This certainly is good work. Removal of untouchability is a question of double education, that of 'touchables' as well as 'untouchables'. 'Touchables' have to be taught patiently by precept and example that untouchability is a sin

against God and humanity, and the 'untouchables' that they should cease to fear the 'touchables' and shed untouchability among themselves. I know that that is very easily said. But I have found nothing else. Living in the midst of both, I know how hard the work is among both. If Hinduism is to live, the work has to be done, however difficult and even homeless it may appear to be.

Handmade Paper

Shri Jadhav further writes:

"Secondly, I have been using handmade paper for the use of the District Local Board office since the advent of the Congress Party in the Board. Use of mill paper or foreign paper is absolutely discontinued, and as far as my information goes, ours is the only Board in Maharashtra which has been using handmade paper for its office use to the complete exclusion of other paper. I had sent a circular letter to the Presidents of the other Boards in Maharashtra, requesting them to follow this practice of our Board, and I am glad a few of them have agreed to do so. But I think it will be better if you yourself request the Presidents of the Congress Boards in India to use handmade paper for their office purposes. This can well be done through the columns of *Harijan*, and I am sure it will go a long way in bringing into reality your dream of revival of village industries as far as writing paper is concerned."

I gladly support this plea. Indeed I have often enough said the same thing in these columns. Shri Jadhav's example should be copied by all Local Boards not merely in the matter of handmade paper but all village products. With a little care, the Boards should be able to manage these things within their budget. I should also suggest that the Boards have these things manufactured in the villages under their jurisdiction as far as possible. The purpose of the village movement will be defeated, if this central fact is not borne in mind. Decentralisation is the beauty of the movement as also the key to its success.

Red Cross Fund

The same letter mentions the following:

"Then, with respect to the Red Cross Fund. Efforts are afoot in this district to collect money for this fund on a very large scale by means of sale of lottery tickets. These tickets are sold to the villagers against their wishes and in spite of their inability to do so. This is being done through undue influence without leaving any proof of the same behind. At

some places the Patil Kulkarnis do not accept land revenue if the agriculturist does not buy these tickets. I have received a number of complaints in writing to this effect during my recent tour in the district. I am communicating these complaints to the proper Government authorities."

This subject too I have already dealt with. I have explained that in such matters there should be no compulsion. Overzealous officials may resort to unfair means bordering on compulsion. There is no statutory obligation to subscribe to such funds. Those who do not wish to, will certainly not subscribe. These irregular collections are often vexing and should be stopped by the authorities wherever discovered.

Comilla Municipality and Harijans

Shri Thakkar Bapa sends the following interesting account of what the Comilla Municipality has done and propose doing for Harijans:

"1. 15 days' leave with full pay in a year, and maternity leave to female sweepers.

2. A free primary school in their quarters.

3. Corrugated-iron roof huts for (a) Naga sweepers at a cost of Rs. 1,500, and (b) for other sweepers at a cost of Rs. 3,000. Some Nagas in East Bengal and Surma valley have taken to scavenging work.

4. The sweepers have been relieved almost wholly from their indebtedness, which totalled about 3,000 and on which they were paying an interest of three annas per rupee per month or 225 per cent!

The Commissioners intend to adopt the following further measures for them:

1. To start a Co-operative Stores, proposal for which has been sent to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for registration.

2. Sweepers have to be weaned from their drinking habit, which it is known is a difficult task.

3. The insanitary drain behind the sweepers' quarters requires to be made into a pucca drain.

4. Providing kitchens for sweepers' quarters, as at present they have to cook and sleep in the same room."

This reminds one of what the Ahmedabad Municipality has done in the matter. The latter is possibly more thorough. But that does not in any way detract from the merit of what the Comilla Municipality has done. It deserves warm congratulations. Let us hope that the prospective reforms too will be carried out in good time.

Sevagram, 4-6-40

M. K. G.

Handmade Paper

Our purchases and sales of handmade paper, from 1-1-40 to 31-5-40 have been as follows:

Month	Purchases	Sales
January	2599-10-0	1731-10-3
February	1933-2-6	1575-14-3
March	1429-11-6	728-6-3
April	1242-10-6	773-0-0
May	1642-14-0	1265-3-0

8848-0-6

6074-1-9

Rs. 970 have been given for paper-cutting and envelope-making. A Sample File containing all the samples of paper, envelopes, etc. available with us can be had from us for Re. 1 post free.

MANAGER, Harijan

OCCASIONAL NOTES

All for Principle

In one of his plays, *Man of Destiny*, Bernard Shaw has characterised the English as a 'race apart'. There is nothing so good or so bad, he remarks, that you won't find an Englishman doing it. He does what pleases him and grabs what he covets, but he does all this on 'principle'. He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. "He fights you on patriotic principles, he robs you on business principles, he enslaves you on imperial principles, he bullies you on manly principles, and cuts off his King's head on republican principles. His watch-dog is always Duty, and he never forgets that the nation which lets its duty get on the opposite side to its interest is lost."

One was strongly reminded of these remarks of Shaw on a perusal of the proceedings of the recent India debate in the Parliament, the full text of which has since appeared in the press. It was contended in the course of that debate by one honourable member after another from the floor of the House that India could not be allowed to exercise her right of unfettered self-determination as that would "put upon us the charge that we have been traitors to our responsibility for the protection of the minorities in India who rely upon us." How could Britain, it was sanctimoniously argued, abandon her obligations, as trustee of the welfare of the Indian people which were "embedded in the very texture and tapestry of history"? There was, of course, the reference to the Princes, like the inevitable King Charles' head, and to "the stake we have in the country" and "which is the outcome of historical forces".

Bug-bear of the States

"How can you ignore Indian States," exclaimed Sir Stanley Reed, "which comprise one-third of India and one-quarter the population?" Sir Stanley Reed, as a veteran journalist with a long career in India, surely, must know that out of 562 States that constitute Princely India only about thirty have any treaty relations with the Paramount Power, that even these treaty States are bound to the Paramount Power in "subordinate co-operation" either by express provisions in the treaties themselves or have been reduced to that status as a result of half a century of unbroken political practice. As vassals of the Crown they are not free agents; they cannot treat with anybody except at the sufferance of the Crown, and are bound loyally to carry out the policies of the Paramount Power. It is therefore a travesty of the reality to speak of Princely India as "comprising one-third of India and one-quarter the population", or to trot out treaty obligation towards the Princes as a reason for refusing India her right of self-determination.

Concern for the Under-dog

A true measure of the genuineness of these contentions would, perhaps, be provided by comparing the present attitude of the British Parlia-

ment with the way in which it dealt with the problem of the "under dog" on an occasion when necessity pointed the other way.

The South African constitution of 1909 was framed in South Africa by the South African National Convention. A thorny question at issue was that of the native franchise. The Convention decided that in South Africa only persons of European descent could sit as members in either House of Parliament.

This meant that the natives, who constituted the majority of the population, would be excluded from sitting in the South African Parliament. As Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, himself admitted in Parliament, there were among the natives "men who were of high standing, of high character and of high ability." They regarded the exclusion as a slight, and they "pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence their case before the British Government at Westminster." But the British Government felt powerless to interfere with the decision of the South African National Convention. Explained Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, from his place in the House of Lords on July 27th, 1909:

"The fact which has decided us in not attempting to press this matter against the wishes of the South African delegates has been that this is undoubtedly one of those matters which represent a delicately balanced compromise between themselves. As a Government, we cannot take—and personally I am not prepared to take—the responsibility for the possible wrecking of this Union measure altogether or provision of this kind. I am assured that such would be the result of any attempt to insert such a provision in the Bill. The cause of those who desire this change to be made has been pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence by some of the natives themselves, and by those who specially represent their cause. But I do feel that, if this change is to be made, it must be made in South Africa by South Africans themselves, and that, it is not possible for us, whatever we may consider to be the special merits of the case, to attempt to force it upon the great representative body which with absolute unanimity demands that it should not appear."

So the South African Convention had its way and the draft of the South African constitution of 1909 which, as a Constituent Assembly, it had drafted was, as has already been pointed out, endorsed by the British Parliament without the change even of a misplaced comma.

Other Times Other Manners

"However far," it was further contended in the debate, "we may go in giving responsibilities to a body in India for the framing of their constitution, Parliament cannot entirely devolve its responsibilities, it cannot slough off its share in the work, because it will have to implement by an Act whatever recommendations may be agreed upon." This doctrine of inalienable constitutional responsibility of the Parliament, one may point out, with due deference to the honourable member who advanced it, is historically an untruth; in practice it was always put aside whenever a settlement was genuinely desired by Britain, as in the case of Ireland and the

Dominions. The fact that it is now being dangled before us only shows that the sanction on which Britain relies is her might rather than the logic or historical validity of her contention.

To take up a few concrete instances; in the case of Canada the Parliament did nothing more than embody in a legislative form, in 1867, the seventy-two Quebec Resolutions of 1864 which represented the ultimate agreement between the Canadians themselves in regard to their own constitution. The Commonwealth of Australia Bill, again, as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, admitted in his speech on the introduction of the Constitution Bill in the House of Commons on the 14th May 1900, was prepared without any reference to the British Parliament or the British people. The Imperial Parliament only registered the decree of the Australian people.

"As a matter of fact," stated Mr. Bonar Law on 27th November, 1922, in his speech in the Commons defending the drafting of the Constitution Bill by the people of Ireland, "the constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa were all drafted in those Dominions." Sir John Simon in his speech on the same day on the same Bill was even more emphatic. "The principle," he observed, "that Constitutions in our Empire have usually been found to have a permanent basis in the cases where they have been arrived at and settled on the soil affected by them, is by no means limited to the different Federal Unions under the British Crown. I believe it would be true to say that Constitutions which promote prosperity and loyalty, and which have been found to be lasting Constitutions for subordinate States in our Empire, have almost without exception either actually or virtually been framed by those who were to live under them themselves."

"Special Obligations"

The example of Ireland is still more striking. During the Debate on the Statute of Westminster, it was held by a section of the Tories, headed by Mr. Churchill, that there was a "special obligation", viz. in regard to the Irish Treaty of 1921 which did not find its reservation within the corners of the Statute as proposed. "I am advised on high technical authority," observed the honourable member for Epping that "this Bill confers upon the Irish Free State full legal power to abolish the Irish Treaty at any time when the Irish Legislature may think fit." He therefore suggested that an amendment should be incorporated into the Statute to prevent that. But on receiving a note from Mr. Cosgrave to the effect that "any attempt to erect a statute of the British Parliament into a safeguard of the Treaty would have quite the opposite effect here and would rather tend to give rise in the minds of our people to a doubt as to the sanctity of this instrument," Col. Grettan's amendment was dropped by 360 votes to 50 despite the support of Mr. Churchill and Lord H. Cecil, and the "special obligations of the British Parliament" were left to take care of themselves.

Harijan

June 8

1940

HINDU-MUSLIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a Khan Bahadur from Delhi :

"This is a letter for the Question Box in *Harijan*.

In your article in *Harijan* of April 6, you observe as follows :

'I should be failing in my duty if I did not warn the Mussalmans against the untruth that is being propagated amongst them. This warning is a duty because I have faithfully served them in their hour of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been and is my life's mission.'

I will request you to consider the Hindu-Muslim problem from our point of view. The stumbling block to any negotiations for a settlement of the communal question has been the refusal of the Congress to recognise the All India Muslim League as the authoritative and sole representative body of the Indian Mussalmans. The Congress claims that it speaks for whole India and that it has on its rolls a considerable number of Mussalmans. The very fact that the Congress has made several attempts to come to terms with Mr. Jinnah shows that it is not fully confident of its representative character, as far as the Mussalmans are concerned. But do you not honestly feel that the Congress Mussalmans are the real stumbling block in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that it is for their sake that the Congress is not making a serious effort to solve the problem? Believe me, they are a lazy lot who are enjoying their present position because they are in the Congress.

You know what the Muslim masses did to your President in Calcutta where for years he had been leading Id prayer. You also know that they have no courage to address a Muslim meeting to convert the Mussalmans to their point of view. You blame the British for creating Princes, Moderates and Khan Bahadurs like me. You blame the British for trying to create another Ulster in India. Has not the Congress created equivalent Moderates and Khan Bahadurs in Azads, Asaf Alis and Kidwais. Is not the action of the Congress tantamount to creation of a Muslim Ulster?

You may cite the case of Mr. Asaf Ali succeeding in the municipal elections of Delhi. I may inform you that but for a division in the Provincial League and bad handling of the situation Mr. Asaf Ali would have never won the election. I may inform you that even as it is, when Delhi Congress wanted to contest the municipal elections as a party, Mr. Asaf Ali, who is now a member of the Congress Working Committee, had declined to take a Congress ticket. Therefore, Mr. Asaf Ali's election was not a test case; and if you pardon my saying so, even now let Mr. Asaf Ali re-seek election on a Congress ticket, and I am confident that any League candi-

date would defeat him. You will thus realise that your being baffled by the Lahore resolution of the League is not justified when Mussalmans have ceased to trust in your life's mission regarding Hindu-Muslim unity. On the other hand they are convinced that the sole aim of the Congress, for the last ten years at least, has been to divide and rule the Mussalmans. I will beg of you to reconsider your attitude towards the League. Please don't trust the Congressite Mussalmans, for they are not only the 'Mir Jafars' amongst us, but the enemies of Hindu-Muslim accord and India's freedom."

Just now I am inundated with letters of protest from Muslim friends. Most writers do not argue. They give themselves satisfaction by abusing. Pyarelal, who opens and deals with the daily post, gives me only those letters which he thinks I should see. Of these I take notice of those I think I must. In some cases I answer them privately. Therefore correspondents who never receive acknowledgment either through *Harijan* or the post should know the reason.

There are some Muslim letters of sympathy too. One of them says that in his house he has to listen to wildest criticism of me. No adjective is too bad to use. Much criticism he knows to be false. What is he to do, he asks. Is he to leave the house, or is he to engage in endless disputation and convert his house into a bear garden? I have advised my correspondent neither to leave the house nor to engage in a discussion. If he can, he may put in a mild word when he knows that a manifest falsehood is being uttered and believed.

The correspondence in my possession and the Urdu press cuttings and even some English cuttings from journals owned by Muslims go to show that I am believed to be the arch enemy of Islam and Indian Muslims. If I was at one time acclaimed as their greatest friend and suffered the praise, I must suffer too to be described as an enemy. Truth is known only to God. I am confident that in nothing that I am doing, saying or thinking I am their enemy. They are blood brothers and will remain so, though they may disown me ever so much.

Now for the Khan Bahadur's letter.

I have never understood the reason behind the demand for the recognition by the Congress of the All India Muslim League as the sole and authoritative Muslim body. Why should such an admission be demanded or expected? How is it compatible with a genuine desire for a settlement?

The Congress attempts to represent all. But it has never demanded recognition as such from anybody. The all India status has to be deserved. But whether it be deserved or not, admission thereof is a superfluity. The Congress has never claimed that it represents the whole of Indian Muslims. It has not claimed to represent any single community wholly. But it does claim to represent every single national interest irrespective of class, caste, colour or creed. Even

that claim need not be admitted by those who deal with it. It should be sufficient consolation to each party that it is considered by the other important enough to seek friendship with.

The Congress has always frankly admitted that it has not on its register as many Muslims as it would like. But it has been proud to have had the support of many eminent Muslims. Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan was the tallest among them. Qaid-e-Azam himself was a great Congressman. It was only after non-cooperation that he, like many other Congressmen belonging to several communities, left it. Their defection was purely political. They disliked direct action.

It is wrong to swear at the nationalist Muslims simply because they are attached to the Congress. If they become members of the League, they will become worthy Muslims !!! My correspondent simply does not know how much Congress Muslims are trying to bring about unity. When unity is re-established, as it must be, I have no doubt that nationalist Muslims will get their due both from Hindus and Muslims.

It is torture of truth to suggest that they are so many Mir Jafars. They are betraying neither Islam nor India. They are as true Muslims according to their lights as members of the League claim to be. It is equal torture of truth to suggest that the Congress is following the British method of divide and rule. The Congress is a political party with one single aim. It would be a bad day for India if the Congress could be proved to have mean motives. Is it mean to woo Muslim opinion by the fairest means imaginable? Rightly or wrongly the Congress does not believe in watertight compartments on a communal basis. If religion is allowed to be as it is, a personal concern and a matter between God and man, there are many dominating common factors between the two which will compel common life and common action. Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that today they are so distorted that they have become a potent cause of strife and mutual slaughter.

It will perhaps now be clear why I can have no concern with Asaf Ali Saheb's case. I would grant that he would be beaten in a contest between him and a Leaguer. Let it be further granted that such will be the case in the majority of such contests. It will in no way weaken my position. It will prove the superior organising ability of the League and its popularity among the Muslims. I have not doubted either. My case is incredibly simple. I must not be called upon to make any admissions about the status of the League before thinking of unity through the League. I must not be disloyal to the Muslim nationalists however insignificant they may be considered to be. I ask the Khan Bahadur, the writer of the letter under discussion, to exert his influence to bring the two communities together.

Sevagram, 4-6-40

PANIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Nowadays one reads about panic in the Press and hears more than one reads. One friend writes, "You sitting in lonely Sevagram can have no notion of the talks and whispers going on in the busy cities. Panic has seized them."

Panic is the most demoralising state anyone can be in. There never is any cause for panic. One must keep heart whatever happens. War is an unmitigated evil. But it certainly does one good thing, it drives away fear and brings bravery to the surface. Several million lives must have been already lost between the Allies and the Germans. They have been wasting blood like water. Old men, women both old and young, and children in Britain and France are living in the midst of imminent death. But there is no panic there. If they were seized by panic, it would be an enemy more dreadful than German bullets, bombs and poison gas. Let us learn from these suffering nations of the West and banish panic from our midst. And in India there is no cause whatsoever for panic. Britain will die hard and heroically even if she has to. We may hear of reverses, but we will not hear of demoralisation. Whatever happens will happen in an orderly manner.

Therefore I would say to those who lend a listening ear to me: "Go on with your work or business in the usual way. Do not withdraw your deposits or make haste to turn your paper into cash. If you are cautious, you will run no new risks. Your metal buried underground or in your treasure chests need not be considered safer than in banks or in paper if anarchy overtakes us. There is risk just now in everything. It is best to be as you are in such a condition. Your steadiness, if it is multiplied, will steady the market. It will be the best preventive against anarchy. There is undoubtedly fear of goondaism in such times. You must be prepared to cope with it yourself. Goondas flourish only in the midst of timid people. They will have no quarter from people who can defend themselves violently or non-violently. Non-violent defence presupposes recklessness about one's life and property. If it is persisted in, it will in the end be a sure cure for goondaism. But non-violence cannot be learnt in a day. It requires practice. You can commence to learn it from now. You must be ready to lose your life or property or both. But that is implied in the art of non-violence. If you do not know how to defend yourself either way, the Government will not be able to save you in spite of its best effort. No Government, however powerful it may be, can without the active co-operation of the people. If even God only helps those who will help themselves, how much more true it must be of perishable Governments! Do not lose nerve and think that tomorrow there will be no Government and it will be all anarchy. You can be the Government now, and you certainly will be

in the contingency you contemplate or you will perish."

Sevagram, 4-6-40

"SANDHYA MEDITATIONS"*

Deenabandhu Andrews lived such a full life that two of his books were still in the press when he died. The book under review was published a few days after his death, and the other one which is with an English publisher is not yet out. *Sandhya Meditations* has value not only as a little spiritual legacy left for his Christian and non-Christian friends, but as an expression of the love that he bore to India and India gave him. For the publisher of these lovely meditations "chiefly of interest to Christians" (as C. F. A. himself said) is a devout Hindu, who took up the task at his behest because he was a valued friend and a great servant of India. Shri Natesan is to be congratulated on placing at the feet of Mother India this posthumous garland of pretty flowers woven by C. F. A.

They are not sermons planned and prepared for big audiences, they are just brief communings with the little brotherhood of the Christukula Ashram at Tirupattur where he lived a short while before his death. And though they were "chiefly of interest to Christians", they are in many ways of universal interest, inasmuch as they represent the quintessence of his religious experiences, and they show in his luminously simple and charming style the essence of a truly religious life. We see face to face in these 150 odd pages the beautifully simple life as he lived it, the profound love that he bore to Christ and therefore to "the poorest, the lowliest and the lost", the men he admired and adored, and the Christian life that he ever held before himself as a model to be lived. From the point of view of style, they are gems of literary beauty and models of the chaste and limpid Anglo-Saxon of which he was master. There is above all a spirit of joy and beauty about everything that he has written and which is an expression of the joy and beauty that he had captured in his heart from Christ.

He adored beauty wherever he saw it.

"Since coming to live here, in South India," he says, "I have been more and more struck with the tenderness of the landscape and the peace that broods over it. What a lovely country it is! There are the hills in the distance, with their gentle rise and fall. The sunrise and the sunset, through the monsoon days, bring with them an indescribable glory. Whenever the rain descends nature at once responds, and the earth becomes green with such a richness of colour that the eye drinks it in with pleasure."

But he adored Beauty which was an expression of Truth and Goodness. *Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram* he used to repeat very often.

* *Sandhya Meditations* by C. F. Andrews (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.) Price Re. 1. Postage 2 As. Available at *Harijan* Office — Poona 4.

"Joy always comes at the sight of beauty. When I see in the early morning a marvellously beautiful sky with the clouds and mists of dawn all filled with light, it gives me joy because of its beauty. Here in this Ashram all round us there is beauty. This House of Prayer itself is very beautiful. All buildings and the hospital look very beautiful amid the trees with the hills in the background. But this loveliness of Nature, which is all round us, is only a dim picture of the heavenly Beauty. The wonder of Christ's love is this, that everything that He did had a radiance about it, which still brings joy to us even when we think about it. What he did was done in a beautiful way. Even today it gives us joy."

And that is why some of the choice spirits who lived lives of beautiful dedication are pictured to us in these pages—St. Christopher, Bishop Westcott, Sadhu Sundarsingh, Principal Rudra. These are more or less known to us. I shall give here C. F. A.'s story of John Smith of Demerara. He had been sent out by the London Missionary Society to British Guiana where the whites from Western Europe were minting money out of the blood and sweat of slaves on sugar plantations.

"From the moment John Smith landed," says C. F. A., "the slave-owners began to persecute him and he was forbidden to preach to the slaves. He replied: 'I must obey God rather than man.' And he soon became known all over British Guiana on account of his love for the slaves. At last about the year 1830 there was a rising among the slaves against the masters and this was put down with a terrible amount of brutal force. The slave-owners were frightened, and in their panic they brought a charge against this missionary, saying that he had encouraged the slaves to revolt. He was thrown into dungeon, full of malaria, and treated cruelly by the jailors, until at last, after more than a year's imprisonment and before his trial was finished, he died in the prison a martyr's death for the great cause."

Interwoven with these are stories of the indentured Indians in Natal, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Fiji where C. F. A. went in order to help to abolish that system of semi-slavery. There is an evening's talk devoted to the returned emigrants at Matiaburz whom he went to visit "more times than I can remember and their misery has been heart-breaking." He made repeated appeals to Government to take charge of these miserable Indian emigrants and asked his little audience to "bear these poor Indian emigrants on your hearts as they are being borne on mine; for the burden has become too heavy for me to bear alone." And even when on the eve of his fatal operation he disposed of his meagre belongings, he asked the Metropolitan to divide the little money in his bag between the nurses and the people at Matiaburz.

Though these are not full-fledged sermons there are brief but illuminating comments on verses from the New Testament. I shall give but one instance — the commentary on John 1:17: "The law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ."

"There is," he says, "something wonderfully majestic in the impersonal uniformity of Law where

no individual exception is allowed to come in which might interfere with the stern decrees of justice. The planets in their courses fulfil their own laws of uniform activity, and the inanimate world of Nature seems also to be bound by uniform laws of its own. But where sentient life comes in, the greatest fact of all is not uniformity, but freedom. The life which is merely mechanical loses its beauty. To force each individual into a frame-work of impersonal law, brings with it, in the end, death instead of life."

Though he believed that "in Jesus Christ the Light of God became fully visible and focussed in a single character which was able to reveal not a partial image of the invisible God, but the one true image which we, as human beings, could recognise and accept," he had no doubt in his mind that Christ himself taught that "Wherever the good act is done from a good motive, there is the fulfilling of God's will, and that act is accepted by our Heavenly Father," and "that whatever good deed is done as an act of love is done unto Himself." And the way to preach the Gospel was summed up by him in these words: "Far, far more than what we say and far more even than what we do, is what we are. Only the *heart* can instinctively devise, in a moment, the beautiful deed with grace and say instinctively the beautiful word with grace. That is why Jesus was able to give us that most perfect of all His sayings: 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' He could give us that word because His own heart was pure."

I can quote thus indefinitely from his beautiful talks on the true Christian (suggested to him by the hymn of the true Vaishnava which I translated for him), or on the colour bar, or on the sin of racial pride on which he has some scorching words to say. What, however, has appealed to me most and what will live with me always are his two little talks on prayer. We have, he says explaining a text from St. Matthew, to enter into our inner chamber, shut the door of our hearts from all wandering thoughts, to keep out the world and all its storms, and to be pure in our inmost hearts, for "He is our Father who seeth that which is secret." But why, it is asked, should one pray, why should we not leave everything in His hands? He has an answer which cannot be bettered:

"The answer is really very simple. Indeed the simpler we make it the better. For if we depend on logic in such a matter as this, we are certain to become confused and lose our way... Let me give my answer in the form of another question. If any one is the father of an extremely dear child, whose love was all in all to him, would he be happy if the child never brought to him any question to be answered, and never made to him any requests, however foolish sometimes they might be? Is it good, either for the child or for the father, to have only distant relations with each other? Surely not. The essence of relationship of the father to the child is one of complete dependence on the part of the child. That dependence is really and truly, if I may say so, a form of perpetual prayer.... Don't

let us become too bound by logic in thinking out this subject. Let us rather enter that Kingdom of Heaven which prayer denotes, with a childlike mind remembering the words of our Lord when he said: Except ye humble yourselves, as little children, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of Heaven."

Sevagram, 28-5-40

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If You Have Courage

Q. My mother died last month. I have for a long time been following the practice of eating food cooked by Harijans. The orthodox did not like it, but they tolerated my practice. Three years ago I accepted an invitation for a funeral dinner given by a Muslim friend on the occasion of his mother's demise. Now my mother is dead. My community have now boycotted all functions in connection with my mother's demise. What am I to do?

A. If you have courage, you will let the castemen do their worst, but you will befriend your Muslim friend at all costs and dine with him as often as is necessary. Such boycotts should not be feared at all.

Benevolent Dictatorship

Q. When the rich become callous and selfish and the evil continues unchecked, a revolution of the masses with all the attendant horrors inevitably results. Since life, as you have put it, is often a choice between evils, won't you, in view of the lesson which the history of revolutions inculcates, welcome the rise of a benevolent dictatorship which would with the minimum use of force "soak the rich", give justice to the poor, and thereby serve both?

A. I cannot accept benevolent or any other dictatorship. Neither will the rich vanish nor will the poor be protected. Some rich men will certainly be killed out and some poor men will be spoon-fed. As a class the rich will remain, and the poor also, in spite of dictatorship labelled benevolent. The real remedy is non-violent democracy, otherwise spelt true education of all. The rich should be taught the doctrine of stewardship and the poor that of self-help.

A Social Nuisance

Q. The beggar problem has become a social nuisance everywhere, especially in the cities. India can ill bear the burden of this army of drones. They use self-torture, sometimes even threats and menaces, to work upon the sympathy and fear of our simple folk and extract alms from them. Some of them have in this way accumulated a secret hoard and lead a life of vice and immorality. What solution would you suggest for this problem?

A. Begging is an age-old institution in India. It was not always a nuisance. It was not always a profession. Now it has become a profession to which cheats have taken. No person who is capable of working for his bread should be allowed to beg. The way to deal with the problem will be to penalise those who give alms to

professional beggars. Of course begging itself by the able-bodied should be penalised. But this reform is possible only when municipalities conduct factories where they will feed people against work. The Salvation Army people are or were experts in this class of work. They had opened a match factory in London in which any person who came found work and food. What I have, however, suggested is an immediate palliative. The real remedy lies in discovering the root cause and dealing with it. This means equalising the economic condition of the people. The present extremes have to be dealt with as a serious social disease. In a healthy society concentration of riches in a few people and unemployment among millions is a great social crime or disease which needs to be remedied.

Economic Independence of Women

Q. Some people oppose a modification of laws relating to the right of married woman to own property on the ground that economic independence of woman would lead to the spread of immorality among women and disruption of domestic life. What is your attitude on the question?

A. I would answer the question by a counter question: Has not independence of man and his holding property led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes', then let it be so also with women. And when women have rights of ownership and the rest like men, it would be found that the enjoyment of such rights is not responsible for their vices or their virtues. Morality which depends upon the helplessness of a man or woman has not much to recommend it. Morality is rooted in the purity of our hearts.

A Temple Trustee's Poser

Q. I am a member of the A. I. C. C. Personally I neither believe in nor observe taboos relating to untouchability. But I am trustee of a temple built by my ancestors who were thoroughly orthodox in their religious outlook. I feel that it would be a breach of trust to throw it open to Harijans. Would that stand in the way of my signing the satyagraha pledge?

A. It would stand very much in the way of your signing the pledge. It would be no breach of trust if the law allows you to open the temple. The condition was immoral as we have now discovered and hence invalid.

Uncertified Khadi

Q. You say that a person buying or using mill cloth cannot take the satyagraha pledge. Can a person using, buying or dealing in uncertified khadi take the pledge or hold offices in Congress committees? Is a person or an association other than the A. I. S. A. entitled to certify khadi dealers?

A. Certainly not. I repeatedly said that a person who uses or deals in uncertified khadi damages khadi and directly exploits the spinners

and weavers whose lot the A. I. S. A. is striving to improve. Such persons can neither take the pledge nor hold any office in a Congress organisation. No person or institution other than the A. I. S. A. can issue the required certificates.

Students' Difficulty

Q. We are students in Poona. We are taking part in the drive against illiteracy. Now in the parts we are visiting there are drunkards who threaten us if we go to teach people. Those among whom we are working are Harijans. They get frightened. Some suggest that proceedings should be taken against these drunkards. Some suggest we should try your method of wooing them. Will you advise?

A. You are doing good work. Literacy drive and many such things are by-products of the big reform, perhaps the biggest of modern times. As to the drunkards they must be treated as diseased persons entitled to our sympathy and service. You should, therefore, reason with them when they are sober, and take even the beating, if any, with good grace. I do not rule out court proceedings, but they will be evidence of want of enough ahimsa in you. But you cannot go against your nature. If you do not evoke response from them to your wooing, your work must not be held up because of the obstruction referred to by you. Recourse to legal proceedings is then indicated. But you must make all honest effort before you go to law.

Sevagram, 4-6-40

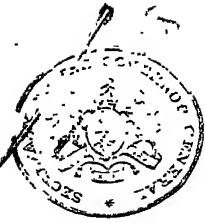
NOTICE

We regret to announce that we have decided to close our Bombay Branch from the 8th inst. We have seen by experience that in the present state of demand for handmade paper it is not possible for that single infant industry to bear the burden of an independent establishment or even incidental expenses in a big city like Bombay; though we may thankfully mention that the space occupied by our Branch was given to us free of rent by a good friend. As, however, we did not intend to run the risk of a loss, we have thought it advisable to close down the shop. Nevertheless we will continue our efforts at popularising handmade paper in Bombay through correspondence and through friends who have promised to help in this cause as a labour of love. We have also decided to bear the freight by goods train on all orders exceeding Rs. 25. All correspondence should be addressed to *Manager, Harijan—Poona 4.*

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VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA

TO THE
HONORABLE THE SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
LONDON

1-1-1907

RE: THE
HONORABLE THE SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

My dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

Yours faithfully,
J. L. S.

Cuttings from Newspapers.

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Marked

CONGRESS AND APPEALS FOR AGREEMENT

NO MEETING GROUND WITHOUT SURRENDER

BOMBAY, June 15

FOR the present there are only two parties in India—the Congress and those who side with the Congress and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without one or the other surrendering its purpose, and if the Congress loses hope and faith and comes to the conclusion that it must surrender its original position for the purpose of getting a common measure of agreement it will cease to be the power it is. This view is expressed by Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan* to-day writing under the caption "Two Parties."

Mr. Gandhi writes "Private and public appeals are being made to me to call all parties together and arrive at a common agreement, and then, they say we shall get what we want from Great Britain. These good friends forget one central fact. The Congress which professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not. To act otherwise would be to betray its trust in the nature of things, therefore, there can be no all parties conference unless all have a common purpose."

"The British Government would not ask for a common agreement, if they recognized any one party to be strong enough to take delivery. The Congress, it must be admitted, has not that strength to-day. It has come to its present position in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and has enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to take delivery. It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress."

ONLY DEMOCRATIC BODY

"There is only one democratic elected political organization, that is the Congress. All the others are self-appointed or elected on a sectional basis. The Muslim League is an organization which, like the Congress, is popularly elected. But it is frankly communal and wants to divide India into two parts, one Hindu and the other Moslem. I read an appeal by a Muslim League suggesting that the British Government should come to terms with the Moslems and depend upon Moslem aid. That would be one way of settling the question, but also of perpetuating British rule. The Hindu Mahasabha will no doubt want favoured treatment for Hindus, including Hindu States."

"Thus for the present purpose there are only two parties—the Congress and those who side with the Congress and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its purpose. The other parties must be presumed to be as constant in their purpose as the Congress claims to be in its. Therefore, there is a stalemate. But the stalemate is not permanent. As the Congress is independent of evolving its own policy, and the Congress is the only democratic body in India, it is the only body that can bring about a common measure of agreement."

"Its non-violence forbids the Congress from standing aloof and riding the high horse as the opponents say. On the contrary, it has to woo all parties, disarm suspicion and create trust in its bona fides. This it can only do when it has cleaned its own scales. The process may take time. That time must be given. It will be no waste. But if the Congress loses hope and faith and comes to the conclusion that it must surrender its original position for the purpose of getting a common measure of agreement, it will cease to be the power it is. To-day it is the sheet-anchor of India's hope and faith. It will be well with it, if it refuses to move away from its moorings, whether it is in a minority or a majority"—A.P.I.

MARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 19]

POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1940

[ONE ANNA

NON-VIOLENCE AND KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Richard Gregg, one of whose letters I reproduced some time ago, has sent another which I share with the reader :

"Last week I was sorry to see the report in our papers of the death of Charlie Andrews. He was such a dear, good man, mighty in his sweetness, compassion, loyalty, affection and love. Such boundless capacity for affection! He made the world a better place. We will miss him greatly, but his great example lives on.

All these months since I wrote you last I have been wrestling intellectually with the problems of discipline for non-violence and of non-violent persuasion and conversion, and how to state them and their solution in Western terminology. As I think I wrote you, I am working on a book about those two aspects of satyagraha, to supplement my *Power of Non-violence*. I read and ponder, read and ponder. In the last few weeks I have come to see the pattern of the whole thing with much greater clearness. My effort is to try to get the Western world to realize the validity and practicalness of your entire programme.

I have been so glad that during these last few months you have insisted so strongly that the Congress must earnestly and loyally take up the khadi programme before you will lead them in any open struggle of satyagraha against the Government. I see clear as crystal the necessity for that. You are absolutely right.

Aside from that aspect of the matter, I foresee that after the present war is over, all Europe will need your khadi programme and also your plan of education without books, through handcraft of various kinds. The middle class of England as well as the Continent will be gravely impoverished. The same will happen in the United States, and may be just as severely as in Europe, for did not we have as severe a fall economically from 1929 to 1934 as any of the European countries? The experience and technical resources which the khadi movement of India has amassed will be of immense value in the post-war years.

Despite the war and all its horrors, I am optimistic as to the future of non-violence. Never before in all the history of the world have there been so many believers in non-violence, both in absolute number and also relatively to the rest of the population. Never before has that belief been found in all groups, classes, religions and occupations. Never before have so many prominent statesmen stated earnestly, clearly and publicly the folly, futility and appalling

results of war and violence. Never have so many military men been so unsure of the validity and ultimate effectiveness of their method.

All during the past two years and rapidly since the war began, the organized peace movements of Britain and America have grown. They have never been so large. Nor is it mere sentiment. Much keen and searching thinking is going on about all aspects of the problem.

Up to March 9th, 26,681 men among the military conscripts of Great Britain had been officially registered as conscientious objectors to war, as compared with about 16,000 for the entire four years of the war of 1914-18. Though one can never be sure in advance, all the evidence indicates that, if the United States were dragged into the war, there would be a similar great increase in the number of conscientious objectors here. In the five or six calls of conscripts in Great Britain between last June and March of this year the percentage of C.O.'s ranged from 1.6 to 2.2 %. This may be interestingly compared with the estimate that in all countries the really effective or decisive work of government is done by not over 2% of the population. Further weight is given to this comparison by the high intellectual calibre of the leaders of the pacifist movement in Britain. And while one should not boast about one's own country, the pacifists of this country are not stupid, even though they may not have world-wide reputations. The relation of these facts to the future lies in historical analogy.

After the war of 1914-18 many of the pacifists who had been severely persecuted during the war became recognised leaders. This is likely to happen again.

After the world war there was a strong pacifist movement in all the nations which took part and also in many neutral nations. This is likely to happen again. At that former time much of the movement was mere sentiment, and when it was severely tested it broke. But since then there has been much and intense thinking, so that believers in non-violence understand the problems and their difficulties and possible ways of solution much more clearly than formerly. In future they will be much more effective than before.

After this war the hatreds and fears will probably be deeper and stronger and more obstinate than after the last world war, but there will be more honesty, more willingness to recognise one's own nation's past mistakes and faults, also more willingness to give up old habits and experiment with new methods. The increased group awareness will make for more awareness of danger from endless hostility. It may prove to be

RURAL HUMANITY

(By Manu Subedar)

a narrow choice between chaos and order, but I incline to believe that man's desire for permanent order will be just a little stronger than his fears and hatreds. It will be as if all the inmates of an insane asylum, after a wild outburst of mutual violence, were to decide to call a truce and try to work out a co-operative plan for curing themselves.

If it be true that man's desire for order and significance in his life are stronger than fear and hate, the only programme which can produce order and significance to life will have non-violence as its backbone. This places a great responsibility upon the believers in non-violence. It will require of them great thought, discipline, and social invention. I consider your khadi programme one of those great social inventions. The Wardha education scheme is another.

I am writing a letter to J. C. Kumarappa about some items that I have long wanted to discuss with him, a set of suggestions for possible experiment by the A. I. V. I. A. One is to try hanging small mosquito net bags containing naphthaline moth balls in village wells a yard or more above the level of the water. The odour of the moth ball is much disliked by mosquitoes, and as it is slightly heavier than unscented air it would lie like a blanket over the surface of the water and keep the mosquitoes from laying their eggs in the water, without harming the water or killing the mosquitoes. The odour is not absorbed by the water. Thus one breeding ground for malaria might be cheaply, easily and harmlessly eliminated. I have found it effective in a small open steel tank here in my garden. I think I saw the moth balls on sale in the Ahmedabad bazar, so I presume they are obtainable. If not, certain of the aromatic herbs will be found to be also repellent to mosquitoes, and they could be used instead. The moth balls evaporate after a while, so they would have to be watched and occasionally renewed.

Another application of the same idea would be planting certain water-loving aromatic herbs along the banks of village tanks and rivers, close to the water's edge. Mosquitoes lay their eggs preferably in shallow water so that the larvae can escape being eaten by small fishes. If the right herbs, of a kind whose odour is repellent to mosquitoes, were thus planted and kept growing, it would seem likely to cut down the malaria in this way. Anyhow I think these two experiments worth trying. The mint family of herbs are known to be repellent to mosquitoes.

Mr. Gregg is a careful thinker. He takes nothing for granted. The last paragraph of his letter shows his practical nature. But I know that no amount of logical thinking is going to establish the supremacy of non-violence on earth. The only thing that can do it is India's ability to demonstrate beyond doubt its efficacy in gaining and defending national freedom.

Sevagram, 8-6-40

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1384 pages. 18 chapters. Copious Index of 32 pages. 219 illustrations. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 6. Rs. 6 leather-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 7. Available at *Harijan* office—Poona 4.

The major problem of national planning is to secure employment for millions of people, who are either not employed at all, or who are under-employed, i. e. who have got plenty of spare time.

The question is whether the growth of industry in urban centres could absorb them all. The reply clearly is that it would not absorb even a fraction—not even two per cent.

If all the industries projected by the Manufacturing Industries Sub-Committee were put into operation, they would not touch the fringe of this unemployment problem.

Unemployment here is a compulsory condition and not through the choice of the people.

The labour, which is thus lost, is lost for ever, both to these men and to the community. National wealth can never increase while their condition continues like this. They must be put to work to improve their standard of life and to enable them to have a robust confidence and to be restored to human normality.

This means that such activities as they can undertake must be provided for them without removing them from their surroundings.

Rural industry is not for the sake of having the production, but for the sake of giving work to these men. They become producers, and they would be in most cases themselves the consumers.

It must be so arranged that they shall be consumers of things produced in the rural areas in preference to things coming from urban areas and factories.

The human claim is so paramount that everything else must be subordinated to it. The calculations in these matters cannot be made on the basis of cost, but on the basis of human labour turned from casual and inefficient to technically efficient.

It is not merely a question of encouraging the rural industries in private hands. That is good, but it will not go very far. It is a question of organizing production in rural areas. The men do not know what they will do and when they will do it. They have no resources for getting the raw material, or even the simple hand tools. They do not know where to sell the stuff.

All this activity cannot be, therefore, left alone to itself or to private enterprise.

The middleman's expectations of profit are so high that rural industry of this character is beneath his notice. Therefore he would not bother about it. But the State cannot leave these men to their fate.

It is not that factory industry must be curtailed and ultimately replaced by hand industry, but hand industry is the only field which offers an immediate and urgent field of constructive endeavour.

The attempt to solve all the problems of rural humanity by means of reforms in land-holding and revenue administration is the method which

the socialists seek, but this is inadequate. It is not possible, by merely taking away rights in land, that the landless could be absorbed to useful and sustaining activity. The distress of unemployment is also amongst those who have land, where they can raise only one crop. The amount of saving, which they can effect from their present activities, is not adequate to secure them either full sustenance throughout the year, or many of the elementary needs on the basis of present commercial supply from factories in urban areas. The idea is that these things could be manufactured in the rural districts themselves and, by means of this self-help, without the corroding influence of middlemen profiteering, the standard of life of the people in the rural districts could be materially improved.

If something is created in the rural districts on these lines, it must be protected against the onslaught of ever-increasing factory products. The degree of restriction on factories would have to be determined both as to location, number of licences, quantities produced, qualities, and, last but not the least, as to the freedom of movement for goods so produced to reach everywhere.

Production in rural areas on the lines envisaged above would sometimes be phenomenally cheap, but in other cases it may be a little dearer than factory production. All cases would not be the same. This will want a very close-knit organization based on local knowledge and, while the management would be in the hands of the State, the cost of the administration and management would have to be kept down, if the scheme is not to fail.

It is true that this scheme of rural handicrafts cannot cover those industries which need tremendous equipment and can be only dealt with in centralised factories. But it can cover an astonishingly large number of every-day articles in use, and the field has not yet been, to my knowledge, fully surveyed as to what can and cannot be done in rural areas, in villages, and in the homes of simple people in their cottages.

Initially, taking a large mass of entirely untrained and undisciplined labour, things will be difficult, and only the simpler forms of production would have to be attended to. But, considering that even in urban areas an entirely new person could be put to work in a factory and would work properly in periods ranging from three weeks to three months, there is no reason to despair. Untrained men put in charge of trained men could be brought to the level of efficient production in like period ranging from three weeks to three months. Under proper direction, their labour could be usefully employed from the beginning. It would not be the case of creating individual artisans who would produce from A to Z. It would be the case of creating nuclei of one or two trained men, i.e. full-fledged craftsmen, assisted by ten or twenty untrained men, working with, and under the direction of, the master-craftsmen; these men

would, in the period of a year or so, reach a standard that would enable them to work on their own or as centres of other nuclei, if it was desired. Any plan for India that leaves this problem of rural humanity out would be like the plan of the British Government for India, viz. absorption and exploitation for British enterprise, wherever possible, and 'Devil take the hindmost', i. e. leaving everybody else to his fate. It cannot leave anybody to his fate. It must take account of the disabilities of all and provide for them. The greater the disability, the greater must be the care, anxiety, circumspection and provision.

Spinning Competition in Ramgarh

During the Congress Week there was the usual spinning competition at the exhibition. There were six tests — coarse counts up to 10, medium up to 18, fine up to 30, very fine ranging from 44 to 158, spinning on the Magan Charkha, and last on the takli. The examiners were Ramdev Babu of Bihar, Shri Nandlal Patel of the Khadi Karyalaya Ahmedabad, and Prabhudas Gandhi who was also the organiser. From the table before me I see that the examination was as strict and thorough as it should have been. In my opinion the competitors were neither as many as should have been nor from many provinces. They were principally from Bihar and Gujarat, some from Maharashtra and U. P. There were cash prizes, the highest being Rs. 15, and trophies for the winning institutions. It is worthy of note that in the very fine yarn competition there were many women. The finest spinner was Devsundari Devi of Madhubani. Her count was 158. The highest speed on the wheel was 618 yards per hour of 10 counts. The highest on the Magan Charkha was 925 yards of 15 counts. The highest on the takli was 303 of 12 counts. This is all satisfactory. There is not much scope for increased speed with the present improvements except on the Magan Charkha. Enough experiment has not yet been made on that wheel. But all accounts go to show that it has further possibilities. The takli is any day the queen for easy carriage, simplicity and cost. On the whole it may prove to be the quickest. Whereas the wheels may go out of order, the takli need never. Experiments are being made in plying the takli after the style of the charkha.

I congratulate the winners. I only hope that more interest will be taken than hitherto in such competitions. Spinning competitions have a great national value. I may note that the Maulana Sahab was to have given the prizes. But the wholly unexpected downpour made it utterly impossible to do so.

Sevagram, 17-6-40

M. K. G.

OLD ISSUES

Issues of Vols. I to VI of *Harijan*, with certain exceptions, can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage). Issues of Vol. VIII will be had at the published price plus postage. MANAGER

Harijan

June 22

1940

HOW TO COMBAT HITLERISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whatever Hitler may ultimately prove to be, we know what Hitlerism has come to mean. It means naked ruthless force reduced to an exact science and worked with scientific precision. In its effect it becomes almost irresistible.

In the early days of satyagraha when it was still known as passive resistance, *The Star* of Johannesburg, stirred by the sight of a handful of Indians, wholly unarmed and incapable of organised violence even if they wished it, pitting themselves against an overwhelmingly armed Government, had a cartoon in which the latter was depicted as a steam-roller representing irresistible force, and passive resistance was depicted as an elephant unmoved and comfortably planting himself in his seat. This was marked immovable force. The cartoonist had a true insight into the duel between the irresistible and the immovable forces. It was then a stalemate. The sequel we know. What was depicted and appeared to be irresistible was successfully resisted by the immovable force of satyagraha — call it suffering without retaliation.

What became true then can be equally true now. Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-Hitlerism. It can only breed superior Hitlerism raised to nth degree. What is going on before our eyes is a demonstration of the futility of violence as also of Hitlerism.

Let me explain what I mean by failure of Hitlerism. It has robbed the small nations of their liberty. It has compelled France to sue for peace. Probably by the time this is in print Britain will have decided upon her course. The fall of France is enough for my argument. I think French statesmen have shown rare courage in bowing to the inevitable and refusing to be party to senseless mutual slaughter. There can be no sense in France coming out victorious if the stake is in truth lost. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery if the price to be paid is wholesale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty. It then becomes an inglorious satiation of ambition. The bravery of the French soldier is world-known. But let the world know also the greater bravery of the French statesmen in suing for peace. I have assumed that the French statesmen have taken the step in a perfectly honourable manner as behoves true soldiers. Let me hope that Herr Hitler will impose no humiliating terms but show that, though he can fight without mercy, he can at least conclude peace not without mercy.

But to resume the thread of the argument, What will Hitler do with his victory? Can he

digest so much power? Personally he will go as empty-handed as his not very remote predecessor Alexander. For the Germans he will have left not the pleasure of owning a mighty empire but the burden of sustaining its crushing weight. For they will not be able to hold all the conquered nations in perpetual subjection. And I doubt if the Germans of future generations will entertain unadulterated pride in the deeds for which Hitlerism will be deemed responsible. They will honour Herr Hitler as a genius, as a brave man, a matchless organiser and much more. But I should hope that the Germans of the future will have learnt the art of discrimination even about their heroes. Anyway I think it will be allowed that all the blood that has been spilled by Hitler has added not a millionth part of an inch to the world's moral stature.

As against this imagine the state of Europe today if the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English had all said to Hitler: "You need not make your scientific preparation for destruction. We will meet your violence with non-violence. You will therefore be able to destroy our non-violent army without tanks, battleships and airships." It may be retorted that the only difference would be that Hitler would have got without fighting what he has gained after a bloody fight. Exactly. The history of Europe would then have been written differently. Possession might (but only might) have been then taken under non-violent resistance, as it has been taken now after perpetration of untold barbarities. Under non-violence only those would have been killed who had trained themselves to be killed, if need be, but without killing anyone and without bearing malice towards anybody. I dare say that in that case Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature. And in the end I expect it is the moral worth that will count. All else is dross.

I have written these lines for the European Powers. But they are meant for ourselves. If my argument has gone home, is it not time for us to declare our changeless faith in non-violence of the strong and say we do not seek to defend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence?

Sevagram, 18-6-40

Duty of Indians Overseas

Last week I referred to the duty of the students to make collections for the Deenabandhu memorial. Dr. Brookes' letter, reproduced elsewhere in this issue, should remind Indians overseas of their special duty. No man laboured so hard, so sincerely or so effectively as C. F. Andrews in their behalf. He travelled to distant lands to study personally the condition of the Indian settlers in those lands. I hope that these settlers will make collections and send their quota to the Memorial Fund.

Sevagram, 16-6-40

M. K. G.

Notes

Caste Hindu Marries Harijan Girl

Shri Harekrushna Mahtab writes a letter about a marriage between a Caste Hindu and a Harijan girl in Orissa. From it I take the following:

"Shri Radhamadhab Mitra of Khurda in Orissa now serving as sub-inspector in the Excise Department of the Orissa Government married a Harijan girl Fulrani named by us on 4th March last strictly according to Hindu rites with Brahmin priests, and the ceremony was attended by about one thousand people of all castes and communities. Radhamadhab is aged about twentyfive. When he was a student in the Khurda school he organised one Harijan boys' football team. During your epic fast for Harijans, Radhamadhab with some of his friends lived in a Harijan village, and during that period he and his friend promised to marry Harijan girls. His friends forgot their promise but Radhamadhab carried it out. When the proposal for marriage with a Harijan girl was first made all the relatives and friends used all sorts of pressure to dissuade Radhamadhab from his resolve. When he first consulted me, I depicted a very dark future before him. But undaunted by all these forebodings he carried out his resolve. There was opposition from the bride's relatives who were afraid of oppression from higher castes and also of some divine punishment. But ultimately they agreed. Radhamadhab has registered a deed of compensation amounting to Rs. 500 in case he forsakes his wife at any time. In case he dies earlier, he has registered another deed to enable his wife to secure a substantial share from his paternal property. We tried our utmost to secure the attendance of as many high class people as possible, and thank God we could get what we wanted. On the day of the marriage about seven hundred Pans, to which class the girl belonged, assembled and their joy could be seen in their faces. Just imagine several hundreds of high caste people sitting together with an equal number of Harijans in front of a poor Pan house witnessing the marriage ceremony and receiving betel from the father of the bride."

I congratulate Shri Radhamadhab on his courage in breaking through the rock of caste superstition. I hope his example will be copied by other young men. May the union prove happy. I would advise Shri Radhamadhab to arrange for proper education of his wife who, I understand, has not received any scholastic training.

Another Tribute

Dr. Edgar Brookes has sent me through my son a letter about his contacts with Deenabandhu. Dr. Brookes, my son tells me, is a very learned man and deeply religious. He is a well-known figure in South Africa apart from his being a senator. Here is Dr. Brookes' letter to me:

"You will pardon me, a complete stranger, for thus writing to you. I am elected senator representing the Bantu 'Natives' of Natal and Zululand in the Union Parliament. As such I have had the privilege of speaking more than once on behalf of

groups of Indians suffering from disabilities in South Africa. The urge to write to you has come to me as during these last weeks I have been reading C. F. Andrews' *Christ in the Silence*, and thinking very much of my dear friend who has entered into fuller life—I dare not say 'died', for I have never felt him more living. Knowing something of what your friendship meant to him and his (I imagine) to you, I felt that I should like to tell you a little of our contact. I met him not only here in South Africa but also in England and France, where we both spoke in connection with the Oxford Group movement. He is godfather to my youngest son. Mr. Andrews had the greatest of gifts—love. In its weakness, it is yet the strongest thing on earth—'terrible as an army with banners'. You have taught us that lesson. I would rather be like Mr. Andrews than the Prime Minister of a great country. He was the closest among all the people that I have ever met to what I imagine Jesus to have been. He brought something to India. He learned much from India, and much from yourself. Those who were made humbler and better by knowing him will, like myself, want to thank you for helping to make him what he was."

The letter shows how great was the influence that Deenabandhu produced on those with whom he came in contact.

Adult Literacy

The Gandhi Mission Society, Tiruvannainallur, send me their half-yearly report of adult literacy work. The total number of adults educated was 197. But the problem that really faces them is 'how to enable the adults to retain the knowledge thus gained'. The report goes on: "Nearly half the members who attended the class during the first session have approached the worker in charge to repeat the lessons. In fact they had lapsed into illiteracy. The workers are racking their brains to devise means to prevent this lapse." The workers need not rack their brains at all. The lapse is bound to occur after the short courses that are given. The lapse can only be prevented by correlating the teaching to the villagers' daily wants. The dry knowledge of three R's is not even now, it can never be, a permanent part of the villagers' life. They must have knowledge given to them which they must use daily. It must not be thrust upon them. They should have the appetite for it. What they have today is something they neither want nor appreciate. Give the villagers village arithmetic, village geography, village history, and the literary knowledge that they must use daily, i. e. reading and writing letters, etc. They will treasure such knowledge and pass on to the other stages. They have no use for books which give them nothing of daily use.

Sevagram, 16-6-40

M. K. G.

Hindus & Musalmans of India

By Atulananda Chakrabarti Price Rs. 2-8-0. Postage 4 As. extra.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 8 As. Available at Harijan office-Poona 4.

THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH

II

A Good Group

Quite a different type were three who discussed the spinning wheel not in a carping spirit but in a real spirit of inquiry. One of these has been a regular spinner and spins well, but she doubted that the spinning wheel could produce any tangible result, because she was afraid that many were not going to take it up in the proper spirit. I simply said to her: "Are you sure that you are doing it in the proper spirit? If you are, it is enough. You have to persevere in the faith that your example will spread. If you are not, perhaps it is your want of faith that is spreading the infection and preventing people from taking up the wheel." The second of the three was convinced of the value of the spinning wheel and even accepted its spiritual and moral implications. But — ? He did not spin, he had no time to, but he intended to do so. To him I said: "You must remember that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. The moment the intentions become solid blocks of action the road is bound to take the opposite direction." He laughed. I added: "You believe that you have got the faith and the conviction, but let me tell you that you have not got either." I think what I said went straight home. The third friend, who is a spinner, accepted its disciplinary value and all else but had honest doubts about the capacity of the wheel to enable us to preserve our independence in a non-violent way. To him I said: "Well if we can win it by non-violence, I am sure even the opponents of non-violence will agree that we can retain it by non-violence. What many of them don't believe is that independence can be won by means of non-violence. But I would give you another argument which I am sure you will appreciate. Do you remember what Pandit Jawaharlal said in one of his speeches some time ago? He said Poland, if she had resisted German aggression non-violently, would perhaps have suffered less than she had done. Well let us extend the thought. Her civilisation is a factory civilisation, and the same is the case with the other devastated regions like Holland and Denmark and Belgium. Now if there was no factory civilisation there but only a cottage industries civilisation, the enemy would have gained nothing out of destroying the cottage crafts, and the devastated countries would have taken no time to recover. What has happened is that the enemy is in possession of all the factories and is now turning them to his own use. This could never have happened if there was a cottage industries civilisation. It should not now be difficult for you to see that a country, reared on a cottage industries civilisation and which stands to lose much less by another country's aggression, would be less liable to aggression for one thing, and would certainly

resist such an aggression more effectively or would more effectively non-cooperate with a foreign forcible occupant than she could if she was dependent on a factory civilisation."

I drew the attention of these friends to Shri Vinoba's words about the takli quoted in a Marathi book on spinning called *Vastupoomā*:

"Tukaram has sung — Thou art with me wherever I go. God never forsakes us wherever we may be. The takli can from that point of view be a symbol of God Himself. One can see God as much in darkness as in light. The takli too does not depend particularly on outward light. It is enough if there is inward light in us. You can take God's name no matter how and where you are. Similarly you can ply the takli no matter how and where you are — sitting, lying down, walking. We can pray both individually and congregationally. The whole ashram can, if it was so minded, spin on the takli congregationally. If the study of the Vedas were the only road to salvation, salvation would be confined to the rarest people. But the saints said *Rama-nama* — repetition of God's name — was an equally effective road, and thus made salvation possible for the lowliest and the lost and the most ignorant and illiterate. In khadi-worship the takli is like *Rama-nama*. And as *Rama-nama* has a potency equalled alone by its simplicity, even so the takli which is simplicity itself has the potency of supplying the clothing need of India, and for that matter of the whole world. And if you have the faith, it can even be a means of salvation. For me the mother, the Gita, and the takli are as good as synonyms."

And let it be remembered that he who has said this is no bundle of emotions but one whose intellect is equalled only by his passion to reduce everything that he preaches to practice, and is unsurpassed by that of any other of our intellectuals.

A Tough Lot

But I had a tough job with another batch who appeared to me to have come only to scoff. But to talk with such people is a good exercise in patience, and one ought to have plenty of this exercise nowadays. "What do you think of the international situation? Who do you think will win?" was the question with which they started.

"You had better reserve that question for bigger people, for those who know. I am an ignoramus in these matters."

"But don't you think socialism is going to be the order of the day at the end of the war?"

"What if?"

"You would welcome it in India?"

"I would welcome socialism of Gandhiji's conception."

"Is Gandhiji's conception different from Jawaharlal's conception?"

"It is different from the prevailing conception."

"But what about Jawaharlal's?"

"Yes, if you please, it is different from Jawaharlal's."

"How?"

"One is based on industrialisation; the other, i.e. Gandhiji's, is based on its opposite."

"Oh, oh!" the friend exclaimed banteringly or incredulously or both.

"But what is that brand of Gandhiji's socialism? Has he written any book on it?"

"He has not written a book, but he has written enough to explain his attitude. And if you have not read his numerous articles in *Harijan*, I am afraid I shall have to ask you to read them all before I engage in a discussion with you."

Another friend immediately switched on to a fresh subject: "Which of the two you think is more communal—the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha?"

"How will my answer help you?"

"No, I am a student and I want to know."

"There is nothing to choose between the two."

"So you think they are equally communal?"

"I think so. There may be a difference of degree, but there is no difference of quality."

"Oh, is that so? Without Hindu-Muslim unity, you think, there is no Swaraj, and without Hindu-Muslim unity there is no satyagraha either. So there is to be no Swaraj for ever?"

"Why? Don't think I am an unbeliever in Hindu-Muslim unity like you."

"But I would put the question differently. Supposing Swaraj was possible without Hindu-Muslim unity, would you reject it?"

"Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity is a contradiction in terms."

"But I say—suppose?"

"But why should I suppose a contradiction?"

"Why can't the Hindus have Swaraj without the help of the Muslims?"

"And the Muslims without the help of the Hindus—you might have added! They would have no Swaraj, but either suicidal strife or the perpetual domination of a third party to whom either will continue to look for help and protection."

"But if we continue to quarrel, why do you throw the blame on the third party?"

"Let the third party disappear and see if we can combine or not. If we cannot, then we shall have at least the satisfaction of blaming ourselves and not others."

"That satisfaction you will then have to your heart's content, for you will never unite."

"I know that we are not going to unite," said I a little sharply, "if we go on chopping logic."

"Then you are going to unite because you are hoping that you will unite? You think hope is better than logic?"

"I thought your logic at least was your strong point, but I was mistaken. You might have asked me, 'Is want of logic better than logic?' But you ask me, 'Is hope better than logic?' I say hope is better than hopelessness."

"No, what I meant to say was that you seemed to rule out logic altogether."

"If I did, I should not have wasted my breath upon you. I have been arguing with you not steering clear of all logic," said I.

"But I am not without hope. I hope Hindu-Muslim unity may come. But it is not coming. And if it is not coming, why not do without it rather than wait for Swaraj until the Greek Kalends?"

"Again you are arguing for the sake of argument, and if you will pardon me, it is either hypocrisy or self-deception that speaks in you. For you now forget that you started with ridiculing Hindu-Muslim unity."

"But what do you mean by having faith in Hindu-Muslim unity?"

"Now you have returned to the right track. You have no faith in it and you do not work for it."

"How is one to work for it? By shouting Hindu-Muslim unity?"

"No. By doing concrete acts contributing to that unity. I make you a very simple suggestion. If you have Muslim students in your class, try to befriend them and do little acts of service for them. You are all five Hindus. Supposing there was a sixth amongst you who was a Mussalman, I would expect you to behave with the Muslim friend with more courtesy and consideration than with the Hindu friends. For the Hindu friends will understand you even when you fail in courtesy, but not the Muslim who might not understand you or forgive you."

"You reserve all your advice for Hindus?"

"How obtuse you are! I am talking to a group of Hindu students. If I was talking to a group of Muslim students, I should give them the same advice with respect to their behaviour with a Hindu friend."

"But how will that help the general question of Hindu-Muslim unity?"

"Don't go about with the burden of the whole country upon your head. Be content with what you can do."

"But I am behaving well with my Muslim friends."

"Behave better, that's all I can say."

* * *

Whether it is the defect of our present system of education or the prevailing tendencies, there appears to me to be a general eclipse of faith everywhere. Our appetite for talking and argument has been whetted, but somehow we have lost our moorings, we fight shy of patient plodding and want quick results. One might remind these friends of the present generation who revel in Western learning that it was Tennyson who sang:

Wherefore thou be wise
Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,
And cling to Faith beyond the forms of Faith!
She reels not the storm of warring words,
She brightens at the clash of 'yes' and 'no'.

She feels the sun is hid but for a night,
 She spies the summer through the winter bud,
 She tastes the fruit before the blossom falls,
 She hears the lark within the songless egg.
 She finds the fountain where they wailed 'Mirage!'

Sevagram, 10-6-40

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Meaning of Spinning Activities

Q. It is an admitted fact that constructive activity keeps the political atmosphere pure and non-violent. You have recommended it for active satyagrahis. This activity can be carried on in a centre amongst Congressmen as also the villagers generally, which may include such people as old women etc. who take to spinning as unemployment insurance, as is done in A. I. S. A. production centres. Your writings make one infer that you want active satyagrahis to confine constructive activity to Congressmen and particularly in the direction of making them self-spinners and make them wear khadi of their own yarn; the khadi in the first instance to be brought from A. I. S. A. stores, until the Congressmen produce their own yarn. Confining attention to Congressmen or political Congressmen seems to be more practicable than starting a general khadi centre of spinning for wages. Is this a correct interpretation of your writing?

A. Your interpretation is correct so far as it goes. I do not want the Congress organisation to be an indifferent or glorified copy of the A. I. S. A. It has to do the work that the A. I. S. A. does not do. Its motive will be predominantly political, whereas that of the A. I. S. A., although it is a creation of the Congress, is purely philanthropic and economic. The Congress organisation aims at creating an army of non-violent soldiers or, to drop the military terminology, a band of non-violent workers for the freedom of the country. The spinning work and all the allied processes keep Congressmen busy and away from mischief. It will knit them together in a brotherhood, it will give them an insight into village life, it will bring them in direct touch with the villagers, it will give them a hold on the economic condition of the masses as nothing else will do, it will lead them on to a study of the whole of the vast village problem, it will make them sink their petty or big differences and forget class, racial or religious distinctions. The charkha may or may not have all this potency inherent in it. I want Congressmen to impute all these implications to it.

Test-tube Babies

Q. You say that motherhood is sublime but sex is bad. From the spiritual and eugenic point of view don't you agree that the test-tube technique of begetting babies is ideal since it altogether eliminates lust and carnality from procreation?

A. I would reconcile myself to your method, if carnality itself can be eradicated thereby. So long as I hold to the view that carnality prevents man or woman from rising to the fullest height possible, so long must I rebel against these artificial methods of procreation. Your method, as far as I can see, can only result in multiplying idiots or monsters, not human beings, throw into the sea of passions which it should be their pride to subjugate. But I own I belong to an age that is perhaps dying. The new age to come, when men and women will walk, if they at all do, only for pleasure but go to their work on wheels or fly to it, and when the institution of marriage and all it implies will be abolished, does not enthuse me.

How to Face a Lie

Q. People believe in your sincerity when you sympathise with Britain and France in their struggle for existence, but some of us have scented a danger that the Indian capitalists may continue to employ you as a tool for keeping India calm when these capitalists are reaping rich profit as a result of this war. What steps are you taking to remove this suspicion?

A. I propose to take no steps, even as I took none when I was accused of having one crore of rupees in the Bank of England. Lies are best left unanswered. They die of inanition. They have no vitality of their own. They flourish on opposition. If my whole life is not sufficient answer to the lie referred to by you, no steps I can take will remove the impression created by the lie. Mind you, I do not dispute the fact that the peaceful atmosphere created by my inaction benefits the capitalists, but it benefits the masses more than the capitalists, for the inaction enables the masses to garner their non-violent strength which will enable them to deal effectively with capitalists and imperialism which covers them.

Sevagram, 17-6-40

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MARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1940

[ONE ANNA

THE ONLY CURE

I propose to revert to one or two of the subjects dealt with casually in my talks with the students reported recently. The War has thrown everything into the melting-pot, including, I hope, all the pet theories of modern economists. The world, it is said, is weary of violence and wars. So was it after the holocaust of 1914-18, but at the end of 20 years we are in the midst of another which is far more terrible and which might cast in deeper roots of hatred and revenge. The reason briefly is that we are longing for the termination of violence but we are innocent of the implications of that termination. There are obvious difficulties in the way. There are certain things which have become part and parcel of our life, e. g. machinery and industrialisation, which we assume have to remain until the end of time. We agree that unemployment is a curse, but when we seek its cure we take industrialisation for granted. Capitalism is a curse, but whilst it has to go, we want industrialisation to remain.

The results of industrialisation may be studied in a remarkable article on *Machinery* by Father Lallemand in a recent issue of *The New Review*. It may be remembered that he deals strictly with the economic results. The conclusions he has drawn from his facts are different from those I should like to draw. But let us summarise the facts and figures he has taken from *La Vie Intellectuelle* of October 25, 1936. The first effect of machinery, he says, is that it has thrown men out of work:

"Today excavations are carried out with the Ingersoll spade which does the work of four hundred men. In 1850 a man with a pickaxe could extract 800 tons of ore in one year; today with an electric drill he could easily extract 24,000 tons; in 1850 we got 100 h. p. per man in a power station; in the Dnieper Electric Central they get 20,000 h. p. per worker employed. In short, man has come to make himself very cheap, and he works to make himself as cheap as possible."

All 'progress' means an increasing fall in man's value.

"Motorcar-making took 1,197 hours in 1914, but 93 in 1934. In 1932 one worker made 453 bricks a day; by 1934 he could make 1,500. At the cigarette factory of Ivry (in France) which turns out 2,500 cigarettes a minute, 250 women were required in 1932, but not more than two in 1935; in three years machinery had multiplied pro-

duction and divided human labour by 125. It has been calculated that in 1934, 250 men had to work for a total of 2,000 hours to coal a trans-atlantic boat; by the following year two men working 16 hours in all could supply it with an equivalent total energy in the shape of oil; twelve months had sufficed to reduce human labour to a mere fraction ($\frac{4}{125}$)."

These figures refer to coaling. In other kinds of work the reduction may be much greater. But the reduction of human labour, far from adding to the flow of milk and honey or to the stock of human comfort, or even to the stock of energy, has spelt the doom of many. The main activity of numerous men is muscular, and machinery has put crowds of them out of action. Even skilled labour is affected. "With the ever-growing size of the machinery which produces energy fewer and fewer skilled hands are required; one solitary labourer can command a current of 20,000 volts in as leisurely a way as a current of 2,000 volts."

It is an illusion to think that the unemployment created by increasing machinery is temporary as new avenues of employment are created by greater production.

"Facts," says Father Lallemand, "have repeatedly gone against so alluring a theory. In the last period of prosperity, unemployment went on rising steadily amidst plenty; it rose sharply as early as 1920, years before the world-wide economic crisis; it went on in the U. S. A. though that country is far from being exhausted and its Government devised endless measures to stop unemployment..... According to M. P. Barraud some thirty million men have nothing to rely on but their muscles; up to now these thirty millions were maintaining about one hundred million dependants. They have now been displaced by all sorts of machines and gadgets; who is going to feed their dependants? The problem is real and can only become more and more acute as progress is registered; machinery will more and more encroach on the field of human labour, for cheap energy is essential to competitive business."

Shortening of working hours and giving more leisure to the workers creates a problem which "knows only of expensive solutions".

Prof. Lallemand next describes the second consequence of machinery. Production has become over-abundant:

"In the course of the last two centuries, as productive energy passed from $\frac{1}{8}$ h. p. to 8 h. p., the energy found in the world's crops grew from

2,000 calories per head to 160,000. This does not imply that all and everybody has that amount at hand, but it measures the total stock available in 1933 all the world over. However much the world's population may have increased, the caloric value of each man's diet has been multiplied by eighty. The trouble is that all could not have free access to that gigantic stock of foodstuffs; in consequence its value went down and production went down as well; hence wages fell, the buying power of the working masses decreased, and consequently also the demand for foodstuffs."

Big business believes in the fetish of figures, and as soon as the neat equilibrium of their balance-sheets is threatened, they destroy surplus goods, rarefy the goods, keep up the price and produce starvation in plenty. "In 1934 the remedy turned into a panacea, they destroyed 886,000 wagons of wheat, 144,000 wagons of rice, 32,000 bags of coffee, 12 million tons of sugar, 6 million pigs, and 800,000 head of cattle. In some cases they went one step further: they did not only destroy the vine grapes, they rooted out the vine stocks. They threw into the manure pit, they burned in furnaces, they destroyed at will; but to do so with an easy conscience, they forgot that whole districts were starving and that thirty million unemployed and their seventy million (hundred million?) dependants were looking at them.....(Thus) overproduction was not real, but what looked like overproduction was only maldistribution."

Father Lallemand touches on another aspect of machinery with which we are not concerned, viz. the glut and consequent suicide of capital. The tragedy of the whole argument is that, while the writer's facts and figures drive one irresistibly to the conclusion that more machinery will simply hasten the doom of man, the writer comes to a different conclusion. "We shall never have enough machinery," he says, "until every citizen has his full meals every day, his own house, his car, his radio, and his television set, his holidays, and his old-age pension; we shall not have sufficiently rationalized distribution until we see to it that everybody has bread before anybody is choked with cake." Is not this a contradiction in terms? We have seen that the progress of machinery has not enabled every citizen to have his full meal, his house, his car, etc. It has on the contrary put one man in possession of abundance, several houses, several cars, and left thousands without any of those things. Will "rationalized" distribution do the trick? And how can you rationalize distribution unless and until you prevent a man from living on the labour of another? There is something in large-scale machinery which disables man from living on his own labour and makes him rely on the labour of others. No matter how much you rationalize distribution and deprive large-scale machinery of its sting, you cannot deprive it of its natural property of displacing labour. If there are thirty million

men in America entirely dependent on muscular labour with one hundred million people to support out of their earnings, there are in India about *five* times as many people dependent entirely on muscular labour and a proportionately larger number of dependants to support out of their earnings. No amount of rationalization can conjure away this unemployment and starvation.

Father Lallemand goes on to describe "rationalized distribution".

"A system of distribution of goods, commodities, services should start from *the true view of man*; it must be based on the worth of man, and proceed from a sincere esteem and respect for everything that is human. Were our economic system based on man's value, work would be made easily accessible to all men, the remuneration for work would be compatible with man's worth and duties, provision would be made for an amount of leisure sufficient for all non-economic tasks."

Well, "*the true view of man*" is that he will not be made to slave for another, and that he will not exploit another for his own gain. This is impossible except under a structure of society based on handicrafts, ensuring man an honourable subsistence for the work that he can cheerfully give. Edward Carpenter laid the finger on the root cause of our present ills when he said that "nothing but the general abandonment of the system of living on the labour of others will avail. *There is no other way.* This, whether as between individuals or as between nations, is and has been since the beginning of the world the root cause of war."

The mere securing of the ownership of the instruments of production by the State will not end the evil. Unless large-scale machinery making giant enterprises possible disappears, exploitation of man by man or of nation by nation will not disappear, and unless large-scale machinery disappears the devaluation of man's energy and man's slavery to machine will not disappear. The present economic structure has made the problem of over-population glaringly visible, not because there is real over-population but because there is the over-population of idly rich people. A communist or socialist structure can eliminate the idly rich, but inasmuch as it insists on industrialisation it will not eliminate parasitism, which is inherent in the ownership, whether by the State or by an individual, of large-scale machinery, and which is at the root of all violence and wars. Unless this curse of parasitism disappears there is no end to violence or war and no healing of nations. And unless truth and non-violence are reflected in all national and individual activity,—a thing that is possible only under a handicraft civilisation—parasitism will not cease. To quote Edward Carpenter again:

"Truth and simplicity of life are not mere fads; they are something more than abstractions and private affairs, something more than social ornaments. They are vital matters which lie at the root of national well-being. They are things which in their adoption

or in their denial search right through the tissue of public life. *To live straightforwardly by your own labour is to be at peace with the world. To live on the labour of others is not only to render your life false at home, but it is to enervate on those around you to invite resistance and hostility; and when such a principle of life is favoured by a whole people, that people will not only be in a state of internal strife, but will assuredly raise up external enemies on its borders who will seek its destruction.*"

In other words, a country organised politically and economically on the non-violent principle can have no internal strife and no external enemy.

Sevagram, 24-6-40

M. D.

CURIOUS OBJECTIONS

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

I came across recently three persons whose objections to khadi and the charkha appeared curious to me. One of them, a captain of a group of students, told me that while he had prevailed upon every one of his comrades to sign either the Independence or the Satyagraha Pledge and ply the charkha regularly as required by it, he himself did not sign either of the pledges as a protest against the general character of the spinning clause which did not make any distinction between leaders and followers, i. e. men of superior ability or importance and the masses, but imposed a common discipline upon all. He believed in khadi culture and was convinced that the economic reconstruction of society must be mainly based on khadi and village industries, but he was unable to admit that, therefore, it was necessary for people like Gandhiji, Jawaharlal or Vallabhbhai to spend any part of their precious time in themselves spinning. He did not believe in leaders who are unable to attract followers unless they themselves do what they ask their followers to do. I told him that when spinning became as widely re-established in the Indian home as, for instance, cooking or tilling, it was possible that spinning by everyone may not retain such importance as to become part of a political organisation. If one believed in the importance of the charkha, then whether one is a leader or an orderly one must prove one's faith by plying it. But my friend insisted that, if twenty years of regular spinning by Gandhiji and the Sardar and so many all-India leaders left the Congressmen cold, there was something wanting either in the leadership or the charkha cult. As he was convinced of the soundness of the charkha cult, he must lay the blame upon the leadership. He, for one, hoped to spread the charkha without himself or the important members of his group being required to spin as a 'condition precedent to its acceptance.

Another friend told me that he was convinced that khadi was a good bread-giver to lakhs of villagers and should be patronised. But he was unable to do it, because khadi had come to be associated with high character. It was hypocritical

to wear khadi without simultaneously becoming a man of "plain living and high thinking". As he led the life of an ordinary worldly man, he dare not touch khadi. I told him that it was good that he attached to khadi not only economic but also spiritual value, but the economic value was capable of being detached from its spiritual value, and even men of no character would, by wearing khadi to the extent of its economic value, render service to their countrymen. Moreover, since in his mind khadi was associated with character, his taking to khadi may without any conscious effort on his part elevate his character also. As the evolution would be unconscious, it would also be painless, and to that extent all the more welcome. But he ended by saying that he was unable to feel the call yet.

The third friend said that he did not require any argument to feel convinced of the relationship between spinning and non-violence, and considered the charkha to be indispensable in a non-violent civilisation. But he had not yet begun to spin, because he did not want to make a beginning until he felt convinced that, once he began to spin, the charkha would take such possession of him that a day without spinning would create a blank in his life. If he was not till this day feeling something amiss without spinning, where was the guarantee that he would not give up the charkha after commencing it? If that was possible, the spinning in the interval would be an act of hypocrisy. I told him that until he began to spin he would not be able to give the charkha an opportunity to take such possession of him as he desired. But, even at the risk of the charkha dropping away again from his life, there was nothing wrong in taking to it as an innocent hobby or a pleasant relaxation. But he, too, did not feel the call as yet.

All the three visitors were spiritually-minded, intelligent young men of promise. All of them expressed their conviction about the soundness of the khadi doctrine, two of them even more forcibly than I myself have the courage to do. And yet they would not do the one thing which their convictions would naturally make us expect from them. What was wrong here? I came to the conclusion that the incongruity in all the cases is attributable to the training which we the people of the middle class receive at home and in the school. The only labour which we are taught to perform is that connected with books, paper and pen. For physical development we may take walks, go to gymnasiums, play cricket or football. For indoor recreation we may play chess, cards, etc. But, except during the unavoidable absence of a servant or the ladies, we may never employ our limbs to produce or manage any of our needs ourselves. Not only are we not taught to do them, but are taught to make our condition worse, we are trained to regard such work as below the dignity of an intelligent and ambitious man. The same training also inculcates in us love for

flimsy, cheap and tawdry things. The result is that even when reason is convinced, the will to follow its dictates is lacking if it demands sacrifice. So we find the paradox of men subscribing to a general proposition but finding an excuse satisfactory to themselves for not enforcing it in their own lives.

Harijan

June 29

1940

BOTH HAPPY AND UNHAPPY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was on the 18th inst. that I expressed the following hope in *Harijan*:

"If my argument has gone home, is it not time for us to declare our changeless faith in non-violence of the strong and say we do not seek to defend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence?"

On the 21st the Working Committee felt unable to enforce such faith in action when the time for it came. For the Committee never before had an occasion to test their faith. At the last meeting they had to lay down a course of action for meeting impending anarchy within and danger of aggression from without.

I pleaded hard with the Committee: "If you have faith in non-violence of the strong, now is the time to act up to it. It does not matter that many parties do not believe in non-violence whether of the strong or of the weak. Probably that is all the greater reason for Congressmen to meet the emergency by non-violent action. For if all were non-violent, there could be no anarchy and there would be no question of anybody arming for meeting aggression from without. It is because Congressmen represent a party of non-violence, in the midst of parties who do not believe in it, that it becomes imperative for Congressmen to show that they are well able to act up to their faith."

But the members of the Working Committee felt that Congressmen would not be able to act up to it. It would be a new experience for them. They were never before called upon to deal with such a crisis. The attempt made by me to form peace brigades to deal with communal riots and the like had wholly failed. Therefore they could not hope for the action contemplated.

My position was different. With the Congress non-violence was always a policy. It was open to it to reject it if it failed. If it could not bring political and economic independence, it was of no use. For me non-violence is a creed. I must act up to it whether I am alone or have companions. Since propagation of non-violence is the mission of my life, I must pursue it in all weathers. I felt that now was the time for me to prove my faith before God and man. And

so I asked for absolution from the Committee. Hitherto I have been responsible for guiding the general policy of the Congress. I could no longer do so when fundamental differences were discovered between them and me. They readily recognised the correctness of my attitude. And they gave me the absolution. Once more they have justified the trust imposed in them. They have been true to themselves. They had not the confidence in themselves or those whom they represented, that they could express in their actions the required measure of non-violence. And so they made the only choice they could honestly make. It was a tremendous sacrifice they made—the sacrifice of the prestige that the Congress had gained in the world for unadulterated non-violence, and the dissolution of the unwritten and unspoken bond between them and me. But though it is a break in the common practice of a common ideal or policy, there is no break in the friendship of over twenty years' standing.

I am both happy and unhappy over the result. Happy because I have been able to bear the strain of the break and have been given the strength to stand alone. Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my proud privilege to carry all these many years which seem like yesterday. But I know that, if God shows me the way to demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong, the break will prove to have been temporary. If there is no way, they will have justified their wisdom in bearing the wrench of letting me go my way alone. If that tragic discovery of my impotence is in store for me, I hope still to retain the faith that has sustained me all these years and to have humility enough to realise that I was not fit enough instrument to carry the torch of non-violence any further.

But this argument and doubt are based upon the assumption that the members of the Working Committee represent the feeling of the vast majority of Congressmen. They would wish and I hope that the vast majority of Congressmen had in them the non-violence of the strong. No one would be more glad than they to discover that they had underrated Congressmen's strength. The probability, however, is that there is no majority but only a good minority which represents the non-violence of the strong. It should be remembered that the matter does not lend itself to argument. The members of the Working Committee had all the argument before them. But non-violence, which is a quality of the heart, cannot come by an appeal to the brain. Therefore what is required is a quiet but resolute demonstration of non-violent strength. The opportunity comes to everyone almost daily. There are communal clashes, there are dacoities, there are wordy duels. In all these things those who are truly non-violent can and will demonstrate it. If it is shown in an adequate measure, it will not fail to infect their surroundings.

I am quite clear that there is not a single Congressman who disbelieves in the efficacy of non-violence out of sheer cussedness. Let the Congressmen who believe that the Congress should adhere to non-violence in dealing with internal disorders or external aggression, express it in their daily conduct. Non-violence of the strong cannot be a mere policy. It must be a creed, or a passion, if 'creed' is objected to. A man with a passion expresses it in every little act of his. Therefore he who is possessed by non-violence will express it in the family circle, in his dealings with neighbours, in his business, in Congress meetings, in public meetings, and in his dealings with opponents. It is because it has not expressed itself in this way among Congressmen that the members of the Working Committee rightly concluded that Congressmen were not ready for non-violent treatment of internal disorders or external aggression. Embarrassment caused by non-violent action would move established authority to yield to popular will. But such action has obviously no play in the face of disorders. We have to court death without retaliation and with no malice or anger towards those who bring about disorder. It is easy enough to see that non-violence required here is of a wholly different type from what the Congress has known hitherto. But it is the only non-violence that is true and that can save the world from self-destruction. This is a certainty sooner or later, sooner rather than later, if India cannot deliver the message of true non-violence to a world which wants to be saved from the curse of wars and does not know how to find the deliverance.

Sevagram, 24-6-40

P. S. After the foregoing was written and typed, I saw Jawaharlal's statement. His love for and confidence in me peep out of every sentence referring to me. The foregoing does not need any amendment. It is better for the reader to have both the independent reactions. Good must come out of this separation.

M. K. G.

NON-VIOLENCE *CUM* NON-COOPERATION

(By Kailas Nath Katju)

In the war that is now raging nothing has affected me more than the plight of refugees from war zones. They flee out of fear or are evacuated by their own armies. In the midst of terrible arms of every kind everywhere they are helpless, lost. Contemplation of recent happenings has, through the valley of doubts and misgivings, led me to the truth that non-violence is the weapon of the strong, and that non-violence with non-cooperation at its side is the most potent weapon of defence and the surest remedy for the ills of mankind. Truly this doctrine is excellent as it makes warriors even of those who may be feeble of body but stout of heart and of mind. It is a weapon which can be wielded by all — men, women and children — and which does not classify nationals

into soldiers and civilians, combatants and non-combatants. In the war of non-violence everybody is a soldier who knows not of flight when danger approaches but faces and courts death without malice, but in no circumstances co-operates with the enemy. Nowadays Governments run away leaving the people to obey the orders of the invader. People who obey the laws of non-violence never obey such orders but die.

It is said that these are counsels of perfection and take no account of human nature. But all through recorded history violence has been almost deified. Poets have sung of it, and people have been taught during ages to acclaim it as something grand and noble. Non-violence coupled with non-cooperation has had no such adventitious advantages. It has not been boosted. It has been often dismissed as being the attribute of a perfect yogi, of almost a divine man. Humanity has been so far engaged in glorifying the act and art of killing. The nobility of dying without killing has never been fairly put before mankind.

The futility of dependence upon armed strength has been conclusively demonstrated in this war. Armaments are increasing strength for destructive purposes. Their cost will bleed people white. And there is no war to end war. Each war leads to another. Hatred breeds hatred, and is never killed by more violent hatred. In the midst of war imagination is captivated by tales of heroism, of matchless bravery in killing the opponent. The horrors of war recede to the background, for the time being. As for us in India, who have no desire to govern others, no imperialistic ambitions, let us be true to the genius of our civilisation and its culture, and renounce any desire to kill others as an instrument of national policy. Let us, in times of danger, hold fast to our homes without fear or terror, wield the weapon of complete non-cooperation with the enemy, cheerfully pay the price of death, if that be demanded. People have nothing to fear. Who can part us from our motherland? I am writing this under the shadow of Jagannath — the Lord of the World — whose temple remains across centuries. Wars and warlike methods of defence have failed wholly in the past — that is the teaching of history. Non-violence with non-cooperation with the enemy may develop all that is highest in us, and may satisfy the human craving for acts of heroism and gallantry. Let us, under Mahatma Gandhiji's leadership, give it a chance.

Puri, 13-6-40

Just Published

The long awaited one-volume cheaper edition of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. This edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

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GANDHIJI ABSOLVED

The following is the full text of the Working Committee's declaration of policy:

The Working Committee have been deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession and in particular by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France. These events have already had far-reaching consequences, and they are likely to be followed by other happenings which will lead to novel situations and complex problems.

Ever since the commencement of the European war the Congress has followed a policy which was based on its principles and on the attitude of the British Government towards the demand that India should function as a free and independent country. This policy was confirmed in the Ramgarh resolution. The manner of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day. Problems which were distant are now near at hand and may soon demand solution. The problem of the achievement of national freedom has now to be considered along with the allied one, its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder.

The war in Europe, resulting from a desire for imperialist domination over other peoples and countries and a suicidal race in armaments, has led to human sorrow and misery on a scale hitherto unknown. It has demonstrated the inefficacy of organised violence, on however vast a scale, for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. It has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom; and the choice before the world is uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and non-violence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world, crying for relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in the shape of organised non-violence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression. He feels that at this critical phase in the history of man the Congress should enforce this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements they have to deal with, and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change, until the Congress has acquired non-violent control over the people in adequate measure and the people have imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised non-

violence. The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji. But they recognise that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way, and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this connection are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability to extend it to the region of national defence.

The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at increasing the war effort. In view of the Congress policy, they cannot be supported, and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute to war funds, nor can Congressmen associate themselves, under present political conditions, with Government-controlled Civic Guards.

Congress committees should organise, wherever necessary, people in villages and other areas for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security in their respective areas. This should be done on a non-communal basis and in full co-operation with all other groups interested in this task.

In view of the difficult times that loom ahead, it is essential that the Congress should function as an active and disciplined organisation. Provincial Committees are enjoined to take necessary steps for this purpose. They should realise that it is of urgent and vital importance that the Congress should function in this way in these days of crisis, and should not be merely a roll of vast numbers of inactive members. All members of the executive committees, in particular, are expected to take a continuous and active part in the Congress work, and those who are unwilling or unable to do so are failing in their duty to the country and are of no service to the organisation.

The critical situation that faces the world today requires vigilant attention and action whenever needed. For this purpose the Working Committee will meet at frequent intervals, and all members must keep in readiness to obey an urgent summons. The All India Congress Committee should be summoned to meet in the last week of July.

Congress and War Crisis

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WHAT THE MASNAVI SAYS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I gladly publish the following sent to me by Advocate Rustomji Andhyarujina of Bombay:

"In the latest issue of *Harijan* while dealing with the letter of a Khan Bahadur from Delhi you write the following lines of eternal truth:

'Religions are not for separating man from one another, they are meant to bind them.' (Page 157, 2nd column)

These lines remind me of the immortal words of a famous Persian poet put into the mouth of God who addresses Moses in verse 14 of the poem, viz. 'Thou hast come to this earth to unite; thou hast not come to this earth to separate.'

Original:

To barae Vast kardan amadi.

Na barae Fasl kardan amadi.

I give below a faithful translation of the whole poem in order to show the beauty and the grandeur of the truth contained in the above verse:

'Moses once saw on the road a shepherd who was exclaiming thus: "Oh God Almighty!

Tell me where Thou art, so that I may become Thy servant, stitch Thy heavy shoes, comb Thy hair,

Kiss Thy hand, rub Thy feet, and sweep the floor for Thee to sleep.

If Thou wouldst fall ill in future, like Thy kith and kin I would grieve for Thee.

Oh my Lord, my life is sacrificed to Thee, together with my children and all the property that I own.

Aye, all my sheep are sacrificed to Thee: every call of 'hae-ha' of mine addressed to my wayward sheep is for Thy remembrance!"

In this strain that shepherd was speaking when Moses spoke to him thus: "Whom art thou addressing?"

He replied, "I am addressing Him who created us, the One from whom became manifest this earth and this revolving celestial globe (Charkh)."

Moses exclaimed: "Alas, thy head has become arrogant and discourteous; thou hast ceased to be a Musalman; thou hast turned an infidel.

If thou dost not tie up (stop) these words in thy palate, the fire (of Hell) will spread out and consume the whole world."

The poor shepherd cried in agony: "Oh Moses, thou hast stitched my mouth; the repentance that thou hast caused in me has consumed my soul."

He tore his robe into tatters, heaved a burning sigh, set his face towards the forest and disappeared in its midst.

A voice reached Moses from God saying: "Why didst thou separate my slave from Me?

Thou hast come to this earth to unite; thou hast not come to this earth to separate.

Knowest thou that We do not see the exterior nor the words; We see only the interior and the real thing."

No sooner did Moses hear these words of censure from the Almighty God than he ran after the shepherd in the thickness of the wood.

At last Moses was able to find Him out in the wilderness. The Prophet told him: "Good news for thee! for, God has given me permission to tell thee, do not worry about the conventional modes and forms whilst addressing Me, but instead speak out whatever thy narrow heart prompts thee to speak."

(From *Masnavi-e-Molavi*)"

How I wish the beautiful truth embedded in these verses will be taken to heart by every one of us. Is not the Pakistan movement a denial of the obvious truth?

Sevagram, 24-6-40

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Vows and Will Power

Q. I am a genuine seeker after brahmacharya. But in spite of all my prayerful effort I am sinking deeper and deeper into self-indulgence. I cannot blame my partner for it. My circumstances do not permit me to enforce the rule about segregation.

You advocate and believe in the efficacy of vows. You have said in *Harijan* that "for the weak in mind and soul vows are like tonics." But how will you administer this tonic to a case like mine who has not the strength of will to carry out the vow he has taken? Had I such a strong will, the necessity for taking vows would not have arisen.

A. Let me bluntly tell you that I do not believe in your genuineness, not that you are wilfully lying. You are unconsciously un-genuine. If you are genuine, you will at least observe the rules of the game. You give up your case when you say you cannot segregate yourself from your wife for want of room. I have never heard such an excuse. If you take the vow, you must at least produce the necessary atmosphere around you for its observance. Everyone who has successfully carried out the vow has invariably observed this first condition. If you are living in only one room, you should go elsewhere or send away your wife or have a relative to sleep in the same room. The question is how far you are determined. It may be that you want to observe brahmacharya because you have read much about it and would like to be classed among brahmacharis. I know many such young men. If that is your case, you should not make the attempt. One must have a burning desire to live that life. If you have it, you will adopt the measures that all aspirants have invariably adopted. You are then bound to succeed. If you have not read *Self-restraint v. Self-indulgence*, you should read it.

What to Do ?

Q. The situation in the country is becoming graver daily. Everywhere panic is growing. In certain parts armed gangs are already organising themselves to take advantage of the ensuing anarchy in case the central power should disintegrate or weaken. The danger may not be imminent, but it would be folly to ignore its possibility. With all the education in non-violence which the country has received during the last twenty years, you will agree that it has not developed the sort of non-violence that can be effective in the face of anarchy and gangsterism. The Government is taking steps to organise the citizens for self-defence. What is the duty of those who look up to you for lead and guidance? Should they take part in these Governmental activities? If they should not, what else are they to do? Surely they cannot sit with folded hands doing nothing.

A. I am unable to say what the Congress will exactly do, in view of the recent statement of the Working Committee. If you believe in non-violent treatment of anarchy and the like, naturally you will prepare yourself and your neighbours and those whom you can influence for non-violent defence. I quite agree with you that no responsible person can sit idly by in these times. Violent preparation would need long previous training. Non-violent preparation means mental adjustment. Possibility of anarchy there undoubtedly is. But if you are non-violent, you will not give way to fear. Do not anticipate anarchy, just as you do not anticipate death though you know that it is a certainty. If you are non-violent, you will believe that there will be no anarchy. But if unfortunately it comes, you and your companions or followers will give your lives to prevent it. Those who give their lives, in trying to kill those whom they regard as robbers or mischief-makers, do no better, possibly they do worse. They risk their lives, and there is darkness after they are gone. What is more they may leave things worse by feeding the fire of violence by counter-violence. Those who die unresistingly are likely to still the fury of violence by their wholly innocent sacrifice. But this truly non-violent action is not possible unless it springs from a heart belief that he whom you fear and regard as a robber, dacoit, or worse, and you are one, and that therefore it is better that you die at his hands than that he, your ignorant brother, should die at yours.

Pakistan and Constituent Assembly

Q. The two nations theory is by way of a counterblast to the demand for a Constituent Assembly which is about as absurd as the other thing. To me the idea of a Constituent Assembly ignores the existing conditions. 95 per cent of our people are illiterate, and nearly cent per cent are swayed by religious prejudices; and then there is the additional factor of corruption. And the fatal objection to a Constituent Assembly is that without a genuine desire on the part of the majority to give effect to safeguards the best of these are bound to prove unreal.

A. Surely you cannot speak of the Constituent Assembly side by side with Pakistan. The latter is wrong as I conceive it, in every way. There is nothing wrong in the idea of a Constituent Assembly. At its worst dangers surround its formation. Every big experiment is beset with dangers. These risks must be taken. Every effort should be made to minimise them. But there seems to me to be nothing like a Constituent Assembly for achieving the common purpose. I admit the difficulty of illiteracy. Indeed adult suffrage was introduced at the instance of Muslim nationalists including the late Ali Brothers. The danger of corruption is also there. The greater the organisation the less felt is the

effect of corruption because it is so widely distributed. Thus in the Congress there are much corruption and jealousy, but they are confined to those few who run the machinery. But the vast body of Congressmen are untouched by these defects, though they profit by the good the Congress does. The danger you mention about safeguards will be reduced to the vanishing point if they come through a Constituent Assembly. For safeguards laid down by the representatives elected by the adult Muslim population will depend for their safety not on the goodwill or honesty of the majority but on the strength of the awakened Muslim masses. Fatality really attaches to your wrong conception of the majority, not to a Constituent Assembly. There is a majority of Hindus undoubtedly, but we observe that in popular political assemblies parties are not rigidly divided according to religious opinions, but they are according to political and other opinions. The curse of communalism became intensified by the introduction of separate electorates. The cry for partition is the logical outcome, but it is also the strongest condemnation, of separate electorates. When we have learnt wisdom we shall cease to think in terms of separate electorates and two nations. I believe in the innate goodness of human nature, I therefore swear to the Constituent Assembly. The Muslim vote will surely decide the issue so far as their special interest is concerned. Arguing communally, therefore, the fear, if there is any, about a Constituent Assembly, should entirely be on the part of the Hindus. For if the Muslim vote goes in favour of partition, they have either to submit not to one but many partitions or to a civil war. As things are, all safety themselves by passing resolutions and seeing their names in print. In practice all of us remain where we are in a state of subjection. A Constituent Assembly is a reality. It will not be a debating or legislative irresponsible body. By registering its final decision it will decide the fate of millions of human beings. You may oppose it. If you are successful in your opposition, there is the dread prospect of anarchy, not an orderly civil war. There seems to me to be no solution of the painful deadlock except through a Constituent Assembly.

Sevagram, 24-6-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 8 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4.

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HARIJAN

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POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1940

[ONE ANNA

TO EVERY BRITON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In 1896 I addressed an appeal to every Briton in South Africa on behalf of my countrymen who had gone there as labourers or traders and their assistants. It had its effect. However important it was from my viewpoint, the cause which I pleaded then was insignificant compared with the cause which prompts this appeal. I appeal to every Briton, wherever he may be now, to accept the method of non-violence instead of that of war for the adjustment of relations between nations and other matters. Your statesmen have declared that this is a war on behalf of democracy. There are many other reasons given in justification. You know them all by heart. I suggest that at the end of the war, whichever way it ends, there will be no democracy left to represent democracy. This war has descended upon mankind as a curse and a warning. It is a curse inasmuch as it is brutalising man on a scale hitherto unknown. All distinctions between combatants and non-combatants have been abolished. No one and nothing is to be spared. Lying has been reduced to an art. Britain was to defend small nationalities. One by one they have vanished, at least for the time being. It is also a warning. It is a warning that, if nobody reads the writing on the wall, man will be reduced to the state of the beast, whom he is shaming by his manners. I read the writing when the hostilities broke out. But I had not the courage to say the word. God has given me the courage to say it before it is too late.

I appeal for cessation of hostilities, not because you are too exhausted to fight, but because war is bad in essence. You want to kill Nazism. You will never kill it by its indifferent adoption. Your soldiers are doing the same work of destruction as the Germans. The only difference is that perhaps yours are not as thorough as the Germans. If that be so, yours will soon acquire the same thoroughness as theirs, if not much greater. On no other condition can you win the war. In other words, you will have to be more ruthless than the Nazis. No cause, however just, can warrant the indiscriminate slaughter that is going on minute by minute. I suggest that a cause that demands the inhumanities that are being perpetrated today cannot be called just.

I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a trial of brute

strength, whether expressed through the muscle or the brain. Your muscular bravery is an established fact. Need you demonstrate that your brain is also as unrivalled in destructive power as your muscle? I hope you do not wish to enter into such an undignified competition with the Nazis. I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms, or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them.

This process or method, which I have called non-violent non-cooperation, is not without considerable success in its use in India. Your representatives in India may deny my claim. If they do, I shall feel sorry for them. They may tell you that our non-cooperation was not wholly non-violent, that it was born of hatred. If they give that testimony, I won't deny it. Had it been wholly non-violent, if all the non-cooperators had been filled with goodwill towards you, I make bold to say that you who are India's masters would have become her pupils and, with much greater skill than we have, perfected this matchless weapon and met the German and Italian friends' menace with it. Indeed the history of Europe during the past few months would then have been written differently. Europe would have been spared seas of innocent blood, the rape of so many small nations, and the orgy of hatred.

This is no appeal made by a man who does not know his business. I have been practising with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years. I have applied it in every walk of life, domestic, institutional, economic and political. I know of no single case in which it has failed. Where it has seemed sometimes to have failed, I have ascribed it to my imperfections. I claim

no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God. In the course of that search the discovery of non-violence came to me. Its spread is my life mission. I have no interest in living except for the prosecution of that mission.

I claim to have been a lifelong and wholly disinterested friend of the British people. At one time I used to be also a lover of your empire. I thought that it was doing good to India. When I saw that in the nature of things it could do no good, I used, and am still using, the non-violent method to fight Imperialism. Whatever the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains, and will remain, undiminished. My non-violence demands universal love, and you are not a small part of it. It is that love which has prompted my appeal to you.

May God give power to every word of mine. In His name I began to write this, and in His name I close it. May your statesmen have the wisdom and courage to respond to my appeal. I am telling His Excellency the Viceroy that my services are at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, should they consider them of any practical use in advancing the object of my appeal.

New Delhi, 2-7-1940

ABOUT WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been receiving several letters both from Congressmen and non-Congressmen including friends from the West deploring the recent decision of the Working Committee. These correspondents have nothing but admiration for the courage the members have shown in doing what they felt was a duty though very unpleasant, but all of them deplore the decision and would have the Working Committee to reconsider it. Of all these letters there is one which is a reasoned plea for not abandoning non-violence for internal disorders or external attacks. The correspondent encloses also an extract from a letter he wrote to a friend of his who ridiculed the method of satyagraha. Both the letter to me and the extract referred to have intrinsic merit and are opportune at this juncture. I have omitted from the letter the part that disputes the correctness of my tribute to the French statesmen for suing for peace. French capitulation, he considers, was unjustified. It has given him a great shock. "But," says the writer, "the decision of the Working Committee has come as a greater shock." From the extract too I have omitted, for the sake of brevity, a paragraph which though very interesting was not strictly necessary for his argument.

The Letter

"The enclosed was written to a friend of mine, about a month back, in answer to his query whether what he called the Gandhian muddle was not

serving only to add to the general muddle in which we live today. It affirms my absolute faith in satyagraha, not only as a convenient instrument for regaining independence for our country, but as the only law for humanity to follow. I have set out some of the reasons that have led me recently increasingly to place my faith in satyagraha; but this faith of mine is held not so much for any reasons that I can state as because it answers to the deepest part of my nature. I have only learnt to recognise it lately, as I did not before. Your writings and, even more so, your example have played a decisive part in helping me to do so. I mention all this because I wish to present my credentials before I go on to the matter which has impelled me to address this communication to you. It is my belief that the main problem with which humanity is faced today is this same—that of recognising its deepest nature. My hope is that, in its extremity, its eyes may forcibly be turned inwards. Perhaps the process has already begun. Will it complete its course, or just stop half way? I find it difficult to answer. The decision of the Congress Working Committee to adopt measures for national defence, in spite of you, has come as a huge disappointment to me. I feel India is throwing away a great opportunity.....

Today it is no longer the example of single individuals—even when they happen to be of your stature—that can retrieve humanity from the slough. The effort of whole communities is required. I repeat India is throwing away a great opportunity, which may not recur. She is playing false to her mission. It is her mission to set an object-lesson to humanity. And circumstances have conspired to place her in a peculiarly advantageous position to do so. The English, while they are engaged in defending their hearth and home, in fighting for their very existence, cannot be expected to be 'disinterested'. The same is true of all the combatants. The Germans, especially, have been so drugged by continuous propaganda that they are proof to every sentiment except a militant patriotism. The smaller neutrals are too much a prey to panic. The Damoclean sword of a likely Nazi invasion hangs continually over them, and this is not a state in which the deepest nature of humanity reveals itself. America has all the handicaps of a rich man, against whom, it is said, the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven are barred. Russia is already wedded to another ideology, and I, for one, would not risk an opinion about it. China and India alone remain, of whom the former is already engaged in a defensive war. India has the advantage of not having to face an imminent invasion as yet: so that, while there is time, she can bring a free mind to bear upon the problem. Her lone struggle with British Imperialism for her independence by the method of non-violence has already revealed to her, to a great extent, its potentialities. All her traditions and philosophy are in her favour. Then she has nothing to lose. Of course, I do not commend the sort of courage that springs from despair, and that would be no asset to those who are fighting for satyagraha. But at least a negative advantage flows from the circumstance. Above all, she has the advantage of your leadership. It is a privilege she enjoys to have you to guide her destinies, and every privilege, to my mind, carries with it corresponding duties.

To declare that preparations should be made for national defence, while retaining non-violence as a method for national liberation, is, to my mind, to make a travesty of non-violence in the sense in which every true satyagrahi understands it. I have no use for self-determination as such. I agree with Clive Bell in thinking that 'civilization is an elaborate protest of individual intelligence and sensibility against

the flock-instinct.' And patriotism is only flock-instinct glorified. Individualism, in its finest sense, is not incompatible with either the only right type of patriotism or cosmopolitanism. They rather depend upon it. Individualism should be our test for judging them. What the Working Committee is engaged in doing, to my mind, is to put the cart before the horse. It is non-violence that should be the end — or rather at this plane the end and the means become identical —, and self-determination the means. The question of non-violence not being enough, therefore, simply does not arise. Either non-violence is an essential part of the best type of life that man has in his nature to live, or it is not. If the former, the assertion that it is not enough becomes meaningless. If the latter, let us throw away all pretensions of being on a higher moral plane than the British, and frankly confess that we are but making a virtue of necessity."

The Extract

"You make an observation to the effect that it is the wish of everyone to live according to the law of satyagraha, only it is not possible — that is, owing to circumstances over which he has no control. In a sense, of course, this is true: and a ground for optimism. The desire for moral effort (which is the correlate of intense, fruitful living) is there in everyone. But that does not mean that moral effort is easy, or that everyone will willingly take to it. No, an average person, much more so a conventional one, definitely does not want it, is suspicious of it. It is much more pleasant to gratify one's passions. An angry man finds much greater satisfaction in his orgy of anger than he would if the cause of the anger were removed. The majority of us live by our passions. Our love for our children, for relations, for friends, when it is not tainted by self-interest, is, for the most part, mere lust of one kind or another, an emotional orgy. Patriotism is the worst kind of emotional orgy, because it is abstract in character and cannot easily be brought to the test. No, it is not easy to live by the law of satyagraha: the very thought of it is scarifying to most people.

To a real satyagrahi evil itself has no existence: truth alone is. Man lives only when he is in close association with the law of satya or reality. In this he resembles the creative artist, who looks upon the world as so much raw material for shaping into his work of art. The satyagrahi sees reality as being created, born every instant as it were. At least so it is so far as we, finite beings, are concerned. Therefore a satyagrahi has no rigid code of morality, for circumstances change from moment to moment; and he has no antagonisms, for truth is unity. Now you see how foreign it is to the spirit of a satyagrahi to nurse grievances: for the attitude is a limiting one, and his effort is ever to compass more and more of reality. The tragedy of a crippled person does not consist in his being crippled, but in his spirit getting cramped thereby. The fact of being crippled so obsesses him that his vision is distorted. That is why it has been found that cripples have made the greatest criminals. But it is at least possible for them to get out of the obsession, and then their bondage would be at an end; and their condition would be superior to that of healthy, well-formed young men who go on living their lives in obedience to instinct. Non-violence is the attitude of a satyagrahi for whom antagonisms do not exist; it is, as Gandhi has said, while being as soft as a petal, also as hard as flint. Don't you confound it with mere sentimental sparing of pain to others. That kind of non-violence would always be to the advantage of the vested interests and would thus defeat its own purpose. Gandhi wants to oust the British from India, because he believes

that India has been crippled owing to the British connection, and that that has been good neither for India nor for Britain: the British imperialism, which is, indirectly, no less responsible for the present war than German Nazism, is the result of it. That is why self-determination.

But there is self-determination and self-determination. Gandhi puts a much higher connotation on that prefix 'self' than most people evidently do. Otherwise there would be little justification for his demand for it. Matter is infinitely divisible, and there is no limit to which self-determination cannot be carried. Jinnah's Pakistan Scheme, and other similar schemes that have followed and are following in its wake, are the *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle. You must not forget that self-determination is only a convenient formula. To clothe it with flesh and blood, as it were, much more is required than a severance of the British connection. For that reason there is the constructive programme of Gandhi. There is the charkha to teach you that economy and self-control are the dynamics of a satyagrahi's life. It will restore the lost self-confidence of millions, level false distinctions, and bring about a subtle but sure change of attitude which can transform the whole national life: it will replace competition by co-operation, and place at a discount the vain pursuit of power and prestige, and force attention to the elements of existence, and thus provide us with our roots. There is the Wardha Education Scheme with its harnessing of handicrafts to the purposes of education, so that our children might grow up in close touch with the realities, and a syllabus especially designed with a view to developing an intelligent comprehension of the affairs of the world. There is the Harijan Scheme (if there is a 'scheme'), a symbol of the satyagrahi's belief in social equity. There was the affair of Rajkot meant to give strength to the cause of the people of the States in a characteristic way. There are the satyagrahi camps where special training is being imparted. You see, the Gandhian programme is comprehensive, and is designed to bring about a total change of national mentality. It is not that all the 37 crores of India will turn satyagrahis overnight: but that they would be provided with a new scale of values, and with adequate discipline and marching under leaders of insight and resource they can accomplish wonders.

Now consider what would starting the movement at this moment imply. England is at a critical moment in her history, and the very existence of her empire and even country is threatened. If we take advantage of her plight, not to mention the fact that success would be very dubious, we shall for ever have alienated the sympathies of one of the most gifted of nations (let our grievances against her not blind us to the fact that she is gifted), and the solution of the world problem will be pushed further than ever: our own moral force will be considerably weakened. Indeed, it will very probably have vanished. For, if the citadel of satyagraha is broken through at one place, it will become exceedingly difficult to save it from complete destruction. We shall have to begin all over again. But I must qualify my statement. A satyagrahi never placates another's feelings, except where it is required by the law of satya. If there were not the sentiment of vengeance so strongly lodged in so many of us (indeed the clamour for the movement to be started is a sure sign of it), it would not be harmful to start the movement even at this time. The situation cannot be envisaged except with an effort of the imagination. The spectacle would be so enormously impressive that self-determination would be ours for the asking. The position of the British in our country, under any other conditions, would become untenable. The next step for

(Continued on p. 191)

Harijan

July 6

1940

SOME VITAL QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

H. E. the Viceroy is again conferring with leaders of parties. I was invited, but not as a party leader or a leader at all. I was invited as a friend to help him, if I could, to come to a definite conclusion, especially to interpret the Congress mind to him. It is better, in the light of what is happening (and things will presently move with lightning velocity), to consider some of the questions that will demand quick decision, if they will not have been decided before these lines are in print.

The first thing that everyone has to consider for himself is whether Dominion Status of the Westminster variety can be acceptable to India. If it has not become a myth already, it will be at the end of the war. Britain herself, victorious or defeated, will never be the same as she has been for these few hundred years. But this much is certain that her defeat, if it must come, will certainly be glorious. If she is defeated, she will be because no other Power similarly situated could have avoided defeat. I cannot say the same of her victory. It will be bought by a progressive adoption of the same means as the totalitarian States have adopted. I must say with the deepest pain that British statesmen have rejected the only moral influence they could easily have got from the Congress to turn the scales in Britain's favour. It is no blame to her statesmen that they have not availed themselves of that influence. They did not see the need of it. It may well be that they did not perceive the moral influence itself which I have claimed for the Congress. Whatever may be the case, it is clear to me that India's immediate objective must be unadulterated Independence. This is no time for mincing words or hiding our thoughts. I cannot think of anyone wanting less than Independence for his country, if he can get it. No country has ever got it without its people having fought for it. Anyway the Congress made up its mind long ago. Even if India is to render effective help to Britain, it can come from a free India. Crores may be drained from India as of yore; thousands of men may be hired as soldiers or camp followers out of her teeming millions. All such contributions will be from a helpless India. They cannot raise the moral status of Britain.

The next question for consideration is that of providing for internal disorder and external invasion. The raising of private armies will be worse than useless. It will never be allowed. No Power, whether foreign or swadeshi, can tolerate private armies. Those, therefore, who

believe in the necessity of India having armed forces will be driven sooner or later to enlist themselves under the British banner. It is the logical outcome of the belief. The Working Committee have taken the decision on the point. If it is to abide, I have little doubt that they will presently have to advise Congressmen to enlist in the usual way. That would mean an end to the slogan of immediate Independence and an end also to non-violence of the true brand. I shall hope to the last that, for the sake of themselves, India, aye Britain herself, and humanity, Congressmen will resolutely decline to have anything to do with the use of arms for any of the two purposes. I feel strongly that the future of humanity lies in the hands of the Congress. May God give wisdom and courage to Congressmen to take the right step.

The offer of enlarging the Viceroy's Council is on the tapis. The Congress cannot countenance it, so long as it swears by Independence and non-violence. But if it sidetracks them, it will be logically driven to reconstructing Congress ministries in the Provinces. This means the Congress becoming a vital part of the war machine. The Government of India has no other occupation but that of preparing India for defending Britain. It is an illusion to talk of preparing India for self-defence. No Power has eyes on India except as a British possession. As such she is a rich prize. Is not India the brightest jewel in the British Crown? But I own that, if India is to learn the trade of war, she can now have her apprenticeship to the extent that the British masters will allow.

The Congress has to make its choice. The temptation is irresistible. Congressmen can again become Cabinet Ministers. They may also be Ministers or Members at the Centre. They will have an insight into the war machine. They will watch from inside (again to the extent allowed) the Englishman at work when engaged in a life and death struggle. They will have to raise crores of rupees and dispose of them in the war effort. If I have my way, I would have the Congress to resist the irresistible temptation and not grudge those who believe in the accepted method filling all these posts. There will be Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others taking up these posts as they have done before now. They too are our countrymen. We must give them credit for good faith. Let us who believe in Independence and the only way to attain it, hold fast to the objective and the means. I can see much good coming out of this division of functions. For the Congress to merge itself into the stereotyped method would be a disaster of the first magnitude. If, on the other hand, the Congress sticks to its colours, it is sure to fight its way to its goal even before the war is over, provided that the fight is purely, truly and demonstrably non-violent.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

A VALID COMPLAINT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent sends me a forcible letter in which he argues that, though I expect great things from my countrymen, I write only for *Harijan* which is edited in English, and utterly neglect its Hindustani and Gujarati editions. Both *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and *Harijan-sevak* (Hindustani) have only translations of the writings in *Harijan*. I must plead guilty to the charge. My excuse for writing in English has been that I had to address English-educated India who could understand neither Gujarati nor my faulty Hindustani, and also the ever-growing number of Western readers. I hope that the excuse will be deemed valid. But it seems to me that the time has come for me to confine my writings, as far as possible, exclusively to Gujarati and occasionally to Hindustani. The reason is simple and, I hope, convincing. I have before me the most difficult task of reaching the message of the non-violence of the strong to the masses. They will not understand the fineness of the Working Committee's decision. Already I have warnings that they will be confused. They will believe that the Congress has given up non-violence and wants them also to do likewise. Then they would say, "But the Mahatma still believes in it. In the midst of these differences whose word are we to follow?" If I lose the masses, the mass experiment in non-violence must be voted down as failure. My faith would be still as strong as ever. But my failure will be equally clear. In such trying circumstances I must not rely upon the translations of my writings to carry my message to the masses. I must use the most effective means available. Naturally, therefore, I must speak at least to the Gujaratis in their own language which is also mine. Moreover Gujarati lends itself to correct translation in any northern language much more easily than English.

But the decisive reason for the proposed change is that when I write in English the English-speaking public is in view. I would not have exactly the same message for them as I would have for the masses. Past experience, too, points in favour of the change. When I began to edit *Indian Opinion* in South Africa, most of the Indians there were almost illiterate. I wrote the language they could understand. When the weekly *Indian Opinion* reached them, for every twenty Indians they had one reader who was of course a volunteer. They listened to and devoured every word of what appeared in *Indian Opinion*. In it there was no padding, no essays given to the readers. I used to reason out for them their difficulties. I had no time to discuss theories. They had weekly instructions as to what they were to do. I have no doubt that *Indian Opinion* had a vital part to play in moulding and guiding the satyagrahis. Had I spoken to them through the English medium, I should have failed. I should

never have been able to feel one with them, if I had spoken to them in English when I knew that I could speak to a large section of them through their own tongue. If, therefore, I hope, as I do, to carry even a section of the masses with me, I must at least speak to them through the tongue they and I understand.

So the English-knowing readers should not be surprised if one fine day they get my writings in *Harijan* in translated form. Happily I have very able assistance in this direction. Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal have often translated my Gujarati or Hindustani writings. English-knowing readers should know that they have my *Experiments with Truth* and *History of Satyagraha in South Africa* in translation. So is *Hind Swaraj*, and several other writings of mine. After all, however, in the matter of non-violence I must rely most upon my thought to carry my message to the farthest limits of the universe. All thought does not possess the same potency. Only thought crystallised by a pure life and charged with prayerful concentration has potency. The purer the life, the greater the concentration, the brighter the faith in that Unseen Power from whom all things are, the greater the potency of thought. If I had the purity, the concentration and the faith I want, I know that I would do all my work without speech or writing, or with the least use of either, and the power the thought would then carry would be irresistible. That is the power which every human being has to aspire to and with due effort can attain. The voice of Silence has never been denied.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

ON THE ROAD TO SIMLA

On the morning of Thursday last, in soaking wet weather Gandhiji set out with his small entourage from his mud cottage at Sevagram for Simla, in response to the Viceregal invitation. It had been pouring the whole of the previous day and during the night, turning the road into a strip of soft, pappy mass, so much so that, till the last moment almost, it was a question whether it would be possible to get any transport to convey the travelling kit of the party to the railway station. Apart from these difficulties and considerations of his health which can ill bear exposure to wind and weather, Gandhiji, as is well known, is as a rule these days extremely loath to absent himself from Sevagram even for a short time. Nevertheless, he gladly responded to the Viceregal invitation, as part of his *sadhana* for *ahimsa*. He knew he was going there without any expectations. The railway journey was fatiguing to a degree, so that when he boarded the car at Kalka he was ready to doze off again and "reel off a few score miles of sleep", as he put it.

Before the car had proceeded for a couple of furlongs, however, a trifling incident happened which converted the journey into one of those occasions which burn themselves upon you for

life. Without any premeditation or forethought I casually dropped a remark which was of the nature of a grievance against a colleague. The grievance was well-founded and merited redress, but I proceeded to generalise upon it, and that brought down the avalanche: "You have indulged in an unpardonable generalisation. A seeker after truth cannot afford to do that," remonstrated Gandhiji. "Darwin for the greater part of his book *Origin of the Species* has simply massed fact upon fact without any theorising, and only towards the end has formulated his conclusion which, because of the sheer weight of testimony behind it, becomes almost irresistible. Yet I have criticised even Darwin's generalisation as being unwarranted. Science tells us that a proposition may hold good in nine hundred ninety-nine cases and yet fail in the thousandth case and thus be rendered untenable as a universal statement. That is why in Jain philosophy so much stress is laid on *Syādvād*. A proposition must not only be able to satisfy the analytical test, but must also be proved conversely by synthesis before its universal validity can be established. And you have dared to build a sweeping indictment on the strength of a single fact."

I was forced to admit that my generalisation was unscientific and therefore unwarranted. But in my heart of hearts I was sorry only for my indiscretion. I felt I had intrinsically a strong case, which I could easily make good on another occasion and under better auspices. Besides, I did not want to rob Gandhiji of his much-needed sleep by prolonging the discussion. I kept mum. But I was not destined to enjoy my self-complaisance for long. Gandhiji continued: "Your criticism of — is in a way true and yet it is not wholly true. It savours of lack of charity. It takes no count of the difficulties incident upon one's birth and upbringing. It is up to those who have gathered round me in quest of a common ideal to make due allowance for the temperamental shortcomings of one another and strive to break down prejudices by the exercise of forbearance, and magnanimity and through loving service."

I felt stung to the quick. I had, with good reason, held myself to be the aggrieved party, and here tables were being turned upon me. I protested: "You know the utter contempt in which this friend holds me, the campaign of calumny to which I have been subjected. Yet I have never retaliated. I have never given any cause for complaint. I have even consciously striven — not without some success — to befriend him and make myself agreeable to him. And yet —" "I know all that," interrupted Gandhiji, "I know your grievance which is well-founded. You do not know the flattening out I gave — for the wrong done to you, and I know too your striving to be friendly of which I have myself been witness. My complaint is not that your conduct was not correct; the question is whether there was overflowing love behind it.

You refer to the contempt you have experienced. Was there not *hauteur* behind what you have described as your 'correct conduct', a sort of 'superior person' attitude that regards the opponent as beneath contempt or even retaliation? If you search within yourself, you will find that the consciousness that has filled you all along has been that of the wrong you have suffered, not that of pity for or sympathy with the wrong-doer who in his turn is a victim of circumstances. — is not unaware of his defects; I know he has striven too to overcome them. But one's innate nature is not so easily overcome. The momentum of the past often proves too strong for us. Such cases deserve our pity, not anger. It is only thus that I am today able to extend my sympathies to the Princes. Although I have often criticised them unsparingly, there is in me that basic understanding of their position, and my heart goes out to them. I fancy that they too realize that in me they have a friend. You talk of contempt, but do not you see that, if your heart were flowing with *ahimsa*, contempt won't touch you? There was hardly an individual held in such contempt among certain circles as the late Deenabandhu Andrews. Yet he seemed hardly to be aware of it, and acted towards those who despitefully used him, with an ease and naturalness that broke down all barriers and made him irresistible. If there were no contempt or hatred in question, where could be the occasion for the exercise of *ahimsa*?"

"I admit it is my weakness," I fumbled out, "that has prevented me from wooing more effectively." I am afraid it is one's own sense of inferiority which makes one so sensitive to the feeling of contempt. There have been occasions when I had an insight into the spiritual isolation and forlornness, the inner starvation and dreariness of —. On these occasions I was so deeply moved that I went out of my way to serve and befriend him, feeling neither embarrassment, nor even my habitual awkwardness. The fear of contempt did not deter me, and my wooing was successful." To Gandhiji this was a case of love casting out fear. "When we are afraid," he tells us, "it is our *ahimsa* that is at fault. Love and weakness cannot co-exist."

Gandhiji had retired within himself. He introspectively resumed: "In the ultimate analysis, I feel that it is my *ahimsa* that is at fault. Otherwise, why should not my word go straight home as soon as uttered, why should there be discord and disharmony about me in my little world in Sevagram? If my experiment here were successful and I could find a solution for the little problems that confront me here, I am sure the same formula would provide me a solution for the bigger issues that today face us in the country. That is why I am so reluctant to leave Sevagram. It is my laboratory for *satyagraha*. It is there that I expect to discover the key to India's independence, not in Simla

or New Delhi. I sometimes feel like taking shelter in flight, not to seek cloistered peace, but in the stillness of utter isolation to know myself, to see where I stand, to catch more effectively the faint whispering of the 'still small voice within'. Then alone my experiment in ahimsa would be complete."

I felt smitten into a sense of my utter unworthiness to be associated with the great experiment in which Gandhiji is engaged. With such poor instruments to work with, is it any wonder that satyagraha has not forged farther ahead than it has today? I felt utterly miserable. Automatically the episode of the contrite Ancient Mariner came back to my mind:

I to me did pray:

Let me, be awake, O Lord.

Or let me sleep always.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

Pyarelal

ABOUT WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION (Continued from p. 187)

us would be to ask the British to lay down their arms. What would a handful of Prussians avail in face of such a strong world sentiment? It is ideas, not arms, that rule the world. But before all this can be achieved we have to display the non-violence of the strong, of the true satyagrahi.

To regard the non-cooperation movement as merely a device for winning what we cannot by brute might, is to degrade the whole significance of satyagraha. If it were that and no more, we should be deserving only of contempt, and be no better than those beggars who would not move from our door-steps until we have given them alms. There is a curious fallacy in asking the Mahatma to start his movement, while discrediting his ideology. Of course, it is possible to contend that his success has been in spite of his ideology: but I have not seen it proved. Besides, you should read Smuts on the Mahatma. It is at the least a presumption to seek to be wiser than the Mahatma about his own weapon. And then consider the consequences of discrediting the Mahatma's ideology. It inevitably follows that violence is ineradicable from the nature of things, that wars must continue (and they will get more and more terrible until humanity will have consumed itself in one gigantic holocaust, and then Nature, having despaired of the *Homo Sapiens*, will get on to the next species to carry on her business of evolution), and that—awful conclusion!—selfishness is the only law to follow. Why then blame the British, why blame the Germans or Italians or Capitalism or any of the numerous objects we vent our spleen upon? You may say, it may all be very depressing but none the less inevitable. My answer is simple. Consider a beautiful poem or a beautiful song or a beautiful painting, consider the way a forest subsists, consider the growth of man's mind—would any of them be possible without the harmony of the parts? Biology tells us that gigantic beasts have perished for want of flexibility in them, whereas small animals, with greater adaptability, have not only survived, but progressed. Man himself is an example. What is civilization but the art of living together harmoniously? He has shown wonderful adaptability, but not enough. Keeping his eye fixed on momentary ends, compelling themselves upon his attention by the necessity of biological evolution, he has not bothered much about the means, so that the virus has accumulated and, now finally when he has the means of realizing the Utopia of his dreams, he finds that his dreams have gone all awry.

The vast difference in the situation now from that in former times must not be lost sight of. Then a battle had at least the value of serving as a release for the harmful passions of a nation, and although feelings between one nation and another were strained thereby, each single nation lived at ease within itself. And as that served them very well, means of communication being few and contacts difficult, war was not too much of an evil. Circumstances have entirely changed now. The world is a nation in itself; and we have to extend the idea of co-operation from the nation to the world. Besides there is to be taken into consideration the character of a modern war. It is not only that feelings of antagonism are generated between the peoples of one nation and another, but that no one who has been through the infernal orgy of a war can ever be the same man again. He becomes spiritually deaf, if not physically as well, for the rest of his life. The leaders suffer still more terribly. Anyone who has the misfortune to plot cool-headedly the slaughter of millions day after day cannot preserve his humanity. Blood-baths don't bring any freshness: they only distract men's wits and unfit them for rational exercise.

You say the Mahatma is a sort of misfit in the present-day world. I, on the other hand, believe this is the appropriate moment for him and for India. Very likely the world today is in the throes of a new spiritual birth and what we see is but the growing pains. The utmost confusion prevails before an act of creation: out of chaos is a dancing star born. But faith alone is not enough. A miscarriage has to be avoided. The artist has to wage a terrible struggle with his mental chaos before the outlines of the work of art begin to manifest themselves. However, when that is accomplished, a curious feeling of relief and innocency fills one. Similarly we may find the influence of Gandhi (I mean of all Gandhi stands for) secretly permeating and, when things are at their worst, a sudden illumination taking possession of humanity, bringing home the realization that it was greater than it knew. But the work of consolidation will remain. The new infant will have to be nourished to youth and manhood. India has it in her power to set the world an object-lesson. It will be sheer cowardice for us to arm ourselves in self-defence. Let us not fail when it comes to the scratch. That will be the supreme demand made upon our courage. We have often blamed other nations for not resorting to unilateral disarmament. Let it not be said of us that we should have done the same in their position. If we willingly and whole-heartedly and with perfect fearlessness decide not to make any defensive preparations, we shall have negotiated the last stile in the way of our goal of satyagraha. We shall have come into our own. Our destiny will then be unmistakable. But this would come about only by virtue of that wholesale change of mentality that the Mahatma's constructive programme is calculated to produce."

New Delhi, 1-7-40

Just Published

The long awaited one-volume cheaper edition of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. This edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Satyagraha in South Africa—by Gandhiji-
Companion volume to *Autobiography*.

Price Rs. 4-8-0 + postage 9 As. extra.

Speeches and Writings

By Gandhiji Rs. 4 + Postage 8 As. extra.

Available at *Harijan* Office — Poona 4.

NON-VIOLENCE AND PANIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following from a correspondent's letter will be read with interest and perhaps profit:

"In the last non-cooperation movement I suspended my practice and renewed it in the end of the year 1925. Now I am only a four anna member of the Congress, a practising lawyer at the bar, and a habitual wearer of khadi. Since the Allies have begun to suffer reverses there is a panic in the country. The people have become afraid of the consequences of the failure of the British. They apprehend civil war, communal riots, looting, arson, plunder and goondaism. You are the apostle of non-violence and have been preaching it for the last twenty years, if not more. So far as I can understand from your writings you preach non-violence of the strong, non-violence which is the outcome of love for all and even for your enemy and aggressor. According to you, if I have understood right, we should try to be non-violent to the enemy even when we have got the power to injure him.

But, so far as the actual effect of your teaching is concerned, I find that in the majority of your followers this conception of non-violence is wanting. They are non-violent because they believe that, if they will use violence to fight a wrong-doer, they will provoke him with the result that he will use greater violence which they may be unable to stand. This seems to be the background of their non-violence which is clearly an outcome of fear and cowardice, and not of love. For, the idea behind is to save one's life and not to risk it for a higher cause. I may give one actual instance: During the non-co-operation days of 1921 there was a gentleman who is dead now. He was arrested and imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. He was a peace-loving citizen and never political-minded. I did not expect that he would ever risk his liberty for politics. I was surprised to find him in jail. I asked him how he dared to court imprisonment. He replied that he was afraid of greater harm outside the jail. His impression was that the political agitation would lead to riots and disturbances everywhere, and he was sure that the Government would resort to firing. He thought that he would be safe inside the jail and escape death. I do not think this was ever your intention in asking people to court imprisonment. In my opinion, if one is non-violent on account of any weakness in him, he would never face an aggressor.

In these days of panic and general nervousness I strongly believe that a few articles from your pen will dispel all fears from our young men and infuse a spirit in them which will enable them to resist the goonda element in the society. One article of this nature has already appeared in the last issue of *Harijan*. But I suggest that a series is necessary to bring courage and bravery to those who are physically quite fit but are panic-stricken. In my opinion, all fears, all nervousness and panic will disappear in case you are kind enough to spare a few

lines in *Harijan* on this subject every week. Our nervousness is encouraging the goondas amongst us. The moment it disappears, the goondas and bullies of our society will also disappear."

The letter gives a correct picture of the mentality of the average Congressman. The non-violence which it describes can never take us to our goal. It will have served us well, if we use it as a stepping-stone to the true non-violence of the strong — non-violence which will stand alone defying the combined might of the mightiest powers of the earth. Let all Congressmen ask themselves whether they have the courage to take up non-violence of the strong. Nothing is needed to reach that much-to-be-desired state beyond the will to risk all for the sake of one's cause. The non-violence of the person who went to jail to avoid a worse fate harmed him and disgraced the cause which he used as a shelter to escape death. Swaraj-makers are made of sterner stuff. And, surely, it is simple enough to see that, if we can bravely face death without killing or even wishing to kill, we have achieved the ability to win and keep Swaraj.

My correspondent asks me to write a series of articles in condemnation of panic. Nothing that I can write will alone prevent panic. What is required is example more than precept. I have pointed out that the city-dwellers who are reported to have given way to panic were never non-violent even when they went to jail. Our city-dwellers made a handsome contribution as jail-goers during the civil resistance campaigns launched by the Congress. They should now, by resolutely sticking to their posts, steel the hearts of the timid against the temptation to flee from fancied or real danger. It is foolish to think that by fleeing one can trick the dread god of death. Let us treat him as a beneficent angel rather than as a dread god. We must face and welcome him whenever he comes. My host, Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla, tells me that not many months ago a whole mercantile family which had converted paper into gold met death in a railway accident which overtook the train that was carrying the family and its precious gold. Verily that gold was a death trap. Let us not die before the inevitable hour comes as it must come to every one of us, war or no war.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

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MARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1940

[TWO ANNAS

‘COPYRIGHT’

It is strange that what I would not do in response to the advice of a correspondent I have to do almost immediately after the refusal though, I feel, for a very cogent reason. Since my main articles will henceforth be written in Gujarati, I would not like their unauthorised translations appearing in the Press. I have suffered much from mistranslations when I used to write profusely in Gujarati and had no time myself to produce simultaneous English translations. I have arranged this time for such translation in English and Hindustani. I would therefore ask editors and publishers kindly to regard English and Hindustani translation rights as reserved. I have no doubt that my request will be respected.

On the train to Wardha, 8-7-40 M. K. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Muslim's Dilemma

Q. We Muslims believe that the Prophet's life was wholly directed by God and truly non-violent, though not in your sense of the term. He never waged an offensive war, and he had the tenderest regard for the feeling of others, but when he was driven to a defensive war he drew his sword for a holy war, and he permits the use of the sword under conditions he has laid down. But your non-violence is different. You prescribe it under all conditions and circumstances. I do not think the Prophet would permit this. Whom are we to follow—you or the Prophet? If we follow you, we cease to be Muslims. If we follow the Prophet, we cannot join the Congress with its creed of extreme non-violence. Will you solve this dilemma?

A. I can only answer that, since you notice the difference, you should unhesitatingly follow the Prophet, not me. Only I would like to say that I claim to have studied the life of the Prophet and the Quran as a detached student of religions. And I have come to the conclusion that the teaching of the Quran is essentially in favour of non-violence. Non-violence is better than violence, it is said in the Quran. Non-violence is enjoined as a duty; violence is permitted as a necessity. I must refuse to sit in judgment on what the Prophet did. I must base my conduct on what the great teachers of the earth said, not on what they did. Prophethood came not from the wielding of the sword, it came from years of wrestling with

God to know the truth. Erase these precious years of the great life, and you will have robbed the Prophet of his prophethood. It is these years of his life which made Muhammad a prophet. A prophet's life, after he is acknowledged as one, cannot be our guide. Only prophets can weigh the works of prophets. If a civilian can judge the merits of a soldier, a layman of a scientist, an ordinary man may judge a prophet, much less imitate him. If I handled a motor car, I should surely run it and me into the danger zone and probably into the jaws of death. How much more dangerous would it be then for me to imitate a prophet! When the Prophet was asked why, if he could fast more than the prescribed times, the companions also could not, he promptly replied: "God gives me spiritual food which satisfies even the bodily wants: for you He has ordained the Ramdan. You may not copy me." I quote from memory.

Spare the Rod

Q. I am a teacher. I try to follow the principle of non-violence in dealing with my schoolboys and my own children. I am successful to a great extent in case of the school children, excepting a bully whom I would send to the Head Master. But in case of my own children I often feel like beating, though I successfully restrain myself. I find that these are readily obedient to my uncle who, unlike me, believes in the old saying 'Spare the rod, spoil the child.' What should I do with my own children? How should a non-violent Head Master deal with a bully?

A. I am quite clear that you must not inflict corporal or other punishment on your children or pupils. You can punish yourself, if you like and are qualified, in order to melt your children's or pupils' hearts. Many mothers are known to have corrected their children in this manner. I have on many occasions. I had to deal with wild boys in South Africa, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and Parsis. With one exception, I do not remember ever having punished a single boy. The non-violent method invariably succeeded. When a bond is established between a teacher and his pupils, the latter will generally yield before their teacher's suffering for their sake. In the case of your 'bully', if he has no respect for you, you can non-cooperate with him by sending him away from your school. Non-violence does not compel you to keep in your school a student who does not carry out disciplinary rules.

The Sermon on the Mount

Q. You often refer to the Sermon on the Mount. Do you believe in the verse: "If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also"? Does it not follow from the principle of non-violence? If so, then do you advise the weak and poor tenant of a village to submit gladly to the violent encroachment of the zamindar on his 'abadi land' or tenancy rights, which so often occurs in a village these days?

A. Yes, I would unhesitatingly advise tenants to evacuate the land belonging to a tyrant. That would be like giving your cloak also when only the coat is demanded. To take what is required may be profitable; to have more given to you is highly likely to be a burden. To overload a stomach is to court slow death. A zamindar wants his rent, he does not want his land. It would be a burden on him when he does not want it. When you give more to a robber than he needs, you spring a surprise on him, you give him a shock although agreeable. He has not been used to it. Historical instances are on record to show that such non-violent conduct has produced a wholesome effect upon evil-doers. These acts cannot be done mechanically; they must come out of conviction and love or pity for the other man. Nor need you work out all the apparent implications of my answer. If you do, you will come across blind alleys. Suffice it to say that in the verse quoted by you Jesus put in a picturesque and telling manner the great doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation. Your non-cooperation with your opponent is violent when you give a blow for a blow, and is ineffective in the long run. Your non-cooperation is non-violent when you give your opponent all in the place of just what he needs. You have disarmed him once for all by your apparent co-operation, which in effect is complete non-cooperation. A girl, who rather than give her living body to a would-be ravisher presents him with her corpse, confounds him and dies a heroine's death. Hers is a stout heart in a frail body.

Compulsory Prayer

Q. I am a worker in the Rajasthan branch of the A. I. S. A. I believe in prayer but some of my colleagues do not. Still they have got to join in prayer under the rules of the *Sanstha*. They are afraid that, if they refuse, they would lose their job. My view is that the *Sanstha* pays wages to its workers for their eight hours' work. What right has it to insist upon including compulsory participation in prayer by their workers into the bargain?

A. There can be no such thing as compulsory prayer. A prayer to be prayer must be voluntary. But nowadays people entertain curious ideas about compulsion. Thus, if the rules of your institution require every inmate — paid or unpaid — to attend common prayer, in my opinion you are bound to attend it as you are to attend to

your other duties. Your joining the institution was a voluntary act. You knew or ought to have known its rules. Therefore your attendance at prayer I would regard as a voluntary act, even as I would treat your other work under the contract. If you joined the institution merely because of the wages it offered, you should have made it clear to the manager that you could not attend prayer. If in spite of your objection you entered the institution without stating your objection, you did a wrong thing for which you should make expiation. This can be done in two ways — by joining the prayer with your heart in it, or by resigning and paying such compensation as may be necessary for the loss caused by your sudden resignation. Everyone joining an institution owes it to obey the rules framed by the management from time to time. When any new rule is found irksome, it is open to the objector to leave the institution in accordance with the provisions made for resignation. But he may not disobey them whilst he is in it.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

OCCASIONAL NOTES

An American Visitor

An American visitor, describing herself as representative of various women's associations and as a pacifist, came to Sevagram the other day in pouring rain and windy weather. She had not come by appointment, but the trouble she had taken entitled her to some time with Gandhiji. She had just three or four questions to ask, and she meant business.

"How can I best prepare in India to help in America towards a better understanding between Indians and Americans?" was her first question. The next one was: "How could I contribute towards this end in America?"

Gandhiji's answer covered both the questions: "One has to show in one's life one's country's best traits, and that is how one can bring another country to a better understanding of one's own. If you do not show the best in you whilst you are here, you make America liable to be misunderstood; and the same thing I would say about Indians in America. If one wants to interpret one country to another, he or she has to discover the best in that country and place it before the other country. If you, for instance, see nothing good in the life here, then you certainly are not the best person to interpret India to America. In America you find a Miss Mayo bringing out all the filth from the Indian gutters. You will contradict her, and as against one calumny uttered by a hasty or a paid or an interested observer you will adduce many testimonies gathered out of a sympathetic understanding and knock the bottom out of that calumny."

"What can pacifist Americans do to help the world situation?"

"It is a difficult question. If you mean pacifist Americans in India, they can do precious little. But in America they should, I suppose, be able to do a great deal. But it is a question really outside my depth, and I must not say anything more about it."

"I do a lot of writing and speaking, especially among women. Have you any message to give to American women?"

"Not as a message. I can throw out a suggestion and, if it appeals to you, you can develop it. Woman can play a most important part in the work of pacifism. She should refuse to be swept off her feet and to imitate man's language and refuse to allow herself and hers to be identified with anything connected with war. For she must know that she can represent peace more than war. She is made for the demonstration and exhibition of that silent force which is not less effective because it is silent, but the more effective because it is silent."

Princes and the Present Crisis

A few friends, who came from the Princes' India, drew a lurid picture of the state of things there—the panic and the insecurity and the impending anarchy. What are the Princes to do?

Briefly put Gandhiji's answer was: "They should cease to be Princes and become servants of the people." He developed the answer in the course of his conversation:

"They will have to descend from their pedestal and seek the co-operation of their people. If they do so, they need not use force at all to put down the forces of disorder. The Congress does not want to do away with the Princes, and they can seek its co-operation in bringing about peace and contentment in their States.

"They will have to be genuine servants of the people. When they do so, no one will think of eliminating them. If they are the servants and the people are the masters, why should the masters do away with the servants? You say there are a number of smaller Princes today who are anxious to make up with the Congress. If they are, what prevents them from doing the most elementary things?"

"They," said the interviewers, "want to do certain things, but they are on the one hand afraid of the Paramount Power and on the other afraid of the people. Some kind of fear seems to have seized them that the people will want to pay off old scores."

"Both their fears are groundless. If they will do justice, I can scarcely think of the people wanting to pay off old scores. Our people are not of a revengeful nature. Is the ruler of Aundh afraid of any rebellion in his State? He is not, for whom will they rebel against when they know that he has divested himself of practically all power? If they want to rebel, I think he is capable of saying to them, 'Come and take charge of my palace, I shall

be content to go and stay among the poorest of you.' Appasaheb, the son of the Chief of Aundh, is slaving away for the people as no servant of the State does.

"But the fact is that the people have to be convinced of their *bona fides*. Let them do two things. One is that they have to purify their lives and reduce themselves to utter simplicity. The fabulous amounts they spend on themselves are unconscionable. I cannot understand how they can have the heart to squander the people's money in riotous living, when thousands of their people cannot get a square meal a day. Why should they not be content with two or three hundred rupees a month? But my point is this. Let them take what the people will give them. Their privy purse must be votable. No reforms and no budget can have any value unless the people have the fullest right to say how much their ruler will take for himself. A new age has already begun, and no ruler can conceivably be tolerated whose life does not correspond largely with the life of his people and who does not identify himself with them.

"That is one thing. The other thing is that their judiciary will have to be above board and therefore independent of them. I cannot say today with confidence that in any State the judiciary is really independent. And there must be complete civil liberty.

"These, then, are the first steps in the way of reform. Their fear of the Paramount Power is groundless. That Power dare not openly say or do anything to interfere with *bona fide* reforms. Wherever they have interfered they have made some flaw in the particular Prince's character an excuse. The deduction is that Princes should be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. As for the Congress, let them know that it is ever ready to come to an understanding with them. The Congress is essentially a non-violent organisation. Let the Princes voluntarily go under the authority of their people and the Congress will befriend them. If they do not do so, there are breakers ahead. The Congress, let me repeat, is not out to destroy the Princes, unless it be that they do not mend their ways and destroy themselves. Even if there is one Prince who will be content to be the servant of the people, the Congress will stand by him."

On the train to Simla, 27-6-40

M. D.

Some Books by Gandhiji

	Price	Postage
Satyagraha in South Africa	Rs. 4 8	0 8
My Early Life	1 0	0 2
Speeches and Writings	4 0	0 9
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	1 8	0 5
Hind Swaraj	0 4	0 2
From Yeravda Mandir	0 2	0 1
Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence		
Part II	1 0	0 3

Available at Harijan office — Poona 4

WHAT LED TO THE DECISION

A Historical Retrospect: 14 Years

Gandhiji's decision to be responsible no longer to guide the deliberations and policy of the Congress may have come upon the members of the Working Committee and upon the country with a certain amount of suddenness. But it was the natural conclusion of a series of events since 1934 — or may I say since 1919? For his warning to the people first came to be uttered after the mob violence in Nadiad and Ahmedabad. He shocked his followers and amused his critics by proclaiming that in placing the remedy of civil disobedience in the hands of people who had not learnt the discipline to listen and to obey he had been guilty of a Himalayan blunder. Then came Chauri Chaura and the momentous Bardoli decision suspending satyagraha indefinitely. This gave the followers an even greater shock than that given by the "Himalayan blunder". But Gandhiji was adamant. He knew that the country would realise the wisdom of the decision in course of time, and that it would be able to prepare itself for another struggle. It took the country six or seven years — years punctuated by communal rioting and internecine strife — to develop non-violent strength to hurl defiance against the Government. We had learnt the virtue of non-violence, but it had with most of us a limited meaning and content. And yet it carried us through to a certain amount of success. Then came more organised repression on behalf of the Government, our limited non-violence proved a poor match for it, and with that came the third milestone on the march to non-violence — I mean the Patna decision of 1934 suspending civil disobedience and confining it only to himself.

Throughout this period of fourteen years he belonged to the Congress, he was a member of it, he attended meetings of the A. I. C. C. and of the Working Committee, and actively participated in the deliberations. But the Patna decision had set him thinking. Always anxious to lay the blame principally on himself, he had begun to discover that the arrest in the growth of the Congress and the corruption in its ranks was due to the fact that the Congress "had degenerated into an organisation dominated by one personality, and that in it there was no free play of reason." There were vital differences between him and the Congressmen, but his personality, he felt, had acted like an incubus on them and prevented their self-expression. That was unconsciously encouraging hypocrisy and a subtle piece of violence. Khadi and the spinning wheel were there on the Congress programme, "yet only a few Congressmen have a living faith in the India-wide potency of the wheel." And as for non-violence, as he said in his historic statement issued in September 1934, "after fourteen years of trial it still remains a policy with the majority of Congressmen, whereas it is a fundamental creed with me. That Congressmen

do not still regard non-violence as a creed is no fault of theirs. It is undoubtedly my faulty presentation, and still more its faulty execution, that are responsible for this failure. I have no consciousness of faulty presentation or execution, but it is the only possible inference from the fact that it has not yet become an integral part of the lives of Congressmen." We had paid lip-loyalty to non-violence, and even that non-violence was not of the strong but of the weak. "If we were non-violent through and through, our non-violence would have been self-evident. Nor were we able to show to the terrorists that we had greater faith in our non-violence than they in their violence." The argument led irresistibly to the conclusion that he should leave the Congress organization as he was convinced that by being outside he would serve the Congress and the country better than by being in it. That was the fourth milestone — the step to withdraw from the Congress being solely dictated by the idea of making the experiment of non-violence in thought, word and deed more intense. "For this experiment," he said, "I need complete detachment and absolute freedom of action. I can only search Him through non-violence, and in no other way, and the freedom of my country, as of the world, is surely included in the search for truth. I cannot suspend this search for anything in this world or another." The wisdom of the decision, which was so to say ratified by the Bombay Congress, was proved by a very simple test. The amendment suggesting the substitution of the words "truthful and non-violent" for "peaceful and legitimate" was that simple test. The amendment was thrown out by the members of the A. I. C. C., and proved clearly the thinness of the faith of the bulk of Congressmen in truth and non-violence.

1934 — 39

He retired from the Congress in October 1934 and threw himself with redoubled zeal and vigour into the only kind of work that was an expression of non-violence — revival and development of village industries, Harijan service, education through basic crafts, and fixing up one's abode in a village which offered in a nutshell all the problems of an Indian village. But this retirement was far from giving him the "complete detachment and absolute freedom" of action that he was longing for. For three years he had a certain amount of respite, but the decision to accept offices, taken by the Congress on his advice, drew him once again into active leadership.

Every step, throughout the period of fourteen or fifteen years, had been for him an experiment in the pursuit of truth and non-violence, and his advice to the Congress to take up the burden of office acceptance was another such experiment. The office acceptance was not intended to work the Act of 1935 *anyhow*; "in the prosecution by the Congress of its goal of

Complete Independence, it is a serious attempt on the one hand to avoid a bloody revolution and on the other to avoid mass civil disobedience on a scale hitherto not attempted." He declined to have any authority over the ministers or to have any power to issue instructions to them, but "in matters relating to the struggle for Swaraj through non-violent action, I do claim special qualifications. For me office acceptance has a special meaning even in terms of the Congress manifesto and resolutions." The Congress was not only to replace an alien Government, but an alien method of governance. It was to rule, he made it clear in the very beginning, "not through the police backed by the military but through its moral authority based upon the greatest goodwill of the people. It will rule not in virtue of authority derived from a superior armed power but in virtue of the service of the people whom it seeks to represent in every one of its actions."

That was said in August 1937. Since then every pronouncement of his has been a commentary on the principle of action laid down in the very beginning. Trouble in the Sholapur Settlement of "Criminal Tribes" and labour unrest in Ahmedabad and Cawnpore gave him the first occasion to sound a warning. "Do we really believe in truth and non-violence, in sustained work and discipline, in the efficacy of the four-fold constructive programme? If we are not sure of our own chosen aims, we need not wonder, if one fine morning we discover that we had committed a grave blunder in embarking upon office acceptance. My conscience as a or the prime mover in the direction of office acceptance is quite clear. I advised it on the supposition that the Congressmen as a whole were sound not only on the goal but also on the truthful and non-violent means."

In 1938 came further storm signals, and they gave Gandhiji the opportunity of making the Congress position further clearer. The ministers were to rule by moral authority based on the greatest goodwill of the people, but what was the meaning of that goodwill? The Congress claimed to represent the whole of India, not only the so-called Congressmen—to represent meaning to serve their interests. And in that sense it had to serve the interests of non-Congressmen even better than those of Congressmen, if it was to be true to its creed of non-violence. "It should represent even those who are hostile to it and who will even crush it if they can. Not until we make good that claim shall we be in a position to displace the British Government and function as an independent nation." These words were uttered two years ago, but it seems as though they were uttered yesterday. The bulk of the Muslims and others belong to the non-Congressmen's camp. Have we the power—the non-violent power—to represent them today? If we have, we can function as an independent nation in spite of Britain.

But to proceed. The riots in some of the cities of the U. P. and the steps taken by the Congress ministry to quell them made Gandhiji pointedly ask the question: Is Congress non-violence non-violence of the weak and the helpless or of the strong and the powerful? "If it is the former, it will never take us to our goal, and if long practised may even render us for ever unfit for self-government. If the Congress non-violence does not come out of real strength, it would be best and honest for the Congress to make such a declaration and make the necessary changes in its behaviour. To the extent that the Congress ministries have been obliged to make use of the police and the military, to that extent in my opinion we must admit our failure."

His soul had already begun to get impatient. How long would this experiment last, how long could he continue to give his guidance if it was ultimately to be futile? We discover this impatience of the soul in numerous utterances of those days. To some co-workers he said: "I am ashamed that our ministries had to call to their aid the police and the military. I am ashamed that they had to use the language that they did in reply to the Opposition speeches. I feel as if the Congress had lost and the British had won. Why does our non-violence fail on such occasions? Is it the non-violence of the weak? Even the goondas should not move us from our faith and make us say: 'We will send them to the gallows or shoot them down.' They too are our countrymen. If they will kill us, we will allow them to do so. You cannot pit against organised violence the non-violence of the weak, but the non-violence which the bravest alone can exercise. We have, you will say, been sufficiently non-violent. We were non-violent during the civil disobedience campaign, we received lathi blows and worse. My reply is this: We did, but not sufficiently. We could not get Independence at the end of the Dandi March, as ours was not the unadulterated non-violence of the bravest."

The question of external aggression has cropped up just now, but the question of internal unrest was already there as alive as today. Had we the strength then to say to the goondas, "Kill us, we will not kill you"? We had not. But Gandhiji lived in the hope that we should have that strength soon. "Supposing," he said to the Gandhi Seva Sangh people at Delang, on the 25th of March 1938, "the Viceroy were to invite the President of the Congress to meet him and to state the Congress terms, do you think he would have the strength to say, 'The Congress is capable of taking charge of the administration, the British may go'? Do you think we could tell him that we should be able to do without the police and the military, that we should be able to come to terms with the Princes, the Zamindars and the Mussalmans? I am afraid we could not honestly say we

should easily be able to come to terms with these. And yet, if we had real non-violence in us, we should be able to say and do these things."

But if the situation was bad in the middle of 1938, it is worse in the middle of 1940. Someone asked Gandhiji the other day: "You think we have not the non-violence of the brave. Well, then, I ask you what would you do if Independence were to be offered to you today? Would you say No?"

He said: "I would say No, I am giving an absurd answer to an absurd question. The question is absurd, for Independence is not going to be offered, because we are not ready. If we were ready, it would be there without our asking it."

But I am anticipating events. There was impatience in the soul, but he was patient with the people. He was arguing with the ministries, arguing with the people. "In spite of our having accepted the volunteer's pledge for 17 years we have not developed the irresistible strength that such acceptance of ahimsa means. The reason is that we have not troubled, we have not laboured, to organise such a non-violent army. If we cannot do so, if we cannot carry out the pledge, it would be well to reconsider our position. The tragedy is that the pledge is still in existence but it exists on paper. If we had on a sufficient scale such a non-violent army as the pledge contemplates, we should not have had these riots; and if there had been, we would have quelled the riots or immolated ourselves in the attempt. We have heard of only one man who met his death. I admire his self-immolation. But my breast would have swelled with joy if there had been several Guptas."

"If," he said in an article written in that period, "the Congress non-violence is merely confined to abstention from causing physical hurt to the British officials and their dependants, such non-violence can never bring us Independence. It is bound to be worsted in the final heat. Indeed we shall find it to be worthless, if not positively harmful, long before the final heat is reached." And then this solemn warning: "If we feel that we shall not be able to displace the British power without a violent struggle, the Congress must say so to the nation and prepare accordingly. We must do what is being done all the world over — *forbear when we can, hit when we must*. If that is to be our creed or policy, we have lost precious seventeen years. But it is never too late to learn and mend."

The long tours of the Frontier Province that followed were with the sole purpose of preparing the promising field for the non-violence of the brave.

- And it was not that the ministries wholly failed.

What's done we partly may compute
But oft not what's resisted.

If we were to go minutely into the history of the work of the Congress ministries in the eight provinces, we would find that they had some triumphs of non-violence to their credit. But God fulfils Himself in many ways. If the ministries had continued, would they have been ultimately found wanting? May it not have been providential that the situation created by the war came as a godsend and compelled the ministries to resign? Who shall say? But again I am anticipating events

A Narrow Escape

The test had nearly come with the international crisis of September 1938 and the rape of Czechoslovakia. But the dictated peace at Munich saved us. The Working Committee sat and deliberated for some days, but the test in the shape of war did not come. Gandhiji placed the implications of non-violence before the Working Committee in a manner that could not be mistaken, and the Working Committee was so unanimously with him that he was in a position to report: "The Working Committee had almost come to the conclusion that it would deny itself the opportunity of striking a bargain with England, but would make its contribution to the world peace, to the defence of Czechoslovakia and to India's freedom by declaring to the world by its action that the way to peace with honour did not lie through mutual slaughter of the innocents, but that it lay only and truly through the practice of organized non-violence even unto death."

And in the course of a private conversation he used words which had a prophetic ring, at least so far as he himself was concerned:

"You may rest assured that whatever happens there will be no surrender by the Government. For me, even if I stand alone, *there is no participation in the war even if the Government should surrender the whole control to the Congress...* Who would have thought aeroplanes to be a practical reality fifty years ago? Who would have imagined in this country, thirty years ago, that thousands of innocent men, women and children would be ready smilingly to march to prison? The weapon of ahimsa does not need supermen or superwomen to wield it; beings of common clay can use and have used it before this with success. At any rate fifteen members of the Working Committee did express their readiness to put their ahimsa to the test. That was more than I was prepared for."

But we were not weighed, and our honour remained intact. At any rate we did not die before our death. What the Committee would have done if the crisis had actually come it is difficult to say, but as we have seen it filled Gandhiji with great hopes.

The Crisis

Exactly a year after this the crisis was upon us. In that first hour of trial, the Congress was weighed and not found wanting. It did not take the Working Committee long to issue its

mandate to the Congress ministries to resign. Gandhiji heaved a sigh of relief. The questions that frequently tormented him ceased to trouble his soul. If the Congress had accepted his advice, in the initial stage, of offering unconditional co-operation, or if later the British Government had acceded to the Congress demand for a declaration and the Congress had offered co-operation in response, the position for Gandhiji would have been the same. For the co-operation he had contemplated was *moral* co-operation and no other. But who knows? It may be that even there there has been providential intervention. If the Working Committee had then taken the stand—the very honest stand indeed—that it has taken now, the difficulty both for the Committee and for Gandhiji would have been immense, the situation more delicate. But as I have said God intervened.

The crisis in the shape of the collapse of one European nation after another in quick succession came none too soon. Gandhiji had waited in patience so long, trying to steer a difficult course through rocks and breakers. He had voluntarily accepted the position of the Generalissimo. Was it wise? The speeches at the Ramgarh Congress were a mirror of the struggles of his soul. In private he had implored the Working Committee and the Maulana to relieve him of the position. It was simply with a view to being able to render greater service to the Congress. "I am putting upon myself an undue strain, but as it is not yet a strain on my conscience, I shall continue to serve you, if you will insist on my doing so. But it is a terrible strain, and I would implore you to free me. I should then pursue my experiment of ahimsa with absolute freedom." I am quoting from memory, but that was the substance of his entreaty to the Working Committee. And when they did not relieve him he poured out the depths of his soul in the two speeches at Ramgarh.

But the soul's impatience continued. Would the Working Committee face or quail before the coming storm? Perhaps they were taken by surprise, but not Gandhiji. The European situation had for him a lesson that was unmistakably clear. "It fills me with the utmost non-violence," he said. "I cannot think of a better thing to offer to Britain and the defeated nations than non-violence. It is impossible for me to enthuse over the deeds of Hitler or of those who fought or failed to fight him. There is nothing to choose between the victory of Hitler and the defeat of others. But I have no doubt in my mind that even a patched-up non-violent army would take the wind out of Hitler's sails. I need not have his aeroplanes, tanks, etc. He need not destroy our homes. Our non-violent army would welcome him, and it may be that he would not dare to come. I know that this may be a daydream. But I cannot belie the principle of a lifetime or wipe out my daydreams of the past twenty years. If we have not the non-violent strength

of the brave to fight anarchy and aggression, let us say so and reduce ourselves to a small minority hoping to develop non-violence of the strong in the days to come."

The Working Committee did some fierce thinking for days. Those were the days of heart-searching for them. The logic of Gandhiji's propositions was invincible, but could they go with those propositions to the people? Were they so thoroughly saturated themselves with the spirit of non-violence of the brave to be able to carry conviction to the people? Gandhiji even drafted a resolution for them. But fain as they would have it, sorely as they felt the wrench of having to do without his leadership and his advice, they could not be untrue to themselves. "We feel we could not accept your position with our mind and heart and soul, and we feel we should not entangle you," they said to him in effect. "And if that is so, why should we accept an untenable position merely to retain your connection? It would be a fraud on ourselves and others."

But if they could not be untrue to themselves, neither could Gandhiji be untrue to himself. He said to them: "I must be left free for my self-expression. I must be free to pursue my search, and I know you will believe me when I say that I go only to be of more effective service to the Congress, to you and the nation. Of course I shall be available when you want me. But I can no longer identify myself with the direction of your policy and programme. You will, therefore, try your best to do without me and have your meetings in future not in Wardha but elsewhere."

It was said of old by a Teacher to his disciples: "Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" Had those who for us have been "the salt of the earth" lost their savour? One cannot say. But there were these words also uttered of old: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." And they may yet be those lights. In the meanwhile Gandhiji waits and prays in silence. "I should work single-handed in implicit faith that what I fail to make clear to my countrymen today shall be clear to them some day of itself or, if God wills it, through some apt word He may put in my mouth, or some apt work which He may prompt me to do." These words were uttered in 1934, but they might have been uttered only the other day.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

M. D.

Autobiography

The long awaited one-volume cheaper edition of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. This edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Available at *Harijan* Office—Poona 4.

Harijan

July 13

1940

"A CRY IN THE WILDERNESS" ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

ऊर्ध्वबाहुविरोम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे ।

धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स धर्मः किं न सेव्यते ॥

"With hands upraised I cry:

(But none listens to me)

Dharma¹ yields both Artha² and Kama³;

Why is that Dharma not observed?"

Bapuji Aney on his way back from Simla paid a flying visit to me at Delhi on Saturday. Whether we work together or seem to be working in opposite directions, his love for me endures, and so he never misses an opportunity to look in wherever I may be. He expresses himself freely before me, and often shares with me a verse or two from his inexhaustible store. During his Delhi visit he sympathized with me for my having had to sever my connection with the Congress, but he really congratulated me. "They should, I think, leave you in peace," he said, "and let you go your way. I read your appeal to every Briton. It will fall on deaf ears. But that does not matter to you. You cannot help telling them what you feel to be their *Dharma* (Duty). But it is not strange that they will not listen to you—seeing that the Congress itself did not listen to you at the critical moment. When even sage Vyasa failed to make himself heard, how should others fare better? He had to conclude his great Epic—*Mahabharata*—with a verse which reveals the cry of his soul." With this he cited the verse I have quoted at the head of this article. He thereby strengthened my faith, and also showed how difficult was the way I had chosen.

And yet it has never seemed to me so difficult as it is imagined to be. Though the Sardar's way and mine seem to diverge today, it does not mean that our hearts also diverge. It was in my power to stop him from seceding from me. But it did not seem to be proper to do so. And it would have been morally wrong to strive with Rajaji in what he firmly regarded as his clear duty. Instead, therefore, of dissuading Rajaji I encouraged him to follow his course. It was my clear duty to do so. If I have the power to carry my experiment of ahimsa to success in an apparently new field, if my faith endures, and if I am right in thinking that the masses are fundamentally non-violent, Rajaji and the Sardar will again be with me as before.

What are these apparently new fields for the operation of non-violence? Those who have followed the Working Committee's resolutions and writings in *Harijan* are now familiar with

these. Non-violence in its operation against constituted authority is one field. We have exercised this up to now with a fair amount of success, and I have always described it as the non-violence of the weak. This non-violence may be said to have come to stay with Congressmen.

The other field is the exercise of ahimsa in internal disturbances—Hindu-Muslim riots and the like. We have not been able to show visible success in the exercise of ahimsa in this field. What then should the Congressmen do when internal chaos is so imminent? Will they return blow for blow, or will they cheerfully bend their heads to receive violent blows? The answer to this is not so easy as we might think. Instead of going into the intricacies, I should say that Congressmen should try to save the situation by laying down their lives, not by taking any. He who meets death without striking a blow fulfils his duty cent per cent. The result is in God's hands.

But it is clear that this non-violence is not the non-violence of the weak. It does not give one the joy of jail-going. One can have that joy and also cover thereby the ill-will one harbours in his breast against the Government. One can also non-cooperate with the Government. But where swords, knives, lathis and stones are freely used, what is a man to do single-handed? Is it possible for one to receive these deadly blows with ill-will in one's heart? It is clear that it is impossible to do so, unless one is saturated with charity. It is only he who feels one with his opponent that can receive his blows as though they were so many flowers. Even one such man, if God favours him, can do the work of a thousand. It requires soul force—moral courage—of the highest type.

The man or woman who can display this non-violence of the brave can easily stand against external invasion. This is the third field for the exercise of non-violence. The Congress Working Committee were of opinion that, while it might be possible for us to exercise ahimsa in internal disturbances, India has not the strength to exercise ahimsa against the invasion of a foreign foe. This their want of faith has distressed me. I do not believe that the unarmed millions of India cannot exercise ahimsa with success in this wide field. It is for Congressmen to reassure the Sardar, whose faith in ahimsa of the strong has for the moment been shaken, that ahimsa is the only weapon that can suit India in the fields mentioned. Let no one ask, "But what about the martial races in India?" For me that is all the more reason why Congressmen should train themselves to defend their country with a non-violent army. This is an entirely new experiment. But who, save the Congress, is to try it—the Congress which has tried it successfully in one field? It is my unshakable faith that, if we have a sufficient number of non-violent soldiers, we are sure to succeed even in this new field,

1 Duty; 2 Wealth; 3 Desire, aspiration.

apart from the saving of the needless waste of crores of rupees.

I am therefore hoping that every Gujarati Congressite—man and woman—will declare their adherence to ahimsa and reassure the Sardar that they will never resort to violence. Even if there is sure hope of success in the exercise of violence, they will not prefer it to the exercise of non-violence. We are sure to learn by our mistakes. "We fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

On the train to Wardha, 7-7-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

THE DELHI RESOLUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have just seen the news that the Working Committee's fateful resolution has been released to the Press. It was passed in my presence, but I wanted to say nothing before it was actually released for publication. It will be a profound mistake to suppose that the members passed the five solid days in wrangling. They had to discharge a heavy responsibility. Though logically the resolution is no departure from the Ramgarh resolution, it is an undoubted departure from its spirit. The letter often remains constant, the spirit changes. Up to now for one reason or another the Congress policy was: No participation in the war except for the moral influence that the Congress can exercise if the vital demand was satisfied of Britain's own free will. Such was not the position of all the members of the Working Committee. Hence at the critical moment every member had to make up his or her mind independently of the rest. The five days were days of tremendous heart-searching. I had produced a draft resolution which almost all thought was the best, if they could bring to bear a living belief in non-violence through and through, or if they could truthfully say that such was the belief of their constituencies. Some had neither and some had individually the required faith. Only Khan Saheb was clear so far as his own faith and that of his beloved Khudai Khidmatgars were concerned. So he had decided even after the last Wardha resolution that he had no place in the Congress. He had a special mission and a special duty to his followers. So the Working Committee gladly permitted him to retire from the Congress. By retiring he serves the Congress all the more even as I hope to do. Who knows that those of us, who retire may not be able to give our comrades the faith they seem, for the moment, to have lost?

Rajaji was the framer of the resolution. He was as certain of his position as I was of mine. His persistency, courage and utter humility brought him converts. Sardar Patel was his greatest prize. He would not have even thought of bringing up his resolution if I had chosen to prevent him. But I give my comrades the same credit for earnestness and self-confidence

that I claim for myself. I had long known that we were drifting away from each other in our outlook upon the political problems that face us. He will not allow me to say that his is a departure from ahimsa. He claims that his very ahimsa has led him to the point which culminated in his resolution. He thinks that I suffer from obsession owing to too much brooding on ahimsa. He almost thinks that my vision is blurred. It was no use my returning the compliment though half joking I did. I have no proof, save my faith, to question his counter faith. That is evidently absurd. I could not carry the Committee with me at Wardha and so I got my absolution. I at once saw as clear as daylight that, if my position was not acceptable, Rajaji's was the only real alternative. I therefore encouraged him to persist in his effort, though all the while I held him to be hopelessly in the wrong. And by exemplary patience, skill and considerateness towards his opponents he got a good majority, five remaining neutral. I had a fearful moment. Generally such resolutions are not carried by the majority vote. But at this juncture unanimity was not to be expected. I advised that Rajaji's resolution should be enforced. And so at the last moment the Committee decided that the resolution should go forth to the world.

It was necessary for the public to have this background to the tremendous step the Committee have taken for good or ill. Those Congressmen who have a living faith in the non-violence of the strong will naturally abstain. For the moment, however, what they can do is wholly irrelevant. Rajaji's resolution represents the considered policy of the Congress. Non-Congressmen, who were eager for the Congress to be free of my religious bias to adopt a purely political attitude, should welcome the resolution and support it whole-heartedly. So should the Muslim League, and even the Princes who think of India more than their principalities.

The British Government have to make their choice. Independence they cannot withhold unless their wisdom is as much blurred as Rajaji claims that mine is. If Independence is recognised, the acceptance of the other part of the resolution follows as a matter of course. The question is: do they want to impress help from India by virtue of their rulership over India, or will they have the help that a free and independent India can give? My individual advice has already gone. My help always has been promised. Acceptance of that advice can but enhance their heroism. But if they cannot accept it, I advise, as a disinterested but staunch friend, that the British Government should not reject the hand of friendship offered by the Congress.

Sevagram, 8-7-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0.
Postage 8 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4.

MORE ABOUT HANDICRAFTS

A Rock Bottom Query

Some time back Gandhiji had an interesting discussion with a group of noted economists. The theme of discussion was, is khadi economical as compared to mill cloth? Incidentally they also covered the subject of handicrafts. The view of the economist friends was that khadi and handicrafts were all right as a means for providing industrial relief to the unemployed in the present stage of India's transition, and as such deserved to be supported, but they could not be given a central place in national planning. It would be wrong in principle, they held, to prop up inherently 'uneconomical industries', as they considered khadi and most other handicrafts to be, in order to make them compete with machine products to the detriment of the latter and thereby curtail the productive capacity of the country. Gandhiji's contention was that it was the factory product that was today being subsidised by society in a number of ways at the expense of handicrafts. For instance, the factory system depended for its success on cheap railway transport, special municipal facilities, existence and collaboration of a number of collateral key industries, ample banking and insurance facilities, a high level of general technical education to ensure an unfailing and plentiful supply of specialised and efficient labour. All these meant an enormous cost. But society did not grudge it as the concomitant conditions of life which resulted from it, i. e. quick travelling, motor cars, the cinema, radio, electric light, and a thousand and one thrills provided by what Stuart Chase has called "the toys of civilization" are what the city-bred intellectual, who today guides our social destinies, wants. The handicrafts, on the other hand, depend for their success on a different system of economics. If a rural-minded society provided these, no power on earth would be able to compete with handicrafts. But then such a society shall have to be content with the simple joys and satisfactions which the countryside provides and not dream of a utopia in which all the villages would be equipped with the latest 'modern conveniences'. The so-called economical character of factory production as compared to handicrafts production today is not an inherent quality, but only a conferred attribute depending on the standard of values which society has adopted or considers desirable to adopt. The only unalterable and rock bottom test of whether an occupation or method of production is economical or otherwise, is how far it answers life's vital needs, what the making of it means to the producer.

Value of Handicrafts

Mr. Ellen H. Eaton examines the case for handicrafts from this standpoint in his Russell's Foundation volume *Handicrafts of Southern Highlands*, a copy of which he has sent to Gandhiji. The Russell Sage Foundation was established in 1909 by Mr. Russell Sage "for the improvement

of social and living conditions in the United States of America." In carrying out its purpose, the Foundation maintains a staff which, among other duties, conducts study of social conditions, authorised by the General Director, "where new information, its analysis and interpretation seem necessary, in order to formulate and advance practicable measures aimed at improvement." From time to time the foundation publishes the results of these studies in book or pamphlet form.

In the present volume the author furnishes some valuable testimony as to the aesthetic, educational, therapeutic and recreational value of handicrafts. His testimony is all the more valuable since it comes from the representative of a nation that has travelled farther on the road to mechanisation than any other, and therefore bears the hall-mark of experience. "To a handicrafts worker," observes Mr. Eaton in the introduction to his book, "his work will help him not only to perceive much of the beauty of the world about him, but what is man's greatest privilege to identify himself with it...Each handicraft has its own special reward, but there are a few compensations which all handicrafts bring to him who works at his open window." First, and perhaps greatest of these, "is the opportunity for self-expression which much of life's work with its modern advantages does not give". Another compensation is a growing appreciation of beauty in the things of everyday life. The effort to make a useful object pleasing to the eye or touch gives the craftsman "an understanding of the age-long struggle to bestow on objects of daily use that quality that renders their ownership one of life's little events. And recognizing beauty in things that he had not noticed before or looking at had regarded as commonplace, he feels himself a joint possessor with those who have designed them and with all others who enjoy them." His avocation brings him into close touch with nature, "the source of all the arts".

"The lumber with which he builds a house or the small block on which he carves a design, opens his window upon the trees of grove and forests; through weaving he sees the flocks, the flax and the cotton fields; or through his pottery he comes to know the many clays and kaolins from which ceramics, porcelains or building bricks are formed.

From such personal experience the worker in handicrafts will wish for others the privileges which have meant so much to him; and he will ask himself if there are not always ways by which the sense of beauty could be extended from the somewhat narrow fields of art to the broader field of human relations. And he comes to see that to ask the question is in part to answer it.

He longs to have a share in this larger world. Recalling instances in which some of the lowliest tasks have been done beautifully.....*it becomes clear to him that it is not what one does that determines a work of art but the manner in which it is done.* An object of art may be a painting on canvas, a cathedral in stone, but it may also be a

well printed and beautifully bound book, a loaf of bread, or a kitchen garden." To restate it, he realizes that "*art is just the best way of doing a thing that needs to be done — the expression of beauty within limitations.*" These limitations are the use it is to serve, the material of which it is made, the place it is to occupy."

Handicrafts Economics

Because of his insight into this threefold limitation which is the very soul of handicrafts production the author is able to point out the danger of organizing handicrafts production on orthodox economic and business principles. He enumerates six sets of proposals "ostensibly made to forward the interests of the Highlander craftsman which result quite differently from what has been intended."

The first one of these is the riskiest, viz. speed of production by installing modern machinery. "The advice to apply power to handlooms and to use other machines," observes Mr. Eaton, "is natural and grows out of the age-long desire to save time for other things, and in recent years, by saving time, to cut down the cost of production." But this proposal involves a fallacy. "Time is a relative matter and is quite a different thing in parts of the Highlands where the tempo of living and working differs from anything that modern industry and urban life know. Good tools, simple machinery, cheap and practical power will be a boon to the Highlander if gradually introduced on a basis that he can afford and become accustomed to and *if they shall not lessen his skill and undermine the quality of his product.*" But speed is neither his first nor in most cases his most pressing need. *To utilize time for good work is better than to save it for something less important.*" The argument applies *mutatis mutandis* to India where handloom weaving and village handicrafts are often sought to be reorganised by the Departments of Industries, if what was aimed at was to transplant miniature weaving mills and factories into the villages where the competition of mass production cannot reach. No wonder they refuse to take root or show vitality.

The other fallacies mentioned by Mr. Eaton are :

2. Take the work out of homes and establish centres where producing and working conditions can be controlled.

The principle of striving for a uniform product is in many cases desirable. "But there is a strong feeling," remarks Mr. Eaton, "among those who have pioneered in the handicrafts revival that the fireside industries must remain in the home and not be turned into small factories." Moreover, "as good hand-weaving as has ever been done in the mountains has been done on the home looms, and it is contended that there is no work so difficult that it cannot be produced as well there as in a weaving centre, and at a lower cost." Whatever, therefore, is done to finance and develop new and special industries, concludes the author, should not take away

from the handicrafts workers the advantages which the slow building up of home work has brought to them."

3. Sell in quantity through department and other commercial stores.

This is wrong as it demands standardisation of products and a heavy overhead charge on the cost of production. Under the present circumstances, therefore, it is highly doubtful whether the regular channels of trade organised to respond to mass production can be utilized to market handicraft to any great extent.

4. Instal efficiency cost systems and make only articles that can be sold at a profit.

This won't do, as normally it is not easy to evaluate a handicraft worker's time because there are few standards by which it can be measured, "and also because urban time schedules are not operative in the mountains. The history of handicrafts in the Southern Highlands presents many an instance where, had efficiency systems of measurement been insisted on, the nascent occupation would have been nipped in the very beginning."

5. Employ expert designers and use only their designs.

This again is fallacious. Whilst co-operation and co-ordination between trained designers and workers who are to execute their designs can be helpful, sole dependence of "the former will discourage new expressions in various kinds of work" which is the soul of handicrafts production and the secret of its vitality.

6. And above all produce standard articles and eliminate sentiment about the craftsman from the work.

To do so is to lose sight of the fact that practising a handicraft is not merely an avocation — a method of production — but a way of life. "A handicraftsman lives as much by his work as by what he produces and earns." Anything that impairs the life-giving quality of a handicraft chokes the very spring of its vitality."

Sevagram, 25-6-40

Pyarelal

Congress Membership and Non-violence

A Punjabi Congressman writes: "Can those who openly declare that they do not believe in non-violence be Congress members, can they take part in Gulughara celebrations, and what should one do if such men be in a majority in a Congress committee?"

Now that I am out of the Congress guidance, my opinion has little weight. I cannot say what decision the Congress will give on your questions. But I am quite clear that those who do not believe in non-violence cannot belong to the Congress. I am also clear that no Congressman can take part in celebrations such as Gulughara. If you find yourself in a minority, the non-violent way for you is to withdraw from the Committee.

On Delhi-Wardha train, 8-7-40

M. K. G.

(Translated from Gujarati)

ABOUT THE WAZIRIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Waziristan is one of the regions on the border of the Frontier Province. Everybody knows that there are a number of tribes living on the North-Western Frontier of India. The popular notion about them is that they are born only to rob and plunder and harass the British Government. Both these notions are far removed from reality. These trans-border tribes are born and bred in extreme poverty. Life among their native hills is a tale of chronic hardship and internecine strife. India comes handy to them for satisfying their pecuniary need by raiding. Besides, there are not lacking people who in order to serve their own political ends are ready to misguide them and set them on the wrong path. Our knowledge about these tribes, therefore, is almost confined to their raiding activities. Khansaheb has told me that these tribesmen are very simple and innocent by nature. Whenever I have visited the Frontier Province I had tried to go across and make acquaintance with these tribes. My first effort in this direction was made at the time of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. I had to give it up as Lord Irwin said his Government would feel embarrassed. I next sought permission through correspondence but was equally unsuccessful. I renewed the attempt at the time of my first Frontier tour and interviewed H. E. the Governor in that behalf, but he could not give or rather could not obtain for me the necessary permission. Recently the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee tried to send a deputation among the Waziris not with any political motive but simply to do welfare work. But the permission could not be obtained. The Working Committee has now decided to send a deputation consisting of Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Janab Asaf Ali. Let us hope the deputation will be given the necessary permission.

The object of the Working Committee's resolution is not political. Its purpose simply is to find out how help can be rendered to the border tribes and friendly relations cultivated with them. It ill comports with our dignity to be in constant dread of them. Ignorance is at the root of most of our fears. If I suspected my neighbour, naturally I would be afraid of him. But if I cast out my suspicion, the fear would automatically go. For years we have proceeded on the assumption that the authorities would under no circumstances allow us to cultivate friendly relations with the border tribes. The Government, on their side, have, under the spell of their pet bogey, spent crores of rupees on building forts and block houses and on sending out military expeditions into the tribal territory. It should be a duty of the Congress to try to cultivate sincere and friendly relations with these folk. The proposed step of the Working Committee is, therefore, to be welcomed. Let us hope that the Congress, having begun the effort, will pursue it to the end.

On the train to Wardha, 8-7-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

WORKING COMMITTEE AND THE WAZIRIS

The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution at its session held at Delhi this week :

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan has reported to the Working Committee that an attempt was made by the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee to send amongst the Waziris a deputation with a view to use their influence with the tribesmen and to wean them from dacoities, kidnappings and the like. It is the conviction of the Provincial Congress Committee of the Frontier Province, which conviction the Working Committee share, that it is possible to cultivate friendly relations with the tribesmen of the surrounding country. With that end in view, the party was to proceed to Waziristan to examine their economic conditions, and to render them such aid for their social welfare as was possible for the Provincial Congress Committee to render. It was their intention also to find out the causes of the dacoities. But the deputation was not permitted by the Government to proceed to Waziristan. The deputation had offered to take any official with them, if the Government thought such a step necessary. But for reasons best known to them, the Government of India declined to entertain the proposal. The Working Committee regret the decision, and take this opportunity to declare to all the tribesmen that the Congress can have nothing but goodwill towards them. The Congress has always sought to establish the friendliest relations with them, to share their sorrows, and to help them in all possible ways, especially in the way of educating their children, improvement of their economic condition and medical and hygienic welfare. The Working Committee hope too that the leaders of tribesmen will reciprocate the Congress goodwill, and endeavour to the best of their ability to wean those tribesmen who resort to dacoities and the like, which the Working Committee have reason to believe have no political or religious motive, but are prompted by poverty or by persons of political machinations.

The Working Committee hereby appoint Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Janab Asaf Ali, Shri Bhulabhai Desai being leader, to proceed to Waziristan and carry on the work that the said deputation would have done. The Working Committee hope that all facilities will be given to the deputation to proceed to Waziristan. The Working Committee trust that Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Janab Asaf Ali will forthwith proceed on their mission and report to the Working Committee the result thereof. The Working Committee advise the people of the Frontier Province to discover the causes of the depredations from the tribesmen, not to get frightened, but patiently to discover the ways and means of cultivating neighbourly relations with the tribesmen.

MYSORE LAWYERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several Mysore lawyers who had taken part in the Mysore satyagraha struggle have been disbarred by the Mysore Chief Court. The last victim is Shri H. C. Dasappa, a most respected Mysorean and a practitioner of twenty years' standing. Serious as the disbarring of a member belonging to a liberal profession must be, such cases have happened before now on insufficient or purely political grounds. Such injustices have to be borne with resignation and fortitude. But the order of the Chief Judge in Shri Dasappa's case as reported in *The Hindu* has made for me most painful reading. Shri Dasappa had the hardihood to defy a magistrate's order not to address meetings in a part of Mysore, and had the equal hardihood under my instructions to advise satyagrahi prisoners to boycott the departmental inquiry by Justice Nagesvara Iyer. For these grave offences Shri Dasappa has been disbarred for ever. He will be reduced to penury, if the Judges could help it and if their verdict has any potency beyond the paper on which it is written. Shri Dasappa becomes a man without a character to be despised and shunned by society. I happen to know Shri Dasappa personally. I hold him to be a man of spotless character and unimpeachable honesty. He has been manfully striving to practise non-violence to the best of his ability. He has done what many patriot lawyers or no lawyers have done in British India. And nowadays the Judges take no notice of their conduct, and the public have made of them heroes. Advocate Bhulabhai has been Advocate-General of the Bombay High Court. He has defied laws. So has Advocate Munshi, and so has Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. They have not been disbarred. Two of them have been Ministers in their Provinces. Public inquiries have been boycotted before now with impunity. Neither the honour nor the character of those who have brought about such boycotts have been impugned. In my opinion the Judges of the Mysore Court have forgotten themselves in delivering their judgment. Shri Dasappa has not suffered. He will rise in the estimation of the people of Mysore. But I make bold to say the Mysore Judges have suffered by allowing themselves to be carried away by prejudice.

Such travesty of justice has happened before now. A Durban Magistrate who was carried away by some stupid prejudice had condemned an innocent man. His judgment was reversed, and the Supreme Court condemned it in such scathing terms that the Magistrate had to be removed. The Judges of the martial law days in the Punjab were not removed, but many were thoroughly disgraced because they had pronounced judgments which could not be supported by evidence before them. This Mysore judgment is worse than the Punjab judgments. Then there was panic. Murders had been committed by the mob, and eminent men

were tried not by ordinary courts but by martial law tribunals. In Mysore nothing of the kind has happened. The Chief Judge's order is a cool and calculated attack on the honour of a man who could not defend himself against reckless statements from the Bench. Judges sometimes forget, as these Mysore gentlemen have done, that there is the bar of public opinion which is no respecter of persons.

My condolence and pity go out to the Judges who have delivered a judgment which, let me hope, in their cooler moments they will regret. For Shri Dasappa and his colleagues who have been disbarred I have nothing but congratulations. I would ask them to turn the punishment into a blessing. It is well that they cannot appear before Judges who can be so grossly prejudiced as the Mysore Judges have proved themselves to be. Let these lawyers be proud of their poverty which will be probably their lot now. Let them remember Thoreau's saying that possession of riches is a crime and poverty a virtue under an unjust administration. This is an eternal maxim for satyagrahis. The disbarred lawyers have a rare opportunity of so remodelling their lives that they can always be above want. Let them remember that practice of law ought not to mean more taking daily than, say, a village carpenter's wage. Let them make redoubled efforts to produce such a state of affairs in Mysore that the travesty of the nature I have described may become impossible. It is no pleasure to me to have to write as strongly as I have done. But I could do no less if I was to serve Truth.

Sevagram, 9-7-40

A NOTE

Perhaps a brief note of facts is necessary to explain Gandhiji's remarks on the extraordinary order of the Mysore Chief Judge directing Shri H. C. Dasappa to be struck off the rolls of the High Court. The first charge against Shri Dasappa was that he had disobeyed the Kolar District Magistrate's order prohibiting him from addressing meetings in a certain area. The other and, in the Judges' opinion more serious, charge was that Shri Dasappa as President of the Mysore Congress advised the Congressmen not to participate in an inquiry appointed by Government. The inquiry was to be made into serious allegations of torture made by the Congress against police officials. It was entrusted to a Judge of the Mysore Court. The Mysore Congress, acting on Gandhiji's advice, decided not to participate in the inquiry, as it was not of an impartial and independent character. This action on the part of Shri Dasappa as President of the Congress could by no stretch of imagination be described as having anything to do with his conduct as a lawyer, but it was regarded by the Chief Justice as "a defect of character unfitting him to be an advocate of the High Court".

He was asked by the High Court to explain his conduct. He naturally questioned the procedure as irrelevant, but described in a statement the circumstances leading to the decision for non-participation in the inquiry. This is what Shri Dasappa said in the course of his statement:

"The Government appointed Justice A. R. Nagesvara Iyer to carry on what was admittedly a departmental inquiry, not open to the press or the public. Attempts made to have the inquiry postponed with a view to arrive at an amicable settlement in the matter, were of no avail. It was then that the Mysore Congress was advised by Mahatma Gandhi to negotiate for a change in the personnel of the inquiry The opponent submits that the inquiry was only a departmental one and there was no court constituted for the purpose. There was no legal obligation whatever on the part of the Congressmen to tender evidence at the inquiry. The moral obligation would only arise in case the tribunal was satisfactory."

It is these words that provoked the ire of the Chief Justice, and in criticising them he has made certain statements of astounding audacity: "To make a foul allegation against one's neighbour and to refuse either to withdraw it or substantiate it, was a conduct to which no decent-minded man who had not lost all sense of fairness would descend or advise others to descend." Again: "I understand from the Respondent's statement that the aim of his political association is to get Responsible Government established in this State. This is a form of Government which many of us would admire, and all of us, who are not Judges, are at liberty to advocate. This is not an occasion on which it would be proper to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of that form of Government. But I think we shall agree that that form of Government can have no chance of success in any country in which there is not a general spirit of fairness throughout the country. The Respondent, in this matter of deterring his followers from withdrawing or substantiating their charges against their fellow-subjects, has shown himself devoid of that spirit of fairness. He has stated in one part of his statement that he did so at the dictates of a person outside the State. No man fit to be an advocate of this Court can submit his conscience to anyone else in that way. It is no excuse for such conduct."

Again, The Chief Justice, proceeding, observed, says *The Hindu* report, that "it was surprising that the Respondent, the professed votary of truth, should have behaved in such a way. Perhaps it is because truth is so often degraded in this country into nothing more than a political catchword that the Respondent has lost all appreciation of its meaning and value. It was a sad thing indeed for anyone to have so degraded himself and to have lowered his moral standards. It would not be fair to require other members of this honourable profes-

sion to associate in the work of the Courts with a man who had allowed his morals to be so debased, nor would it be safe to allow litigants to allow their cases in his hands. In my opinion it is quite clear that the Respondent has become by defect of character unfit to remain an advocate of this Court."

Sevagram, 9-7-40

M. D.

"FOR HE HAD GREAT POSSESSIONS"

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur writes from Simla under the above heading:

"Lovers of English art must be familiar with the beautiful picture of one of their great artists entitled 'For he had great possessions'. Those familiar with the Bible will know of the story of the rich man who came to Jesus to ask him the way of salvation and how, when the Master asked him to give up all he had and follow him, 'the young man went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions.' This picture has been coming vividly before my mind during this time of anguish. I love Europe, in particular do I love England where some of the happiest years of my life have been spent. I owe much to her people, to her educational institutions, and to her glorious literature. My woman's heart bleeds today when I hear and read of the wanton waste of life and ruthless destruction that is rampant today in that lovely continent. There is nothing but vainglory and boasting and ill-will and hatred talked over the radio. The destruction of an aeroplane or submarine or battleship on either side is an occasion for rejoicing; there is gloating over the loss of life. Englishwomen whom one would have thought incapable of hurting a fly are heard to say that they would give their souls to kill Hitler or any number of Germans. It must be the same in Germany.

It is heart-breaking to think that the spark of love within the people of the warring nations is so dead that all sense of kindness and humanity is absent. But if they were to pause and think as to what the war in Europe and the war in the Far East is being fought for, the answer is as clear as daylight. It is for the greed of possession. How then can your soul-stirring appeal to every Briton have any response? The eyes of all these warriors are blinded with lust, and they will never see the folly and iniquity of their ways until the idea of possession leaves them. The Prime Minister of England has talked of 'the curse of Hitler being lifted from the brows of men'. It is the curse of possession that must be lifted from our hearts if peace is to be established once again on earth and if it is to be a true and lasting one. 'Possession is eleven points in the law and they say there are but twelve,' is a well-known English proverb. But as my weak faith daily grows stronger in non-violence, I am convinced that non-possession is the fulfilment of the law of life. If Britain could only realise this today, your appeal to her great people would not fall on deaf ears and she would rejoice in doing justice by India. And if we in our homeland would realise the great truth also, there would be no communal discord and no untruth in us."

Notes

The Late Changanacherry Pillai

The readers must have learnt about the death of Shri Changanacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai of Travancore. He was one of the true and consistent Harijan sevaks. He was a retired Judge of the Travancore High Court. He was a member of the Executive Council of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. As a man he was most unassuming and lovable. His secretary sends me the following pathetic account of his death:

"I should like to introduce myself as one who was Private Secretary to the late Shri Changanacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai. The purpose of this letter is to give a description of the sad demise of Shri Changanacherry, of which you are already aware.

After the first stroke of brain paralysis in November 1939, Shri Changanacherry recovered sufficiently well to move about by February 1940. Recently he had been taking much care about his body. He spent the summer at the Cape. On return from there, he looked thoroughly fit and sound. He purchased a new car and used to go to the Beach very often in the evenings. On other days he had his evening walks. In fact his constitution had so much improved that it seemed he had never looked so well. In spite of all physical improvements, his mental defects persisted. He could talk fairly well, but could not speak the names of some persons, nor remember them when he wanted to. Coherent conversation for ten minutes together was also impossible. Nevertheless, he began to show interest in all the public institutions with which he was actively associated till he retired from public life. It is interesting to record that the day before his death he sent me to his Estate at Vidura where there are a Kani Ashram, a weaving school and a primary school, which institutions together with ten acres of land were given as a gift to the Harijan Sevak Sangh some years ago. The institutions except the school had not recently been working due to paucity of funds. I was deputed to inspect the institutions and prepare a scheme to revive them. I had actually prepared the scheme but had no opportunity to place it before him. The day before his death, he had his usual evening walk, and rather unusually, in company with his little children. On returning home at 7-30 P. M. he arranged for a feast the next day, wonderful in the case of a man who always ate to live. The morning of the fatal day he spent discussing the plan for a new building to be erected in his property in the town, with a contractor. At 12-30 he partook of a sumptuous feast and retired to his bed-room for a nap.

His wife was in the room also. At about 3 P. M. he woke up showing some uneasiness. His hands and limbs were quivering. Seeing this unusual behaviour, the doctor who was living next door was sent for. He arrived within ten minutes to find the patient without pulse. An injection was administered but to no effect. The doctor was preparing to give another injection when death lay its icy hands on the great leader. It is supposed the end was

due to another stroke of brain paralysis which this time proved fatal. The death actually took place at 3 P. M. on 30th June.

The cremation took place at 11-30 P. M. in his own property at Poojappurai. A large crowd had gathered to pay homage to the dead leader. He leaves behind his wife and eight children. The eldest is a daughter and she was married recently.

I may also add that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar sent a condolence message the next day morning.

The consensus of opinion here is that there never was a greater Travancorean with such versatile genius, who was so remarkably associated with all the public activities of his time. The whole country is in mourning."

Death prompted the feast. As the secretary truly says he ate to live. But God confounds our wisdom when He wants to take us unwary. None of us can boast that we would do better than the late sevak. It will be creditable if we can close our lives as did this great Harijan sevak. May God bless his spirit and give courage to his widow and family to bear their loss, and let me hope that they will follow in his footsteps.

Sevagram, 9-7-40

M. K. G.

Is Islam Inspired ?

A writer in a Muslim paper has suggested that, if I regard Islam as an inspired religion and Muhammad as the Prophet of God, I should declare my belief, so that Mussalmans' doubts may be dispelled and Hindu-Muslim unity may possibly be more easily achieved. I read the suggestion about a month ago, but I did not think it necessary to respond to it. But as nowadays I read as many Muslim papers as I can, in order to acquaint myself with the Muslim mind, and as I find them so full of poison and conscious or unconscious untruths, I feel it necessary to redeclare my opinion about Islam, though I think it is well-known. I certainly regard Islam as one of the inspired religions, and therefore the Holy Quran as an inspired book and Muhammad as one of the prophets. But even so I regard Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism as inspired religions. The names of many of them have been already forgotten, for the simple reason that those religions and those prophets related to the particular ages for which and peoples for whom they flourished. Some principal religions are still extant. After a study of those religions to the extent it was possible for me, I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discover an underlying unity among all religions, a master-key is needed. That master-key is that of truth and non-violence. When I unlock the chest of a religion with this master-key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree they seem so different, but at the trunk they are one. Unless and until we realize this fundamental unity, wars in the name

of religion will not cease. These are not confined to Hindus and Mussalmans alone. The pages of world history are soiled with the bloody accounts of these religious wars. Religion can be defended only by the purity of its adherents and their good deeds, never by their quarrels with those of other faiths.

On the train to Wardha, 8-7-40 M. K. G.

(Translated from Gujarati)

SUBHASBABU

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On the return journey to Wardha a young man at Nagpur station asked why the Working Committee had not taken any notice of Subhasbabu's arrest. I was in silence and so gave no reply but took note of the reasonable question. I have no doubt that hundreds if not thousands must have asked themselves the question the young man put at Nagpur. It is true that Subhasbabu is an ex-Rashtrapati of the Congress twice elected in succession. He has a record of great sacrifice to his credit. He is a leader born. All these qualities alone will not warrant a protest against the arrest. The Working Committee would be bound to take notice of it, if it could be condemned on merits. Subhasbabu did not defy the law with the permission of the Congress. He has frankly and courageously defied even the Working Committee. If he had asked for permission to raise any side-issue for battle at the present juncture, the Committee would, I think, have refused it. Hundreds of issues of greater importance can be discovered. But the country's attention is for the moment riveted upon one single issue. Preparations are being made to take up direct action at the proper time on that issue. Therefore, if the Working Committee had taken any action, it would have been one of disapprobation. That the Committee would not do. I might also have ignored the youth's remark. But I felt that no harm could occur by my putting this arrest in its proper setting. The arrest of a big man like Subhasbabu is no small matter. But Subhasbabu has laid out his plan of battle with deliberateness and boldness. He thinks that his way is the best. He honestly thinks that the Working Committee's way is wrong, and that nothing good will come out of its "procrastination". He told me in the friendliest manner that he would do what the Working Committee had failed to do. He was impatient of delay. I told him that, if at the end of his plan there was Swaraj during my lifetime, mine would be the first telegram of congratulation he would receive. If while he was conducting his campaign I became a convert, I should whole-heartedly acclaim him as my leader and enlist under his banner. But I warned him that his way was wrong.

My opinion, however, matters little. So long as Subhasbabu considers a particular course of

action to be correct, he has the right, and it is his duty, to pursue it whether the Congress likes it or not. I told him he would be more in the right if he resigned from the Congress altogether. My advice did not commend itself to him. Even so, if success attends his effort and India gains her freedom, it will justify his rebellion, and the Congress will not only not condemn his rebellion but welcome him as a saviour.

In satyagraha a courted imprisonment carries its own praise. There can be no protest against an imprisonment for a breach of the current law of the land. On the contrary, the practice has been to congratulate arrested civil resisters and invite Congressmen to imitate them. It is obvious that the Committee could not do so in Subhasbabu's case. Let me remark in passing that the Committee has taken no notice of the numerous arrests and imprisonments that have taken place even of prominent Congressmen. It does not mean that the Committee does not feel anything about them. But in life's battle there is such a thing as a mute submission to many a wrong. If it is deliberate, it generates strength which, if the submission is well conceived, may well become irresistible.

Sevagram, 9-7-40

Books on Non-violence

	Price Postage		
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R. B. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence	...	2 0	7
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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SUNDAY, JULY 21, 1940

[ONE ANNA

NOTICE

Harijan, which was hitherto published every Saturday, has changed its day of publication, and will hereafter be published every Sunday. Agents and readers will please note that, as a result of this change, they will get their copies a day later than hitherto.

MANAGER

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

Has Gandhiji Changed?

One question I have heard constantly being asked during the past few days is: "Gandhiji himself asked people in Bettiah in 1921 and recently the people in Sukkur to defend themselves violently, if they could not do so non-violently. Even courage, backed by the use of force, is better than abject cowardice, he has said to us times without number. Has he then changed his position now? The Working Committee would seem to have gone no further than Gandhiji himself did in the two cases mentioned."

Gandhiji has not changed in the least. He would give the people the same advice, but what we forget is the clause with which it was coupled: "You may thus defend yourselves, but not as Congressmen." The Working Committee's resolution, to whatever extent it allows the use of violence, affects the Congressmen's position. That, Gandhiji holds, is contrary to the position we have held for the past 21 years.

What if the Working Committee members had the same absolute faith in non-violence, but passed the resolution as an allowance for the weakness of faith of the rank and file of Congressmen? They could not do so. They had to hold to their faith and allow themselves to be thrown out by those who had not that faith, if these latter were in a majority. Or they might have retired voluntarily if they found themselves overwhelmed by the others. Thus the position taken up by Gandhiji is not new. In an article on the growing corruption in Congress ranks written two years ago, he made the position crystal clear:

"With all the earnestness I can command I therefore plead with every Congressman who believes in his pledge to make his choice: either to apply the purge I have suggested, or if that is not feasible because of the Congress being already overmanned by those who have lost faith in its creed and its constructive programme on which depends its real strength, to secede from it for its own sake and prove his living faith

in the creed and the programme by practising the former and prosecuting the latter as if he had never seceded from the Congress of his ideal. If one or the other thing is not done, I see grave danger of the Congress collapsing by the weight of its own weaknesses."

In another article last year analysing the responsibility of violence if it broke out in the Princes' India, he said: "The responsibility will have to be shared by the Paramount Power, the Princes, and above all by Congressmen. The first two have never claimed to be non-violent. Their power is frankly derived from and based on the use of violence. But the Congress has since 1920 adopted non-violence as its settled policy and has undoubtedly striven to act up to it." The whole question at the present critical moment is, are we to align ourselves with those who have never claimed to be non-violent, or are we to live up to our creed? Even the British Government, and all Governments for the matter of that, follow the policy of '*forbear when we can, hit when we must.*' Are we, when we come to power, to be like the rest, or are we, by holding to the new trail we have blazed for twenty years, to make new history? It is likely that we may fail, but let the failure apply to our inability to govern, not to our inability to abstain from the use of force. Let us then step aside, and allow those who swear by the use of force to govern.

If the Rank and File Believe

But if the Working Committee were wrong in their assumption that the rank and file have lost their belief in non-violence and that they cannot come up to the scratch in times of crisis, the rank and file have to reassure the Working Committee. That is what Gandhiji said, with special reference to the Gujaratis, in his article last week. He explained the whole thing at much greater length to the joint meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh and the Charkha Sangh held soon after the Wardha meeting of the Working Committee. "Now is the testing time for you," he said. "The Working Committee, let us say, were weighed and found wanting. Can the Gandhi Seva Sangh do anything to repair their failure? The Working Committee's resolution does not mean that you cannot appeal to people to declare their faith in non-violence. You can do so, and then tell the members of the Working Committee, 'You undervalued our faith. We are going to hold by the creed.' I tell you the Working Committee

members will not only not resent this, but will simply dance with joy. Some of you are members of the Congress. It is the duty of those who are members and who believe in non-violence to reassure the members of the Working Committee, to declare their faith before the meeting of the A. I. C. C., and even before the open Congress if the time comes. But you may not separate your creed as Congressmen and creed as ordinary human beings, your behaviour in Congress affairs and in non-Congress affairs. Your non-violence, if it is true, must be part of your normal life, must be in your thought, word and deed, and must colour all your behaviour. Then and then only can you give the Working Committee the assurance I have referred to, and compel them to alter their resolution."

The Test of Genuineness

"But," he added, "let me explain this further. You will examine every action of yours in the light of the creed. That does not mean that you will be morbid or pernickety. Your conduct will have to be natural. When I began observing silence it meant an effort on my part. Now it has become part of my nature, and to break my silence means an effort. In the same way acting non-violently must be part of your nature. It is likely that your relating everything to non-violence may be logically wrong, but it is not wrong for you. I may be wrong, in the eyes of others, in my belief that with every thread that I draw I am bringing Swaraj nearer, but for me the belief is as true as the fact that I exist. That saves me from losing my sanity. This spinning wheel is a symbol of non-violence for me. The wheel as such is lifeless, but when I invest it with symbolism it becomes a living thing for me. Its sound, if it is musical, is in tune with non-violence. If it is unmusical, it is not in tune with it, for it indicates carelessness on my part. The steel spindle one can use as a deadly weapon, but we have put it there for the best possible use. So we have to be meticulously careful about every part of the wheel. Then and then only will it produce fine music and spinning will be a true sacrificial act.

"But this kind of *sadhana*, you will say, may take thousands of years. It may take some a thousand years, and it may take some others only one year. Don't think that, if in spite of my 50 years' practice of it I am still imperfect, it must take you many more years. No, there is no rule of three here. You may succeed quicker than I. I meant what I said to Prithwising: 'You had at any rate the violence of the brave. I had nothing of it. Now if you believe in cultivating non-violence of the brave, you will do so much more quickly than I, and you will leave me behind.' This applies to every one of you. In South Africa I was the first to learn shoe-making and so I taught it to others. But those others soon left me behind. It was because I was a true teacher. Now if I am a true teacher

of ahimsa, I am sure you will soon leave behind your teacher. If that does not happen, it will only mean that I was an unfit teacher. But if my teaching fructifies, there will be teachers of ahimsa in every home.

"I want to know how many of you are with me. If none goes with me, I am ready to tread my path alone. For I know that I can never be *alone* as God is there with me. You are all companion *sadhaks* (seekers) with me. I am old but you have many years before you. And yet let me tell you that I do not feel the weight of my years. I do not think my power of growth or capacity for research has come to an end.

"So you have to go forth and find out how many actual believers in ahimsa there are among Congressmen. The Working Committee members are your representatives. If they were mistaken in assessing the faith of their electors, you have to correct their judgment. My position was different from theirs. I consider myself a confirmed representative of ahimsa, and so I severed my connection with the Congress in 1934. I could not help doing it. If I had not done so, I should have been untrue to my creed.

"No one knows my imperfections better than I, but what little power I possess is derived from my ahimsa. What is it but my ahimsa that draws thousands of women to me in fearless confidence? But neither you nor I can trade on our capital. We have to be up and doing every moment of our lives, and go forward in our *sadhana*. We have to live and move and have our being in ahimsa, even as Hitler does in himsa. It is the faith and perseverance and single-mindedness with which he has perfected his weapons of destruction that commands my admiration. That he uses them as a monster is immaterial for our purpose. We have to bring to bear the same single-mindedness and perseverance in evolving our ahimsa. Hitler is awake all the 24 hours of the day in perfecting his *sadhana*. He wins because he pays the price. His inventions surprise his enemies. But it is his single-minded devotion to his purpose that should be the object of our admiration and emulation. Although he works all his waking hours, his intellect is unclouded and unerring. Are our intellects unclouded and unerring? A mere belief in ahimsa or the charkha will not do. It should be intelligent and creative. If intellect plays a large part in the field of violence, I hold that it plays a larger part in the field of non-violence."

With this he referred to the work of Richard Gregg in this direction, and described how the latter had come to the conclusion that spinning as a symbol of non-violence is good enough not only for India but for the world.

Continuing he said: "The Working Committee's decision was simply an echo of the atmosphere around them. My decision could not be its echo. For ahimsa is my special *sadhana*, not that of the Congress. I congratulate the members on

their honesty and their courage, though I am sorry for myself that I could not inspire them with confidence in our creed and in my leadership. We have now to show that we have faith in the non-violence of the brave. It does not mean the development of the capacity to go to jail. It means increasing faith in the potency of constructive work to bring about Swaraj, and in constructive work being a vital part of the programme of ahimsa."

Why an Imperfect Man Chosen?

To those who have been saying that, if Gandhiji has failed in perfecting his ahimsa, failure is certain in their case, he had already given the answer. But in the concluding part of the speech he presented another aspect of his imperfection. He said: "In placing civil disobedience before constructive work I was wrong, and I did not profit by the Himalayan blunder that I had committed. I feared that I should estrange my co-workers, and so carried on with imperfect ahimsa. But I am not sorry for my blunders. My imperfections and failures are as much a blessing from God as my successes and my talents, and I lay them both at His feet. Why should He have chosen me, an imperfect instrument, for such a mighty experiment? I think He deliberately did so. He had to serve the poor dumb ignorant millions. A perfect man might have been their despair. When they found that one with their failings was marching on towards ahimsa, they too had confidence in their own capacity. We should not have recognised a perfect man if he had come as our leader, and we might have driven him to a cave. Maybe he who follows me will be more perfect and you will be able to receive his message. Maybe some one of you may be that perfect teacher who is to come."

An Impossible Ideal?

But are we not being driven to philosophical anarchism? Is that not an impossible ideal? These questions were asked by a philosophic friend some months ago, and Gandhiji gave him replies which I think will be useful today.

"Does anyone know true non-violence?" he asked.

Gandhiji immediately replied: "Nobody knows it, for nobody can practise perfect non-violence."

"Then how can it be used in politics?"

"It can be used in politics precisely as it can be used in the domestic sphere. We may not be perfect in our use of it, but we definitely discard the use of violence, and grow from failure to success."

"You would govern non-violently. But all legislation is violence."

"No, not all legislation. Legislation imposed by people upon themselves is non-violence to the extent it is possible in society. A society organised and run on the basis of complete non-violence would be the purest anarchy."

"Do you think it is a realisable ideal?"

"Yes. It is realisable to the extent non-violence is realisable. That State is perfect and

non-violent where the people are governed the least. The nearest approach to purest anarchy would be a democracy based on non-violence. The European democracies are to my mind a negation of democracy."

"Do you think that non-violence or the democracy that you visualise was ever realised in the olden times?"

"I do not know. But if it was not, it only means that we had never made the attempt to realise the highest in us. I have no doubt in my mind that at some stage we were wiser, and that we have to grow wiser than we are today in order to find what beauties are hidden in human nature. Perfect non-violence is impossible so long as we exist physically, for we would want some space at least to occupy. Perfect non-violence whilst you are inhabiting the body is only a theory like Euclid's point or straight line, but we have to endeavour every moment of our lives."

Sevagram, 15-7-40

M. D.

Mysore Justice

After I had sent my note on Shri H. C. Dasappa's case, I received the following from a Bangalore advocate:

"You have now material which is sufficient to give an indication of the independence of the Mysore Judiciary. It is undoubtedly under the control and lead of Sir D'Arcy Reilly. The other Judges in the High Court follow in his footsteps, and no single instance can be recalled when any Puisne Judge of the High Court of Mysore has had the strength to demur to even the excesses committed by the Chief Justice in the language, form and tone of his judgments. The Government, which professes not to interfere with either the High Court or the Judiciary is evidently well satisfied about the Judges of the High Court of Mysore. For a dozen years important judgments have come from the Judges of the High Court which have clearly shown that they have yielded to the pressure of the bureaucracy while professing fear of God and of no man. Probably it is this practical docility that has made the Government Order on Political Reforms in the State silent to the point of being sinister as regards recommendations for the reform of the Judiciary in the State. To cap all comes the pronouncement in Shri H. C. Dasappa's case that 'in this country truth is so often degraded into a political catch-word.' The reference to the country is wide enough in its mischief and implication so as to embrace all people whether Congressmen or others and whether they reside in the States or in British India. What basis had Sir D'Arcy Reilly for such an assumption? And what evidence had he for such a general charge against a whole country? Is it moral on the part of Sir D'Arcy Reilly to condemn Sri H. C. Dasappa and debar him on the ground that he preferred a charge that he could not prove, and do the same thing under a different guise in a judgment?"

My correspondent's complaint is right. But Judges are above all law, at least in Mysore. Like kings they can do no wrong.

Sevagram, 16-7-40

M. K. G.

Harijan

July 21

1940

UNREPENTANT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

By writing that 'Appeal to Every Briton' I have invited upon my head an extra load of work which without God's help I would be ill able to bear. If it is His will that I should shoulder it, He will give me the strength to carry on.

When I decided to confine myself mostly to writing in Gujarati or Hindustani, I had no notion that I would have to write the appeal. It came to me like a flash, and the courage to write it came with it. I had resisted till then all pressure from English and American friends to give guidance. But I could not see my way. Now having addressed that appeal, I must follow up the reactions to it. A large amount of correspondence is pouring in upon me. Save for one angry telegram, I had nothing but friendly criticism from Englishmen and even appreciation from some.

I was grateful to H. E. the Viceroy for forwarding my offer to His Majesty's Government. The correspondence with regard to it, the readers have already seen or will see in this issue. Though no better response to the appeal was to be expected, I cannot help saying that it was the knowledge of the determination to carry the war to a victorious end that had prompted my appeal. No doubt the determination is natural and worthy of the best British tradition. Nevertheless the awful slaughter that the determination involves, should induce a search for a better and braver way to achieve the end. For peace has its victories more glorious than those of war. The non-violent method would have meant no abject surrender. It would have confounded all modern tactics of war, indeed rendered them of no use. The new world order which all dream of would surely have been found. I hold a new order to be impossible if the war is fought to a finish or mutual exhaustion leads to a patched-up peace.

Let me, therefore, examine the argument advanced in a letter received from a friend. Here it is:

"Two English friends who admire you, say your appeal to every Briton cannot have any effect *just now*. It is impossible to expect the man in the street to do a complete *volte face* with any degree of understanding — indeed it is impossible for the understanding to do, as you say, without a *heart-belief* in non-violence. The time to mould a new world on your lines will be *after* the war. They realise your way is the right one, but they say it needs endless preparation and instruction and *big* leadership — none of which they possess. Regarding

India they say the attitude of the present authority is deplorable. Long ago India should have been declared as independent as Canada, and her people should be allowed to work out their own constitution. But what they are extremely perplexed about now is that you want absolute Independence straight away, and the next step you will take is 'no further help to Britain in the prosecution of war, surrender to Germany, and opposition to her by non-violent means.' You must explain what you mean in more detail so as to remove this misunderstanding. This is an honest reaction."

The appeal was intended to produce the effect now. It could not come out of a mathematical calculation. If the conviction could have come, action was an easy matter. The mass mind responds under pressure. That the appeal has not produced the intended result shows that either my word has no power or that God has a purpose of which we have no knowledge. The appeal has come from an anguished heart. I could not suppress it. It was not written for the moment. I am quite sure that it enunciates a truth of eternal value.

If the ground is not prepared from now, there may be no time left after a dismal termination of the war for evolving a new order. Whatever the order, it will be in response to a conscious or unconscious effort from now. Indeed the effort began before my appeal. I hope that it has stimulated it, perhaps given it a definite direction. I suggest to the non-official leaders and moulders of British opinion, if they are convinced of the truth of my position, to work for its adoption. Compared to the big issue raised in my appeal, the question of Indian Independence pales into insignificance. But I hold with the two Englishmen that the British Government's attitude is deplorable. The two friends are wholly wrong in the deduction they have drawn from the assumed recognition of India's Independence. They forget that I am out of the picture. Those who are responsible for the Working Committee's last resolution have meant free India's co-operation with Britain. With them, there is no question of surrender to Germany or non-violent opposition.

But I must not here tarry on Indian Independence and its implications, tempting though the subject is.

The cuttings and correspondence before me say that the Congress rejection of my advice to abstain from preparation for military defence of India precludes me from making the appeal to Britain or from expecting a favourable response. The argument is plausible, but only plausible. The critics say that, if I have failed with my people, I have no right to expect Britain whilst she is in the midst of a life and death struggle to listen to me. I am a man with a mission. India's millions have never tasted the bitters of war as the British have. Britain, if she is to fulfil her declared purpose, needs a radical change in her policy. I feel that I know

the change that is needed. My inability to persuade the Working Committee is irrelevant to the theme under discussion. There is no analogy between India's case and Britain's. I am therefore wholly unrepentant. I maintain that in issuing my appeal I have acted wholly as a lifelong friend of Britain.

A writer, however, retorts: 'Address your appeal to Hitler.' In the first place, I did write to Herr Hitler. My letter was published in the press some time after I addressed it. In the second place, there can be no meaning in my appeal to Herr Hitler to adopt non-violence. He is marching from victory to victory. I can only appeal to him to desist. That I have done. But to Britain, which is just now on the defensive, I can present the really effective weapon of non-violent non-cooperation. Let my method be rejected on merits, not by bringing inapt analogies or untenable argument. The issue raised by me, I venture to think, is of universal importance. The usefulness of the non-violent method seems to be granted by all the critics. They gratuitously assume the impossibility of human nature, as it is constituted, responding to the strain involved in non-violent preparation. But that is begging the question. I say, 'You have never tried the method on any scale. In so far as it has been tried, it has shown promising results.'

Sevagram, 17-7-40

KHANSAHEB'S AHIMSA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the storm that shook most of the members of the Working Committee Khansaheb Abdul Gaffar Khan stood firm as a rock. He had never any doubt about his position, and his statement which I reproduce below should serve as a beacon light to all of us:

"Some recent resolutions of the Congress Working Committee indicate that they are restricting the use of non-violence to the fight for India's freedom against constituted authority. How far and in what manner this will have to be applied in the future I cannot say. The near future will perhaps throw light on this. Meanwhile it is difficult for me to continue in the Congress Working Committee, and I am resigning from it. I should like to make it clear that the non-violence I have believed in and preached to my brethren of the Khudai Khidmatgars is much wider. It affects all our life, and only this has permanent value. Unless we learn this lesson of non-violence fully we shall never do away with the deadly feuds which have been the curse of the people of the Frontier. Since we took to non-violence and the Khudai Khidmatgars pledged themselves to it, we have largely succeeded in ending these feuds. Non-violence has added greatly to the courage of the Pathans. Because they were previously addicted to violence far more than others, they have profited by non-violence much more. We shall never really and effectively defend ourselves except through non-violence. Khudai Khidmatgars must, therefore, be what our name implies — pure servants

of God and humanity — by laying down our own lives and never taking any life."

It is worthy of the Khansaheb and all that he has stood for during the past twenty years. He is a Pathan, and a Pathan may be said to be born with a rifle or sword in his hand. But the Khansaheb deliberately asked his Khudai Khidmatgars to shed all weapons when he asked them to join the satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. He saw that this deliberate giving up of the weapons of violence had a magical effect. It was the only remedy for the blood-feuds which were handed down from sire to son and which had become part of the normal life of a Pathan. They had decimated numerous families, and non-violence seemed to the Khansaheb to have come as a longed-for salvation. The violent blood-feuds would otherwise have no end and would spell the end of the Pathans. He saw as clear as daylight that, if he could persuade his people not to retaliate, the suicidal feuds would cease and the Pathans would be able to give a better account of their bravery. They took up his message, and put into practice what with them became non-violence of the brave.

Being so clear about his own faith and that of the Khudai Khidmatgars, there was for him no escape from resignation of his membership of the Congress Working Committee. His continuing on it would have been anomalous and might have meant an end of his life's work. He could not ask his people to join as recruits in the army and at the same time forget the law of tribal retaliation. The simple Pathan would have argued with him—and the argument would have been irresistible—that the present war was a war of retaliation and revenge, and that there was no difference between it and their blood-feuds.

I do not know how far the Khansaheb has succeeded in carrying his message to his people. This I know that with him non-violence is a matter not of intellectual conviction but of intuitive faith. Nothing can therefore shake it. About his followers he cannot say how far they will adhere to it. But that does not worry him. He has to do his duty which he owes to them. The result he leaves to God. He derives his ahimsa from the Holy Quran. He is a devout Mussalman. During his stay with me for over a year I never saw him miss his Namaz (prayers) or his Ramzan fast except when he was ill. But his devotion to Islam does not mean disrespect for other faiths. He has read the Gita. His reading is slight but selective, and he immediately assimilates what appeals to him. He loathes long argument and does not take long to make up his mind. If he succeeds in his mission, it would mean the solution of many another problem. But the result no one can predict. 'The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.'

Sevagram, 16-7-40

(Adapted from Gujarati)

THE BEST FIELD FOR AHIMSA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Last week I wrote about three fields for the operation of ahimsa. I propose to invite attention today to the fourth and the best field for the operation of non-violence. This is the family field, in a wider sense than the ordinary. Thus members of an institution should be regarded as a family. Non-violence as between the members of such families should be easy to practise. If that fails, it means that we have not developed the capacity for pure non-violence. For the love we have to practise towards our relatives or colleagues in our family or institution, we have to practise towards our foes, dacoits, etc. If we fail in one case, success in the other is a chimera.

We have generally assumed that, though it may not be possible to exercise non-violence in the domestic field, it is possible to do so in the political field. This has proved a pure delusion. We have chosen to describe our methods adopted so far as non-violence, and thus caricatured non-violence itself. If non-violence it was, it was such poor stuff that it proved useless at the critical moment. The alphabet of ahimsa is best learnt in the domestic school, and I can say from experience that, if we secure success there, we are sure to do so everywhere else. For a non-violent person the whole world is one family. He will thus fear none, nor will others fear him.

It will be retorted that those who satisfy such a test of non-violence will be few and far between. It is quite likely, but that is no reply to my proposition. Those who profess to believe in non-violence should know the implications of that belief. And if these scare them away, they are welcome to give up the belief. Now that the Congress Working Committee has made the position clear, it is necessary that those who claim to believe in non-violence should know what is expected of them. If, as a result, the ranks of the non-violent army thin down, it should not matter. An army, however small, of truly non-violent soldiers is likely some day to multiply itself. An army of those who are not truly non-violent is never likely to yield any use whether it increases or decreases.

Let no one understand from the foregoing that a non-violent army is open only to those who strictly enforce in their lives all the implications of non-violence. It is open to all those who accept the implications and make an ever-increasing endeavour to observe them. There never will be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence. For the last fifty years I have striven to make my life increasingly non-violent and to inspire my co-workers in the same direction, and I think I have had a fair amount of success. The growing darkness around, far from damping my zeal and dimming my faith, brightens them, and makes the implications of non-violence more clearly visible to me.

Sevagram, 15-7-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

THE CORRESPONDENCE

The following correspondence between Gandhiji and His Excellency the Viceroy is released for publication:

Gandhiji's letter to Lord Linlithgow dated Delhi, July 3:

"You must have seen in the press my public appeal to every Briton. Nevertheless, for the sake of courtesy, I enclose herewith a copy. You will note the last sentence of my appeal. Will you please convey the contents of it to the proper quarters? The appeal and the offer at the end represent my personal and humble contribution to Britain's cause. It is the best I could give."

Lord Linlithgow's letter to Gandhiji dated Simla, July 10:

"I duly conveyed your letter of July 3 and your appeal to His Majesty's Government. I have now heard from them that with every appreciation of your motives they do not feel that the policy which you advocate is one which it is possible for them to consider, since in common with the whole Empire they are firmly resolved to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion."

The Annual Spinning Sacrifice

Shri Narandas Gandhi has issued his usual appeal for intensive spinning during the 71 days before my seventyfirst birthday. He began this way of celebrating it six years ago with an appeal for 66 thousand yards. Last year he made an appeal for 70 lakhs of yards, and the response was beyond his expectation—over 4 crores of yards of yarn were spun.

I commend his appeal to all. The response to his appeal should increase with my increasing years. If the annual quota of the National School in Rajkot is any index, the response would seem to be on the increase. But the appetite of Daridranarayan is insatiable, and it demands still greater response. It is a Herculean task to liquidate the unemployment and starvation of crores of people. Let me hope that every lover of the wheel will contribute his or her quota to this task and make the sacrifice a worthy one. Let them approach the task intelligently and with a proper regard for its sacredness. Let them, therefore, devote not only more time to spinning, but also endeavour to do it better by keeping all their spinning tackle in proper trim, and thus increasing their speed. If they will watch the revolutions of the spindle and find out the secret of putting up the speed, I am sure that at the end of the sacrifice they will have nearly doubled the speed.

Sevagram, 16-7-40

M. K. G.

(Abridged from Gujarati)

Autobiography

The long awaited one-volume cheaper edition of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. This edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Available at Harijan Office—Poona. 4.

QUESTION BOX

How to Cultivate Ahimsa?

Q. What is the good of your crying 'ahimsa, ahimsa' in season and out of season? Will it by itself teach people to be non-violent? Would it not be better, instead, to tell people how pure ahimsa or the ahimsa of the strong can be cultivated?

A. Yours is a very timely and opportune question. I have attempted before this on more occasions than one to answer it. But my effort has, I confess, been rather desultory. I have not concentrated upon it, or given it the weight I might have. This was all right while I was devoting all my energy to forging means to give battle to the Government. But it had the result of retarding the growth of pure ahimsa, so that today we are not even within ken of the ahimsa of the strong. If we now want to advance further, we ought, at least for some time, to completely forget the idea of offering non-violent resistance to constituted authority. If non-violence in the domestic field is successfully achieved, we shall surely see the non-violence against constituted authority revived in its purified form, and it will be irresistible.

Now that I am no longer in the Congress, I may not offer civil disobedience even in my own person in its name. But I am certainly free to offer civil disobedience in my individual capacity whenever it may be necessary to. No one need suppose that all civil disobedience will necessarily be taboo while the country is still being educated in the ahimsa of the strong. But those who may want to join the non-violent force of my conception should not entertain any immediate prospect of civil disobedience. They should understand that, so long as they have not realized ahimsa in their own person in its pure form, there can be no civil disobedience for them.

Let not the mention of pure ahimsa frighten anybody. If we have a clear conception of it and have a living faith in its matchless efficacy, it will not be found to be so hard to practise as it is sometimes supposed to be. It will be well to remember the immortal Mahabharata verse in this connection. The Seer Poet therein loudly proclaims to the whole world that *Dharma* includes within itself both legitimate *Artha* and *Kāma*, and asks why men do not follow the royal road of *Dharma* that leads to both earthly and spiritual bliss. *Dharma* here does not signify mere observance of externals. It signifies the way of truth and non-violence. The scriptures have given us two immortal maxims. One of these is: "Ahimsa is the supreme Law or *Dharma*." The other is: "There is no other Law or *Dharma* than truth." These two maxims provide us the key to all lawful *Artha* and *Kāma*. Why should we then hesitate to act up to them? Strange as it may appear, the fact remains that people find the easiest of things oftentimes to be the most difficult to follow.

The reason, to borrow a term from the science of physics, lies in our inertia. Physicists tell us that inertia is an essential, and in its own place a most useful, quality of matter. It is that alone which steadies the universe and prevents it from flying off at a tangent. But for it the latter would be a chaos of motion. But inertia becomes an incubus and a vice when it ties the mind down to old ruts. It is this kind of inertia which is responsible for our rooted prejudice that to practise pure ahimsa is difficult. It is up to us to get rid of this incubus. The first step in this direction is firmly to resolve that all untruth and himsa shall hereafter be taboo to us, whatever sacrifice it might seem to involve. For, the good these may seem to achieve is in appearance only, but in reality it is deadly poison. If our resolve is firm and our conviction clear, it would mean half the battle won, and the practice of these two qualities would come comparatively easy to us.

Let us confine ourselves to ahimsa. We have all along regarded the spinning wheel, village crafts, etc. as the pillars of ahimsa, and so indeed they are. They must stand. But we have now to go a step further. A votary of ahimsa will of course base upon non-violence, if he has not already done so, all his relations with his parents, his children, his wife, his servants, his dependants, etc. But the real test will come at the time of political or communal disturbances or under the menace of thieves and dacoits. Mere resolve to lay down one's life under the circumstances is not enough. There must be the necessary qualification for making the sacrifice. If I am a Hindu, I must fraternise with the Mussalmans and the rest. In my dealings with them I may not make any distinction between my co-religionists and those who might belong to a different faith. I would seek opportunities to serve them without any feeling of fear or unnaturalness. The word 'fear' can have no place in the dictionary of ahimsa. Having thus qualified himself by his selfless service, a votary of pure ahimsa will be in a position to make a fit offering of himself in a communal conflagration. Similarly, to meet the menace of thieves and dacoits, he will need to go among, and cultivate friendly relations with, the communities from which thieves and dacoits generally come.

A brilliant example of this kind of work is provided by Ravishanker Maharaj. His work among the criminal tribes in Gujarat has evoked praise even of the Baroda State authorities. There is an almost unlimited field for this kind of work, and it does not call for any other talent in one besides pure love. Ravishanker Maharaj is an utter stranger to English. Even his knowledge of Gujarati is barely sufficient for everyday use. But God has blessed him with unlimited neighbourly love. His simplicity easily wins all hearts, and is the envy of everybody. Let his example provide a cue and inspiration to all

those who may be similarly engaged in other fields of satyagraha.

Sevagram, 16-7-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some Travancoreans have thought I had neglected them. But I had not. It is no pleasure to me to criticise any State. Much of my work is done by negotiation. I criticise when I must. So when I was told by common friends that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar would like to meet me if an opportunity occurred, I stopped all reference to Travancore affairs. But the meeting was not to be. In reply to my inquiry I have the following extraordinary wire from him:

"Have just received your telegram. In view developments in India including your recent statement and resolution of Working Committee with similar aims though different programmes, and also having regard to the close though unacknowledged connection existing between many of the leaders of Travancore State Congress and communist activities which have come to light after arrest of K. C. George, and in view of the openly hostile activities of Mr. T. M. Verghese and of Mr. G. Ramachandran who has been chosen by you to give advice as to Travancore, no useful purpose is likely to be served by any meeting. In these circumstances you are of course free to comment on Travancore affairs, but it is hoped that you will not accept versions furnished by persons who are discredited here and who depend for their influence, collection of funds, and their political existence, on possibility of getting periodical statements from you on one-sided data furnished by them. Most of the leading members of State Congress including Messrs V. K. Velayudhan, M. N. Parameswaran Pillai and others have openly dissociated themselves from State Congress activities. They number over 60."

I fail to see the connection between the Working Committee's resolution and my recent statement on the one hand and Travancore affairs on the other. The Working Committee have not even interested themselves in Travancore affairs. The idea of our meeting did not originate with me. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar thought of it months ago. Even a date was fixed. But owing to a pressing engagement he had to keep, our meeting was postponed. As late as the 3rd of April he had wired saying he was writing to me about the interview. Have the Working Committee's resolution and my statement so altered the situation that our meeting has become undesirable? The other things the worthy Dewan refers to are the very things which would have made our meeting fruitful. He had but to convince me that the State Congress was involved in communist activities of a dangerous nature, and I would have washed my hands clean of the local Congress and its doings. All

communism is not dangerous. I do not know that Shri K. C. George is a communist. I warn the Dewan against being prejudiced by the mere name. I know many friends who delight in calling themselves communists. They are as harmless as a dove. I call myself a communist in their company. The underlying belief of communism is good and as old as the hills. But I have strayed.

If Shri T. M. Verghese and Shri G. Ramachandran are untrustworthy, again our meeting is necessary to convince me of their untrustworthiness. I must confess I have profound admiration for their courage, self-sacrifice, ability and integrity. Shri Ramachandran is an old member of Sabarmati who has never given me cause for distrusting him. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar knows me enough to feel sure that I would not hesitate to own my mistake if I discovered it. It was his duty, as it still is, to make an effort to convince me that the sources of my information are tainted. The extraordinary telegram has made me conclude that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has nothing against the Congress or its members except that they are patriots without reproach and without fear. He hates their philosophy and seeks to crush them. All the evidence in my possession points that way, and the telegram confirms my impression.

I have made an offer which I repeat. Let there be an impartial open inquiry into the whole conduct of the State Congress and its treatment by the State. Let the judge or judges be outsiders of known integrity. I shall advise the State Congress to accept the findings of such a court.

If this simple offer is not accepted, I must be pardoned for rejecting the interested denials by officials of the State Congress allegations and believing them and asking the public to do likewise.

Sevagram, 17-7-40

Handmade Paper

Our purchases and sales of handmade paper for the month of June have amounted to Rs. 2,743-15-3 and Rs. 1,591-1-9 respectively, bringing the total figures of purchases and sales from January 1 to Rs. 11,591-15-9 and Rs. 7,665-3-6 respectively. Rs. 1,069-9-0 have been given for paper-cutting and envelope-making.

Manager, Harijan

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HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, No. 24]

POONA — SUNDAY, JULY 28, 1940

[ONE ANNA SIX PIES

NOTICE

The next issue, to be published on 4th August, will contain twelve pages and will be priced at one anna six pies per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Friday next. *Manager*

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have avoided mention of the tragedy that has overtaken Gokhale's greatest creation. Through the kindness of Pandit Kunzru I was kept informed of every happening while the Society was going through the agony. It was no small matter for the Society to have to expel members or to lose one of its oldest members by resignation. The trouble had been brewing for many months. But the chief members were putting off what to them was the evil day. They tried to bridge differences. They failed. They tried to evolve discipline out of what had almost become a state of anarchy.

The Society has a high ideal. To serve India so as to purify politics and without a selfish motive or the desire to attain power for the sake of it, is itself a noble ideal. Gokhale created a certain standard of conduct and tradition for the Society. Those who could not carry it out obviously should not seek to enter the Society, or on having changed their viewpoint after entering it, should not remain in it. Such was the case with Shri Parulekar and Miss Gokhale. They subscribe to a philosophy which includes advocacy of violence for the redress of wrongs economic, political and other. There was no questioning their ability or their sacrifice. Both are inestimable qualities no doubt. But they were irrelevant to a consideration of conformity to certain tradition or discipline. The quality of the tradition too would be irrelevant to such consideration. So when the Society could not induce these members to resign, it had to perform the very painful duty of expelling them, if the Society was to function as a properly organised body with one purpose and one policy. I know that the President and the other members left no stone unturned to avoid the crisis. They invited the associates to examine the whole situation. The President put himself at their disposal. And it was on their unanimous recommendation that the Society took the final step.

So far as Shri Joshi is concerned it is wrong to say, as has been said, that he was compelled to resign. For valid reasons the President and

the Council thought that he should be transferred from Bombay. Shri Joshi, however, would not move from Bombay, and resigned. And the Society voted a pension and regretfully accepted the resignation. Such is the unvarnished version of the crisis through which the Society has passed. I have felt it a duty to take notice of the incident because there has been unkind criticism and because I consider myself an unofficial and sleeping member of the Society. The reader may not know that immediately after the Chief's death I might have myself become a cause of a grave crisis. My name was suggested for membership. Some members were afraid of my entry as for them, and truly, I was an unknown quantity. As soon as I came to know of differences, I withdrew my name, and everything went off happily. We came closer to one another by this natural restraint. How nice it would have been if Shri Parulekar and Miss Gokhale had followed the example set before them in 1915! If they have the welfare of the Society at heart, they could serve it in a variety of ways in matters in which they have no differences of opinion.

Sevagram, 22-7-40

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

One More Faction ?

Q. Does not the resolution of the Working Committee mean that it adds one more to the existing factions ?

A. I do not think there is room for such a fear or doubt. Let us see what happens in the A. I. C. C. If it is found that a large majority of the members are believers in strict non-violence I have no doubt that Sardar Vallabhbhai and others will be extremely delighted. It was no pleasure to them to arrive at the decision they did, and they acted in their representative capacity. They acted in the belief that there were very few Congressmen with a genuine faith in non-violence, and they had sufficient reasons for their belief. Had it been a question of their individual belief, I am sure they would have unhesitatingly voted for non-violence. Assuming, therefore, that the truly non-violent are in a minority, it will be their duty to leave the Congress and thus serve the Congress all the better. Their continuance in the Congress would lead to friction, for the majority would, in carrying out their policy, have to adopt many resolutions which the followers of out and out

non-violence could not accept. That would lead to clashes which should be anything but non-violence. The out and out non-violent, therefore, will gladly retire and devote themselves exclusively to constructive work. They will also co-operate with the Congress wherever they can do so without a clash, and yet they will not think of being in any committee. I am firmly of opinion that, if we can bring into being an army of truly non-violent persons, the Working Committee's decision will be found to be a blessing in disguise. If every province has its band of truly non-violent soldiers, they will not only add to the glory of the Congress but contribute effectively to bringing the Congress nearer to non-violence than ever before.

What Else Besides Spinning ?

Q. What work besides spinning can an active satyagrahi do in cities, especially in Bombay?

A. I shall reply to your question by a cross-question. Why do you want anything else besides spinning? If you have no interest in spinning, you can be no satyagrahi, active or passive. For all satyagraha presupposes the qualification of spinning, and this has been before the country for twenty years. You can, therefore, do no better than give all your spare time to spinning. Do it in a scientific way. If there is no room for a spinning wheel, you can ply the takli. A way has now been devised for easily increasing the speed on the takli. It costs a trifle, and it can be plied in any little corner of the house. If you are not doing your own carding, you must do so now. You may have no space for a carding bow in your room. You should in that case card according to the Andhra method adapted by Vinoba. If you can interest yourself in this, it will add considerably to your useful knowledge. When you come to think of the romance of cotton, you will get out of it an interest the best novel cannot give you, and you will probably discover the solution of the problem of Indian poverty. Therefore, if you want to be a true satyagrahi, if you want to cultivate true ahimsa, I would suggest to you spinning and nothing but spinning, no matter where you may be. Take it from me that without sacrificial spinning non-violent Swaraj is impossible.

But if you have enough time on your hands and you are already doing all the spinning that would satisfy me, and if you are longing to do some additional act of service, I can suggest quite a number of things. For instance, there is Harijan service. Try to enter Harijans' life, go and stay in Harijan quarters, teach them, nurse those who are ill, show them the ways and means of improving their economic condition. All this offers a wide field of work. Thakkar Bapa is now going to spend a lot of time in Bombay. Go and seek his guidance.

Then I would ask you to cultivate disinterested friendship of the Mussalmans. It is likely that you do not even know your next-door neighbours. Make their acquaintance and try to render what

service you can to them. If you do not know those of other faiths, try to cultivate acquaintance with them. Your contacts will be the test of your broad-mindedness.

Then you can help in the khadi propaganda. Go to Kakubhai of the main Khadi Bhandar in Bombay and ask him if he can utilise your services for khadi-hawking and similar work.

These are but a few samples. The field of service is limitless. In a city like Bombay, especially, the mountain of service is so immense that you can never compass it.

Do Not Judge

Q. Many Congressmen in Bombay have joined the Congress for the sake of offices. They never spin. Some have spinning wheels in their homes just for show. What about this?

A. Do not judge others. Be your own judge and you will be truly happy. If you will try to judge others, you are likely to burn your fingers. If I were secretary of a Congress committee, I should see that those who do not observe discipline are struck off the Congress register.

May Harijans Enlist as Recruits ?

Q. I am a Harijan sevak. I believe in military training. May I encourage Harijans to enlist as recruits? Those who join the army are rid of fear and untouchability and learn self-respect. What is your advice?

A. You have gone to the wrong man with this question. You know that I do not believe in military training. Nor do I believe with you that Harijans who join the army are so suddenly transformed. But I should not make an attempt to dissuade those Harijans who voluntarily want to enlist as recruits. If sons of the well-to-do go in for military training and if Harijans would like to follow their example, how can I prevent them? It is a difficult thing any day to teach the lesson of ahimsa. How can one inculcate ahimsa to those who are doubly suppressed? The wonder to me is that even among the suppressed there are some Harijans who have truly learnt the lesson of ahimsa.

Chivalry v. Duty

Q. You have decided not to launch civil disobedience in order that you may not embarrass the British when they are engaged in a life and death struggle. Don't you think this chivalry is misplaced, and that you are failing in your duty to carry on the fight for Swaraj?

A. I do not think so. If I were to launch civil disobedience, my ahimsa would be at fault, and the disobedience would cease to be civil. I should never think of reaping Swaraj out of British defeat. It would be anything but chivalry. Mine is, therefore, not misplaced. Chivalry is a vital part of ahimsa. Ahimsa without it is lame, it cannot work.

Implications of Untouchability

Q. In satyagraha camps there often crops up the question of the implications of untouchability. In Bihar this certainly is the case. If abolition of untouchability consists simply in

touching the Harijans, untouchability does not exist in Bihar. But if it includes letting the Harijans use your water pot and exchange water with non-Harijans, if it includes interdining and allowing them to enter your dining room and kitchen, even Congressmen are not free from this untouchability. What do you say to this?

A. Abolition of untouchability in me will be really achieved only when I behave towards Harijans as I should towards my own kith and kin. There is no untouchability today in Congress kitchens. And so if Congressmen in Bihar observe untouchability as regards eating, I should be disagreeably surprised. Believe me that Swaraj will be delayed in proportion to our failure and half-heartedness in carrying out the different items of the constructive programme. It is impossible to attain Swaraj non-violently unless there is self-purification. I do not often use this word nowadays, but it is there in an important Congress resolution. It has been a vital part of Congress politics since 1920. Letters of the late Pandit Motilalji and other leaders, written during that period, are worth perusal. Their lives had undergone a conversion. Have we descended from that high pedestal?

Donation of Tainted Money

Q. Supposing a man has earned millions by exploiting millions of his poor brethren and made a gift of them to a Mahatma like you, and supposing you use that money for the benefit of humanity, is the exploiter absolved from sin? Does not some blame attach to you too for having accepted this ill-gotten wealth? How can one remain blameless in this unending vicious circle? How is ahimsa to cope with this immoral exploitation?

A. Let us assume for the purpose of this riddle that I am really a Mahatma, and then try to solve it. The gift of what you assume to be ill-gotten gains cannot lessen the guilt of the exploiter. If he had kept the money for himself, that would have been an additional count against him. If instead he makes a gift of it to me from pure motives, he escapes the additional sin. It is also likely that a good use of his gift may wean the exploiter from immoral means of making money. But no blame attaches to me for having accepted the gift. As the foul waters from drains flowing into the sea partake of its purity, even so does tainted wealth become pure when put to the purest use. There is one condition, however, that we have assumed, viz. that the gift is made and accepted out of pure motives.

Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-cooperate with their exploiters. That will convert the exploiters also. I have even suggested that ultimately it will lead to both being equal partners. Capital as such is not evil; it is its wrong use that is evil. Capital in some form or other will always be needed.

A Flaw in Ahimsa

Q. You have appealed to Britons to lay down arms and to adopt non-violence. But that raises a moral difficulty. A's ahimsa provokes B to himsa and makes him impervious to appeal to his heart. If a non-violent man comes up against an inanimate thing, his non-violence will have no effect on it. There is, therefore, some flaw somewhere in your belief. It is likely that ahimsa may have success in a restricted field. If so, what use is it for universal purposes? Your claim, therefore, of its universal use falls to the ground.

A. Ahimsa cannot be dismissed so lightly as you think. Ahimsa is the strongest force known. But if all can use the strongest force with equal ease, it would lose its importance. We have not been able yet to discover the true measure of the innumerable properties of an article of daily use like water. Some of its properties fill us with wonder. Let us not, therefore, make light of a force of the subtlest kind like ahimsa, and let us try to discover its hidden power with patience and faith. Within a brief space of time we have carried to a fairly successful conclusion a great experiment in the use of this force. As you know I have not set much store by it. Indeed I have hesitated even to call it an experiment in ahimsa. But according to the legend, as Rama's name was enough to float stones, even so the movement carried on in the name of ahimsa brought about a great awakening in the country and carried us ahead. It is difficult to forecast the possibilities when men with unflinching faith carry this experiment further forward. To say that those who use violence are all insensible is an exaggeration. Some do seem to lose their senses, but we are bound to be mistaken if we try to base a moral law on those exceptions. The safest course is to lay down laws on the strength of our usual experience, and our usual experience is that in most cases non-violence is the real antidote of violence, and it is safe to infer from it that the highest violence can be met by the highest non-violence.

But let us consider for a moment inanimate objects. He will surely break his head who strikes it against a stone. But supposing a stone comes against us through space, we can escape it by stepping aside, or if there is nowhere to step aside, we can bravely stay where we are and receive the stone. That will mean minimum injury and, in case it proves fatal, the death will not be as painful as it would be if we made an effort to ward it off.

Extend the thought a little further, and it is easy to see that, if a senseless man is left alone and no one tries to resist him, he is sure to exhaust himself. Indeed it is not quite inconceivable that the loving sacrifice of many may bring an insane man to his senses. Instances are not wanting of absolutely insane people having come back to their senses.

Sevagram, 22-7-40 (*Translated from Gujarati*)

OPEN LETTER

Muttra, India

July 17, 1940

My Dear Gandhiji,

After all these months of hopeful expectancy and suspense my Missionary Board has at last cabled: "Your missionary effectiveness seriously impaired, making necessary with regret immediate recall."

I had already contemplated writing you about your recent stand, and now that the scene of our little part in the coming "War without Violence" is about to change from India to the United States, I wish more than ever to do so. We are accepting it as God's closing of one door and the opening of another. We are content to trust His judgment as to the "effectiveness" of our work here or there. The present world is not in the mood to judge effectiveness. As the great Lowell expressed it,

"We see dimly in the present what is small and what is great,

Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate."

I am still hoping and praying daily that Congress may see that its supreme opportunity is not to win a doubtful political victory over a foe but, in an hour like this, to win the lasting friendship of all who love liberty, in England and in all the world, by revealing the only adequate zeal for India's defence or defence of democracy in the world—the *non-violent war to the finish against the whole structure of man's inhumanity to man*. The combined might of India, building a third-rate military force, can at best but become the sport of force-mad and damnably efficient international gangsters. But defence committees and those who know no better way should not be discouraged. What I do mean is that, at the same time, those who understand and love peace should build up a non-violent defence force for the precise purpose for which military force is being established. Like the military forces, these should also be non-political and voluntary. Besides being negatively harmless to the interests of the Defence of India, such a force should at the very outset place itself at the disposal of the Government for the purpose either of defence or offence against all the foes of liberty in India or elsewhere, as the non-violent army of India. The great hope should be that such an army would lead directly and speedily to the organization of a vast Peace Army for the whole world. I believe that there are hundreds in every land ready to flock to the standards of such an army. Governments will soon be in a mood to trust a force that has already in many ways revealed itself as unconquerable. The need is urgent.

I think that this war has already revealed that armed force cannot defend even the institutions of democracy without first nullifying them and second destroying them. Further, the very strongest military defence force in the world has not been able to make its nation secure in this war-mad world. I am convinced that a non-violent war against all aggression, the economic as well as the political, not only will prove more effective than all the armies

but can very rapidly be made available, if the non-violent of the world will but put their minds and hearts to the matter. It matters not that they are few. The first step is to approach the Viceroy for his "Godspeed" to the movement. I believe it will be readily forthcoming.

Is there any other way that the priceless treasures of civilization can be preserved? Military force cannot save democracy because violence, even without being overt, is the way to democracy's demise. When it becomes overt the process is but hastened. Because present Western society is actually organized around violence, not only is war inevitable, but democracy had, before the outbreak of war, only a hollow pretence of life. The violent society and its democracy were incompatibles. Two ways have been found out of this. The laying down of democratic institutions, *Fascism*, and the laying down of violent organization, *Communism*. But violent organization could not be laid down with violent methods. The result is that communism neither trusts life nor serves it at its highest. It remains for the better way of *Love for Life* to show that these priceless treasures of civilization, liberty, equality of opportunity, justice and brotherhood can be re-established. The world's task is far more than preserving this liberty. It is the task of re-establishing liberties already dead in most of the world, the task of bringing them out of our mouldy parchments and enshrining them again within our hearts. We cannot at the same time defend our liberties and defend our comfort and privileges. Defending liberties means essentially surrendering all advantages over other people. Until we will do that, we cannot say our struggle is sincere.

Traditional democracy theoretically reserved the right of violent rebellion to aggrieved people whose will was no longer represented in their government. But pure democracy must repudiate the violence, while reserving the right of rebellion. This is because violence, however employed, is the antithesis of democracy, and cannot be indulged in without at least temporary extinction. But non-violent resistance to the foes of democracy, on the other hand, can release the democratic spirit of mutual trust in friend and foe alike. This has already been revealed again and again in the non-violent warfare waged in the interest of the national cause in India. As long as the development of abolition in the United States remained non-violent, as it did between 1830 and 1844 under a great saint, Theodore Dwight Weld, there was always a liberal show of conversions among slave-holders of the South. Further than that it is interesting to know that historically neither the freedom of the first thirteen colonies, nor that of the American negro, was actually won by war. The war of rebellion only served to sever a connection. There followed twentyfive years of worse slavery than they had ever known and actual border bloodshed. The way of freedom was a way of non-violent constitutional advance, most remote from the method of war. War had only produced confusion, strife and chaos. The pertinent question about that war is: Could that connection have been severed in a better way to have avoided all that misery of a full quarter of a

century. I believe that it could, had that way been known. As for the American negro, he is still not yet free. Such freedom as he now knows has been wrought out since the Civil War, in the conquest of non-violence over the violence in human hearts, of both North and South. The most unyielding foe this non-violence has had to face in all the years since has been the bitter spirit of violence created by defeat in war on one side and a towering desire for revenge on the other, so intense it put the great Lincoln to death because he sought the way of reconciliation. I do not think there is a single instance in history where defensive war has ever *settled* the problems for which the defenders have supposed they fought. But Denmark, on the other hand, is the supreme illustration of a nation setting itself on the road to liberty by the deliberate repudiation of the "glory" of imperial conquest or defence of integrity.

Kristagraba has already taken its unequivocal stand for the non-violence of Christ its Master, in its two manifestos. It will perhaps be reviewing its stand shortly in order to make its present position fully clear in the face of the new turn of events, though that may seem unnecessary. Many missionaries have recently received copies of Memorandum A, under which all non-British missionaries serve in India. It was a surprise to most of them to note that the Government had provided for them to "influence" politics in the interest of assisting in the preservation of the nation's security and well-being. Here then, I believe, is the supreme opportunity for Christian lovers of freedom, missionary and non-missionary, to serve their nation and the world while adhering to their Master's injunction not to take up the sword. I can only say for myself that I am prepared to surrender fully to this great cause, and do hereby pledge to follow your leadership if you decide to launch the Satyagraha Army of the World. I do this because I believe it is the only way that the real aggression can ever be uprooted from its soil in mankind's unbrotherliness and the world established on a basis of justice, equality and peace.

Whatever the ardent supporters of armed defence maintain about the need to resist aggression or all other foes of liberty, is true. I would not say to them, "Do not resist." I would say, "Resist with the only finally effective method." Both violence and non-violence are methods only because overt. Both are in reality something more psychological, inner, more entrenched and serious. Violence is "method" only because thought has found expression in its deed. But it is first the thought that has divided brother from brother. So also non-violence is method only when thought has found expression in its deed. But it is first and always essentially the thought that unites brother to brother, even to enemy! Democracy is but a part of this essential non-violence. Non-violence is, therefore, the only possible answer to the violent structure of our present world. If this organized structure of violence in thought and life is not conquered, its violent deed, war, can never end. This means an end of the present social system so far as it is possible within it for anyone

to secure and maintain advantage or superiority of opportunity. It is because these are the exact opposite of democracy. The strange thing about this age is that there are people who cannot see this truth that you cannot have democracy and aristocracy in the same place.

The war in 1914-18 produced the war (its continuation) in 1939 following. That sequence in events is inevitable so long as the non-violent war against this violence in the present structure of man's thought and life is not carried to its ultimate victory. Like domestic slavery of the last century, this entrenched evil must be completely uprooted, whatever the accompanying convulsions. Most of us will not live to see the day of that final victory. It is for us all to do that which God calls us to do in our own day. We can all pray: "I do not ask to see the distant scene; one step enough for me." We can well stake our future, our security and our lives in this *War without Violence*; for without it there will remain no civilization worth the name.

I can see no hope whatever in the way the United States and England have so far taken. The war of 1940 will never be won. Chaos can win over order, barbarity over civilization, autocracy over democracy, darkness over light, and violence over goodwill. That has already transpired over a large part of the world and is fast coming in the rest. But generous application of goodwill can still arrest this in every part, especially when men in large numbers are ready to lay down their lives for the Truth that is in them. They can reveal that the "Spirit-Dawn" has already broken in the darkness of the world's present despair.

I pray that God may lead you in His own way. You have countless friends encircling our earth. Through the instrumentality of non-violent resistance to the mountainous lovelessness and stupidity of our age, the way may yet open into the new day and a peace of full justice prevail among the nations.

With the deepest appreciation of your single-minded devotion to Truth, and with the sincerest affection, I am

Yours for the World Satyagraha Army,

Ralph T. Templin

[I gladly publish this letter. Mr. Templin represents a growing number of Western satyagrahis. There are just two reflections arising out of this letter. I wish to say that Denmark's is not an illustration of non-violent action. It was most probably the most prudent course to adopt. When armed resistance is vain, it is folly to spill blood. The second is that I do not expect to lead any satyagraha army of the world. So far as I can see at present, every country will have to work out its own programme. Simultaneous action is possible.

Sevagram, 23-7-40

M. K. G.]

The Power of Non-violence by Richard B. Gregg.
Rs. 2+7 As.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0.
Postage 8 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4.

Harijan

July 28

1940

NOT QUITE SO BAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend quotes from a letter received from an English friend:

"Do you think that Mahatma's appeal to every Briton is going to produce right reactions in the mind or heart of a single Briton? That appeal has probably created more ill-will than anything else recently. We live in astonishing and critical times, and it is frightfully difficult to decide what should be done. At any rate we should try to avoid obvious dangers. So far as I can see, Mahatma's unadulterated policy must inevitably lead to disaster for India. How far he himself intends following it I do not know, for he has a wonderful way of adapting himself to his material."

Well, I happen to know that many more than one single heart have been touched by my 'Appeal to Every Briton'. I know that many English friends were anxious for me to take some such step. But I do not want to take comfort from the approbation, however pleasing in itself, of English friends. What is of value for me is to know that at least one Englishman thinks as stated in the extract. Such knowledge should put me on my guard. It should make me more careful, if possible, in the selection of the words I use to express my thought. But no displeasure even of the dearest friends can put me off the duty I see clearly in front of me. And this duty of making the Appeal was so peremptory that it was impossible for me to put it off. As certain as I am writing this, the world has to come to the state to which I have invited Britain. Those who will be witnesses of that happy and not far-off event will recall my Appeal with gladness. I know that the Appeal has hastened its advent.

Why should a single Briton resent an appeal to him to be braver than he is, to be better than he is in every respect? He may plead inability, but he cannot be displeased by an appeal to his nobler nature.

Why should the Appeal breed any ill-will at all? There is no cause given for it by the manner or the matter of the Appeal. I have not advised cessation of fight. I have advised lifting it to a plane worthy of human nature, of the divinity man shares with God Himself. If the hidden meaning of the remarks is that by making the Appeal I have strengthened Nazi hands, the suggestion does not bear scrutiny. Herr Hitler can only be confounded by the adoption by Britain of the novel method of fighting. At one single stroke he will find that all his tremendous armament has been put out of action. A warrior lives on his wars whether offensive

or defensive. He suffers a collapse if he finds that his warring capacity is unwanted.

My Appeal is not from a coward to brave people to shed their bravery, nor is it a mockery from a fair-weather friend to one in distress. I suggest to the writer to re-read my Appeal in the light of my explanation.

One thing Herr Hitler, as every critic, may say. I am a fool without any knowledge of the world or human nature. That would be a harmless certificate which need excite neither ill-will nor anger. It would be harmless because I have earned such certificates before now. This one would be the latest of the many editions, and I hope not the last, for my foolish experiments have not yet ended.

So far as India is concerned, my unadulterated policy can never harm her, if she adopts it. If India as a whole rejects it, there can be no harm accruing except to those who may foolishly pursue it. The correspondent has lighted upon my strong point when he says: "Mahatma has a wonderful way of adapting himself to his material." My instinctive knowledge of my material has given me a faith which cannot be moved. I feel within me that the material is ready. My instinct has not betrayed me once. But I must not build much upon past experience. "One step enough for me."

Sevagram, 24-7-40

A WORTHY EDUCATIONAL EFFORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Birla family have been running an institution called the Birla College at Pilani in Jaipur State. I have been often asked to visit it, but in spite of my keen desire to do so I have never been able to find time for it. Thakkar Bapa visited the institution and gave me a glowing account and pressed me to visit it. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla has now issued a booklet to acquaint the public about the origin and growth of the institution. The object is to invite criticism and to present the public with its novel features, maybe for adoption. The writer has lavished on the booklet all his art of writing, aided by fine printing, beautiful illustrations alluringly arranged, making the whole thing very attractive. For two months Mahadev waited for a suitable opportunity to place it before me, and imagining that I should have some spare time on our journey to Simla he ventured to give it to me on the train. The moment I took it up to read, it gripped me. It is a quarto size booklet of 47 pages, and I could not give it up until I had read it from cover to cover. I would ask all interested in education to write for it to the Secretary of the Birla College, Pilani.

A brief history of the enterprise may be given here. The institution has grown out of a small school called Birla Pathshala opened 40 years ago in an insignificant little building. Now it is a big institution with an Intermediate College,

splendid buildings for school, college and hostels, and vast playgrounds. It has 33 staff quarters, and 5 hostels accommodating 295 students (including 27 Harijans). There are 18 playgrounds, a library with 3,608 Hindi and 6,772 English books. There is a high school with 791 boys, a college with 165 boys, and a girls' school with 157 girls. The Birla Educational Trust runs besides 128 village schools with 4,636 boys and 200 girls. Physical instruction and games are compulsory, and so is music. There is an agricultural farm with a dairy on modern lines. Among the crafts and vocations taught are spinning and weaving, carpentry, tailoring, dyeing, printing, book-binding, weaving, carpet-making, shoe-making and leatherwork. The agricultural farm and dairy have numerous cows, sheep and goats. The basic education scheme is also being given a trial. Hardly anything has escaped the attention of those in charge—prayer, intellectual and industrial training, balanced diet, health examination, and health preservation. An endeavour is made to develop individual contact between the students and teachers on a family basis.

The whole institution has grown out of Seth Shivnarayanji Birla's desire to provide for the education of his two grandsons Rameshwardas and Ghanshyamdas. He did not like the provision to be confined to the needs of his grandsons, and so he established a school in 1900 with a village teacher on Rs. 5 a month for all the children of the village. This was called the Birla Pathshala — the seed out of which has grown the vast tree that the institution now has become. It combines family interests with philanthropy which has now become a distinctive trait of the Birla brothers. But Ghanshyamdas, of all the brothers, made a special interest of education, health and kindred topics, and the growth of the institution at Pilani is mainly due to his perseverance, resourcefulness, and interest in education. Sir Maurice Gwyer and other distinguished people have visited the institution and spoken in high terms about it. Ghanshyamdasji's ambition is to make a Degree College of the Intermediate College, and he has been trying to do so for some years. But things move slowly in Princes' India, and so his ambition still remains unfulfilled. It is hoped that the Jaipur State will lose no time in encouraging this worthy enterprise and accord permission to turn it into a full-fledged college. In my opinion there are few institutions in India run with such care and attention. If we assume the necessity for modern colleges, the Birla college has succeeded in combining several features which are scarcely to be seen elsewhere in India.

Sevagram, 15-7-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

Autobiography

The long awaited one-volume cheaper edition of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4.

TWO JUST COMPLAINTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

Right of Translation

A Calcutta telegram protests against the reservation of copyright in translations of my Gujarati articles, saying that my articles are the property of the nation and therefore there could be no copyright in them, and that I myself had taught that Hindustani was the *lingua franca* of India, and that I should therefore reconsider my decision. This grievance appears on the face of it to be just. But it is forgotten that I have prohibited translation from Gujarati into all other languages. Experience had taught me that English translations of my articles written in any Indian languages were faulty, but it would not have been proper to confine the copyright to translations into English. All important Gujarati articles would be translated simultaneously into English and Hindustani and published almost the same time. There is, therefore, no hardship involved, for there is no copyright in the translated articles which can be and are being reproduced.

My object was clear and unexceptionable. If I wanted to enter the hearts of the Indian masses, I should write in an Indian language, and that language could be no other than that in which I could write with the greatest ease. If I had the same command over Hindustani as over Gujarati, I should have written only in Hindustani.

II

Are Gujaratis More Non-violent?

The other complaint is this:

"You could not have begun to write in Gujarati out of your partiality for Gujarat, but it would seem as though you believed that you would be able to influence the Gujaratis more quickly than others. That is to say, you have assumed that they are more non-violent than others. I doubt that they are. You may have more workers in Gujarat, but you do not seem to have a greater hold on the Gujarati than on other masses. Belief in non-violence, you have always emphasised, presupposes removal of untouchability and universalisation of khadi. Now I suggest that no other province in India has the curse of untouchability to the extent that one finds in your Gujarat, especially your beloved Kathiawad. Indeed we have heard you have expressed this opinion. Again according to you khadi fares no better there. Gujarat is the seat of the textile industry. I admit that the large number of workers in Gujarat are all khadi-lovers and they have all personally shed untouchability. But my complaint is against the masses in Gujarat. Where the masses are not ready, what hope is there of your influencing them more than others? Why not, therefore, address the Indian masses in your imperfect Hindustani than in your more perfect Gujarati? For the number of Hindustani-knowing masses is much larger than the Gujaratis, and I make bold to say that your influence on them is certainly the same as on the Gujaratis, if not even greater."

This complaint is couched in sweet Hindustani and made in all sincerity. I have summarised it in my own words. The correspondent will, I hope, admit that in doing so I have not only not been unfair to him, but have even put his argument more forcefully. This I have done with a purpose as my reply to him will reveal.

I claim that consciousness on my part of my belonging to Gujarat has never meant any exclusiveness. I have always believed and described myself as an Indian. When I went to South Africa I found that there were divisions among our countrymen into Tamils, Telugus and Gujaratis. Immediately on my landing I abolished the divisions. For myself I knew that all the immigrants from India were Indians, and that provincial or religious divisions between them were improper. It was true that they belonged to different provinces and to different faiths and that they spoke different languages, but all belonged to the same country, all had the same joys and sorrows, and all were under the same alien rule. Besides even the people of the country where they had gone did not know and did not recognise the distinctions of caste, religion, language or province. To them we were all Indians, all coolies, all *samis*, and all to be governed by the same law. We have ceased to be called coolies and *samis*, but we have not ceased to be Indians. Thus alike by temperament and from experience I have been against these divisions, as I think everyone should be.

Nevertheless when I begin to think in terms of the talents God has given me and of the use I should make of them for the service of the motherland, I cannot afford to ignore the province of my birth. As Gujarati is my mother-tongue and as I know the Gujaratis more intimately, I could serve India best through Gujarat and the Gujarati language. It was this consideration that was at the back of the choice of Gujarat as my place of abode on my return from South Africa. But I deliberately did not choose Porbandar or Rajkot, though I had invitations from and facilities in both the places. For I had ceased to belong to Porbandar and Rajkot, ceased to belong to my caste. My choice has been proved to be cent per cent right. It could not be otherwise, as I believe that my footsteps are guided by God, and all my life is based on this belief.

If the argument presented above appeals to the reader and to the co-worker who has made the complaint in question, I need not labour it any more. But something more I must say for the sake of the work I want from Gujarat and from the other provinces of India.

I do not enjoy elsewhere the same intimacy and extent of contact as I do with the Gujarati workers. And so if I succeed with them, I should have confidence regarding the rest of India. Some of them believe that I should again fix up my abode in Gujarat, but I do not think so. If I stayed in their midst, they would lose

initiative, and cease to work independently. They have a tried leader like the Sardar to guide them at every step, and I feel that if I stayed in Gujarat my talents would not be put to the fullest possible use. It is God who has guided my steps to Sevagram. It may be a difficult field of work. If it is, surely I may not shirk it. Stay in Sevagram has taught me, is teaching me, a lot that is new. If I can be one with its six hundred souls, if I can engage them in constructive work and in the necessary work of reform, and if I can easily make a satyagrahi army of them, I should discover the key to do the same work in the whole of India. If I chose a big city, I should get lost, puzzled and perplexed. Much of what has been done and planned in Sevagram has been done from the point of view of India. It is, therefore, but meet that I must deliver my message through Sevagram and in Gujarati.

There is one fact which can upset the plan of burying myself in Sevagram. The Khansaheb can summon me to his province whenever he likes for his work, which indeed is also my work. If he succeeds in expressing real ahimsa, I firmly believe that the whole country can succeed. For the experiment there is out and out that of non-violence of the brave. God alone knows whether it will or will not succeed. This I know that wherever I go I will do His work. I regard the winning of Indian Independence by non-violent means as God's own work, and if that is achieved, the whole world would be saved from being drowned in a sea of bloodshed.

The reader will now see that I am prompted by partiality for neither Gujarat nor anything else. If there is any partiality, it is for TRUTH and NON-VIOLENCE. It is through these that I can have some glimpse of God. Truth and non-violence are my God. They are the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

My co-worker's complaint is true that in the abolition of untouchability and in love of khadi Gujarat lags behind other provinces. But that does not mean that I should leave Gujarat alone. If these two items cannot be accomplished in Gujarat, Gujarat will be an obstacle to the Independence of India. If I can inspire the Gujaratis to lay down their lives for the abolition of the curses of untouchability and unemployment, what a glorious thing it would be! It would be a sight for all India to see and copy. Hindu-Muslim troubles would automatically come to an end, for the moment we cast out untouchability from our hearts Hindu-Muslim unity will be an accomplished fact and many another good thing would follow as a matter of course.

All this is only a dream today. But it is in order to realise that dream that I have undertaken in my old age this Gujarati enterprise. If it is God's will thus to take work from me, age will be no bar.

Sevagram, 22-7-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the hope of having a talk with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and possibly arriving at some way out of the impasse, I was suppressing the manifestos sent to me by succeeding acting Presidents. The last received was from Shri Achuthan, a Harijan advocate, about the last week of June. From the manifesto I extract only statements of facts, omitting as far as possible all argument and inferences:

"Processions and meetings have been violently broken up by the special police and the ordinary police without even the semblance of prohibitory orders. To quote from the speech of Shri K. Santhanam M. L. A. (Central) which he delivered at Madras after a brief visit to Travancore, he said: 'My impression is there is police raj in Travancore. No one could speak with any sense of security or discuss matters even with friends. The Government appear determined not to allow any discussion on responsible government, and are willing to resort to any methods to prevent it. All normal channels of public expression have been stopped.'"

Repression has worked ruthlessly along three main lines: 1 Legal terrorism, 2 Police terrorism, 3 Complete muzzling of the Press.

1. Legal terrorism has taken the shape of 'the Defence of Travancore Proclamation'. It is not the actual number of those arrested and detained for indefinite periods under this Act, but the threat of it against every man and woman with any active sympathy towards the State Congress that has created a grave situation. Several people have been arrested under this Act and then let off, just to show that the authorities can do anything with anybody. Many important leaders have been imprisoned under this Act without trial and for indefinite periods.

2. Police terrorism has meant more than what will be ordinarily understood by that term. In Travancore it has meant more than the forcible dispersal of processions and meetings. It has meant secret as well as open goondaism by what are called the special police who wear no uniforms and who get only Rs. 5 a month. This body of special police contains in many cases the worst rowdies and drunkards in various localities. Their special business is to quietly mix with the crowds and start sudden goondaism. It has become physically impossible to hold any decent meeting or procession or demonstration in the face of such goondaism. In Neyyattinkara, Alleppey, Palai, Karunagapilly and many other places such goondaism has appeared openly.

3. Muzzling of the Press. No doubt there are several papers in Travancore which appear regularly. Not one of them would publish reports or news of State Congress meetings and demonstrations. Statements issued by Acting Presidents of the State Congress or by State Congress leaders never appear in them. In many cases people in one part of the State never knew anything of what happened in another part except from news appearing in the

English papers at Madras. This was proved when police frightfulness occurred in Neyyattinkara and Palai.

But the Travancore Government did not rest content with the above items of repression. Every officer from the highest to the lowest went about the country treating every State Congressman or sympathiser not merely as one belonging to a disturbing political party but as an enemy to be hunted down by every means in their power. Another severe trial for those engaged in the struggle has been police violence in lock-ups. Volunteers who are under arrest and awaiting trial are mercilessly beaten and very often discharged after several weeks of detention without trial.

Every time State Congress leaders published allegations against the Travancore police, the Government as often came out with categorical and wholesale denials. But Shri G. Ramachandran's specific allegations regarding police terrorism at Neyyattinkara and Palai published in *The Hindu* of Madras supported by unimpeachable data have at last compelled the Government to order an official enquiry. It is significant that the enquiry has been ordered long after the Government had published categorical and wholesale denials of the allegation! The public are still awaiting the findings of the enquiry.

The most disquieting development in the present situation has yet to be related. This is the direct and open encouragement given to the various communal organisations in Travancore by the authorities including the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar himself. At one time Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar used to say that it was the presence of various communal organisations in Travancore which prevented him from inaugurating any scheme of responsible Government in Travancore. But today his policy clearly appears to be to encourage each and every communal organisation to develop along separate lines and thus make political unity impossible. Officers of Government including the Dewan take part in meetings of the various communal organisations. Lovers of Travancore know that, if this process is allowed to continue, Travancore will soon become a battle ground for the various communal organisations."

I know that there will be an official contradiction. I have already suggested that such contradictions can have no value unless they are backed by a definite promise of an impartial inquiry. Officials stake nothing when they issue unprovable contradictions, whereas State Congress Presidents stake their liberty and the prestige of their institution when they make rash statements.

The balance of probability, therefore, must be in their favour. The quotation given by Shri Achuthan from Shri Santhanam's speech in his support is not to be lightly brushed aside.

I sent a copy of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's wire to Shri Ramachandran. He sends a comment from which I take the following:

"I can show that our Working Committee kept 'communist tendencies' clearly and absolutely out of the struggle. Mr. K. C. George who is referred

to was one of the severest critics of our Working Committee, and considered our work and programme as thoroughly useless... It is absolutely false to say that we depend on Bapu's periodical statements for collecting our funds and for our existence. If this were so, there should be today no State Congress. During the last eight or nine months Bapu has not said a word about Travancore. Our cause is so patently just that it does not depend even on Bapu. It depends on its own inherent justice. Bapu can of course help our cause. But that is different from saying that our movement depends on Bapu....

Most of the leading members of the Travancore State Congress including Shri V. K. Velayudhan and M. N. Parameswaran Pillai and others have openly dissociated themselves, says Sir C. P. Yes, these two gentlemen have done so. But neither of them has said that the State Congress is in the wrong. Shri Velayudhan stated that he withdrew in obedience to the Mandali of the Ezhaba communal organisation which has now been captured by the friends of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Shri M. N. Parameswaran Pillai has nearly apologised and recovered his sannad to practise law. How do these actions touch the demand and the programme and the stand of the State Congress? But besides these two gentlemen no prominent leader of the State Congress has gone back in any sense. The number 60 requires close analysis. Then there is my second statement on the Palai atrocities which *The Hindu* published and a copy of which I am enclosing. It was then stated on behalf of the Travancore Government that there would be an official enquiry and a press communique. It is weeks now since this appeared, and no enquiry or communique has been heard of. It was a tight corner into which the Travancore Government was pushed by specific and unchallengeable allegations. They had denied everything in their first communique. Then when I replied, they said there would be an enquiry and a communique. But nothing has happened yet."

I believe every word of what Shri Ramachandran says. The terrible repression may thin the ranks of the State Congress. But even if there is one true representative left to hold aloft the torch of non-violent liberty, he will be quite enough to multiply himself till every Travancorean becomes an apostle of life-giving freedom. A friend sent me the other day a *bon mot* of an American President: "One true man of courage represents a majority." I have quoted from memory. But there is no mistake about the meaning. Let every member of the State Congress take it to heart, and believe that nothing is lost if one true man survives the repression. As it is I know that there are numerous men and women of the State Congress who are seasoned enough to stand the most rigorous repression that the wit of the resourceful Dewan of Travancore and his advisers can devise.

Sevagram, 23-7-40

Issues of Vols. I to VI of *Harijan*, with certain exceptions, can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage). Issues of Vol. VIII will be had at the published price plus postage. MANAGER

THE JOURNEY BACK

"Theirs Not to Reason Why"

Gandhiji did not prolong his stay at Simla for a minute longer than was absolutely necessary for the Viceregal appointment, and left for Delhi the same evening. The idea was to take from Delhi the next train to Wardha. This would have meant four consecutive nights of tiring train journey. But the urge to be back in Sevagram with the least delay was irresistible. Providence, however, the unpredictable 'fifth cause' as the Gita calls it, once more upset his man-made plans. He had suggested to the Maulana Saheb to call a meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha at the earliest, and the Maulana Saheb had agreed to have it on the 4th inst., but later he changed his mind and sent a message over the phone from Nainital that, if Gandhiji could at all have it, he would like the Working Committee to be held at Delhi on the 3rd. Gandhiji felt the choice of the venue to be unhappy. New Delhi was synonymous with 'high politics', and an emergency meeting of the Working Committee held there at this juncture would naturally give rise to all sorts of unwarranted popular expectations and speculations which it was best in the country's interests to avoid. But the President's orders were orders and must be obeyed. Gandhiji reiterated to himself his favourite line from Tennyson 'Theirs is not to reason why', and reconciled himself to the altered plan unreservedly.

Sweet Old Memories

With all its sins of omission and commission Delhi to Gandhiji can never cease to be the city of the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, the late Dr. Ansari, and the Ali Brothers who symbolised in their persons Hindu-Muslim unity in the heyday of the non-cooperation movement. Before leaving for Simla, Zohra Begum Ansari, the late Doctor Saheb's daughter, and her husband Dr. Shaukat Ullah Ansari had insisted on Gandhiji being their guest for a day on his return. Gandhiji unhesitatingly complied with the request, and it was to their residence that he motored straight from the station. Before leaving Delhi he had, too, the privilege of a prolonged visit lasting for nearly one hour to Begum Mohamed Ali who had been ailing for some time. It was of too sacred and personal a character to bear detailed description here. It should be enough to mention here that it recalled some of the sweetest memories of good old times when the whole of India stood united as one man in the fight for freedom.

No C. D., No Spinning?

Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwalla has organised a small spinning club in Delhi. The opening ceremony was performed on the 26th of January last by Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi. The rules of the club require each member to wear khadi exclusively and propagate the same, and to contribute a monthly quota of 1,000 yards to the club. At Shri Brijkrishna's request Gandhiji had promised

to give them five minutes, but he actually gave them half an hour which he devoted to spinning himself with the members. One of the members asked Gandhiji the question: "Why should we spin now that there is no definite civil disobedience in the offing? Some satyagrahis have actually given up spinning since civil disobedience has receded into the background." "That to me shows," replied Gandhiji, "that they would have made but poor satyagrahis, and it is for the best that they have dropped out. I doubt if these 'fair-weather' customers could be good for anything. For good or for ill, we have adopted the spinning wheel as the weapon for our non-violent struggle. A soldier who will practise his weapons only when action is in sight will surely come a cropper at the time of the test. A satyagrahi soldier always looks and plans far ahead of him. If we have faith in the efficacy of the weapon we have chosen, we shall never give it up or lay it down but keep it always refurbished and ready. Today our non-violence is on its trial. The Working Committee's resolution is based on the assumption that the country is today not ready for the practice of pure ahimsa. They would be but too glad to discover that their assumption was wrong and revise their decision accordingly. It is for those who have a living faith in non-violence to prove the same and convert the Working Committee to their view instead of catching at the first excuse to resile from their faith. If the fiftytwo members who are on the register of your club have the right faith in them, they will soon multiply into fiftytwo hundred. But mere shilly-shallying won't do. 'If the salt loseth its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?'"

"I have not a shadow of doubt that through the spinning wheel we can develop the non-violence of the strong which reck's no odds however overwhelming and knows no defeat. Weapons forged out of iron and steel do not interest me. They might enable you to scatter death over the enemy and to capture a measure of the power he today wields over you. But that will not leave the masses any the better. They will continue to groan under the yoke of the powerful and the mighty. I am not interested in an order which leaves out the weakest—the blind, the halt and the maimed. My Swaraj is even for the least in the land. This can come only through non-violence.

"Non-violence of the weak is bad. But violence of the impotent—impotent violence—is worse. That is what is today vitiating the atmosphere. Mere spinning *a la mode* will not purge the atmosphere of this poison."

Discipline v. Faith

Another member of the club remarked that they could not pretend to have a faith in the spinning wheel which Gandhiji had, but they were prepared to spin for discipline, which was quite honest a stand to take up. Gandhiji, while admitting that spinning for discipline had

value at one time, contended that it was altogether inadequate to the need of the hour today. To create a truly non-violent atmosphere in the country spinning with faith was necessary. Supposing there were riots imperilling the lives of thousands of innocent women and children and the conflagration threatened to spread over the whole country, it would be up to those who had true faith in non-violence to interpose themselves between the lust-maddened rioters and quell their fury by their self-immolation. Spinning for discipline will not give them that faith."

"Discipline," he continued, "has a place in non-violent strategy, but much more is required. In a satyagraha army everybody is a soldier and a servant. But at a pinch every satyagrahi soldier has also to be his own general and leader. Mere discipline cannot make for leadership. The latter calls for faith and vision. That is why I have said that spinning for discipline, whatever else it might be capable of achieving, cannot help us to win the satyagraha fight which requires the non-violence of the strong."

Under Thakkar Bapa's Wing

The Harijan Industrial Home at Kingsway, nestling under the fostering wing of Thakkar Bapa, is another redeeming feature of the Imperial City, and claimed from Gandhiji two casual visits. The second occasion was at the time of the evening prayer in which Gandhiji joined. He was much impressed by the progress that the boys had made in the recitation of the prayer verses and their correct pronunciation. At the end he addressed them a few words to commend to them the practice of regularly congregating at the morning and evening prayer. "There can be no better cement to weld scattered and isolated units into a homogeneous society than heart-union through prayer. It purifies us and gives us the true strength—the strength that comes from purity and high resolve. May God bless you with both in an ample measure."

A Pertinacious Questioner

A little girl asked Gandhiji the question as to how satyagraha could avail against raiders from the sky who would deal death from above and with whom the satyagrahis would not be able even to make contact. "By dying non-violently rather than submitting," replied Gandhiji. "But who will then live to enjoy freedom?" asked the pertinacious little questioner. "The survivors, if there are any," replied Gandhiji. "But may I put you a counter-question?" he continued. "Who enjoys the freedom when whole divisions of armed soldiers rush into a hail-storm of bullets to be mown down? Why, those who might succeed in capturing the citadel by passing over their dead bodies. The soldier who fights never expects to enjoy the fruits of victory. But in the case of non-violence, everybody seems to start with the assumption that the non-violent method must be set down as a failure unless he himself at least lives to enjoy the success thereof.

This is both illogical and invidious. In satyagraha more than in armed warfare, it may be said that we find life by losing it."

Back to Sevagram

The bulk of the time in New Delhi was, of course, taken up by the Working Committee's deliberations which were both long and arduous. We entrained for the journey back to Sevagram on the evening of the 7th. Almost the first question which Gandhiji was asked at a wayside station was whether the Working Committee had given the go-bye to non-violence and whether people were now expected to exchange the rifle for satyagraha and offer themselves as the King's recruits. Gandhiji had gone off to sleep when the train made the next considerable halt. A swarm of people gathered at the window and began to ask, "Why is not Mahatmaji, according to his wont, asking for contributions for the Harijans?" I told them that he was too tired to keep awake at that hour, but he expected them just the same to contribute their mite to the Harijan cause. A gleam of satisfaction lit up their faces at the remark, and almost to the man they contributed generously to the Harijan fund.

Sevagram, 17-7-40

Pyarelal

Notes

Impossible

Miss Muriel Lester writes:

"See how you are misquoted by Sherwood Eddy in his latest book *I Saw God Do It*. I have been asked to send you this cutting from it so that you may reply to it if you want to. Here is the extract:

'We have maintained throughout this chapter that some are called to be conscientious objectors as absolute pacifists to challenge the whole war system, but that the majority will feel it to be their duty forcibly to defend their country when it is attacked or its vital interests are threatened. Gandhi himself, the most effective and the greatest living pacifist, is not an absolutist but a relativist, a realist and, to a large degree, a practical statesman. He is effectively using non-violent resistance to achieve the independence of India, but he recognizes that a modern State cannot be maintained without both a police force and an army. When the writer asked him personally how a divided Indian army could be commanded by a Moslem, a Hindu, or a Sikh, he told me they could first ask an American or some foreign neutral to lead their army. But Gandhi pacifists and Indian nationalists would defend their country if attacked by Japan or Soviet Russia or any other foreign power by the full force of their army. So, I believe, should our own country.'

I can only say that I have no recollection of my having ever made such a statement. I know Dr. Sherwood Eddy well. I remember too his visit. The astounding statement put into my mouth belies all I have ever written or said

about the defence of India. Even if I believed in armed defence. I should never want a foreign general to lead my army. I may have foreign instructors but not officers. If, therefore, Dr. Eddy sees these lines, and instead of correcting himself persists in his statement, I can only say I must have been absent-minded when I made the statement imputed to me. I cannot say I must have been drunk, because I do not drink.

Sevagram, 16-7-40

M. K. G.

Our Textile Wants

I summarise the following from an article of Shri Vinoba in the Marathi *Gram-Seva-Vrta* of Wardha:

"Ten or twelve years ago, India consumed 14 yards of cloth per head. Now it is reckoned at 16 or 17. A moderate standard demands the consumption to be raised to 20. Pt. Jawaharlal would like to raise it to 30.

It is necessary to consider this question from a different standpoint. A rise from 14 to 16 does not necessarily mean that the consumer is now more 'cloth-ful' than before. For cloth-fulness does not depend upon the total length of cloth used in the year, but upon the number of forms in which it has been used simultaneously. Thus, for instance, if A has used one pair of good stout dhotis (10 yards) during the year, while B has used two pairs (20 yards) of less durable ones, apparently B's consumption is twice that of A. But if both of them have used only one pair at a time, it has not made B more 'cloth-ful' than A.

So it is necessary to mention not only how much yardage is consumed per head per annum, but also of what durability, and in fixing the standard of minimum textile want, both the dimensions should be mentioned, i. e. 15 yards of 12 months' durability.

To this must also be added the important information whether the increase in consumption has reached the poorest. For, mere increase of the average does not signify much. If, in a village of 500 souls, there is a very rich family of ten which has increased its textile consumption from 500 yards to 2,500 yards per year, the average of the village will show a very great advance. But only ten would have got the advantage of the increase. Between the Nizam and the Gaekwar at the one end and the Adibasi and the Harijan at the other, the hiatus is so great that the figures of *per capita* income, consumption etc. hardly give any picture of the reality. Therefore reality demands a knowledge of how the naked fare. This is done by the khadi method."

K. G. Mashruwala

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HARIJAN

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POONA — SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1940

[ONE ANNA

WHAT OF THE "WEAK MAJORITY"?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Prof. Timur, of Islamia College, Peshawar, writes:

"The world is indebted to you for revealing to it in these hard times the hidden values of non-violence. The experiment which you want to make of defending India against foreign aggression without the use of arms would be the boldest moral experiment of all times. There are two possible results of such a course. Either the conscience of the invaders may be awakened by the love of the invaded and they may repent of their sin. Or the proud invaders may take non-violence as a sign of physical weakness and degeneration and may think it right to subjugate, rule over, and exploit, a weak people. This is the doctrine of Nietzsche which is followed in practice by Hitler. A great loss is involved in such conquest of the physically weak by the physically strong. A few strong-willed members of the conquered nation may refuse to own allegiance to the conquerors, but the large majority always submits and adopts servile manners to preserve its existence. Among them may be found great scientists, philosophers and artists. Genius and moral strength are not always combined in the same man. The strong man does not need armies to defend his liberty. He sacrifices his body to preserve his soul. Such men are, however, few and far between. It is the weak majority which needs protection. The question is how to protect it by non-violent methods. This is the real difficulty which every patriot feels when he thinks of adopting non-violence for the defence of his country.

I hope you would be kind enough to throw light on this point in an early issue of *Harijan*."

The weak majority no doubt needs protection. If all were soldiers either of ahimsa or himsa, no such questions as call for discussion in these columns would arise. There is always a weak majority that would want protection against man's mischief. The orthodox method we know. Nazism is its logical outcome. It is an answer to a definite want. A terrible wrong wantonly perpetrated against a whole nation cried out for redress. And Hitler arose to avenge it. Whatever the ultimate fortune of the war, Germany will not be humiliated again. Humanity will not stand a second outrage. But in seeking to avenge the wrong by the wrong method of violence brought to very near perfection, Hitler has brutalised not only Germans but a large part of humanity. The end of it we have not yet reached. For Britain, so long as she holds to

the orthodox method, has to copy the Nazi methods if she is to put up a successful defence. Thus the logical outcome of the violent method seems to be increasingly to brutalise man including "the weak majority". For it has to give its defenders the required measure of co-operation.

Now imagine the same majority defended after the method of non-violence. As it admits of no grossness, no fraud, no malice, it must raise the moral tone of the defenders. Hence there will be a corresponding rise in the moral tone of the "weak majority" to be defended. No doubt there will be difference in degree, but not in kind.

But the snag comes in when we consider the ways and means of working the non-violent method. In working the other, there is no difficulty in getting the human material. Therefore that way seems easy. In getting non-violent defenders, we have to pick and choose. Money cannot buy them. The non-violent process is wholly different from the one commonly known. I can only say that my own experience in organising non-violent action for half a century fills me with hope for the future. It has succeeded in a marked measure in protecting the "weak majority". But half a century is nothing in discovering the hidden possibilities of this force and working them out. Those, therefore, like the correspondent who are attracted to non-violence, should, according to their ability and opportunity, join the experiment. It has entered upon a most interesting, though at the same time a most difficult, stage. I am myself sailing on uncharted waters. I have to take soundings every half-hour. The difficulty only braces me for the struggle. Sevagram, 6-8-40

Hopeful

One reads the following in the daily press:

"A call for passive resistance by French men and women was made by General De Gaulle in a broadcast last night. He urged all free Frenchmen in France not to help in the war against Britain."

I know that this is not a case of conversion. The gallant general will deal destruction to the 'enemy' to the best of his ability whenever he is able to. Nor can this passive resistance be called non-violent by any stretch of meaning. I simply cite General De Gaulle's advice to his countrymen to show that the world is irresistibly and unconsciously being drawn towards non-violent action.

Sevagram, 5-8-40

M. K. G.

THE BISWA AFFAIR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though late in the day I must redeem my promise to give my opinion on this unfortunate case. I have letters containing angry protests against the five Congress Ministers in C. P., chiefly the Prime Minister. I have carefully read both the judgments, that of the learned Chief Justice and of the concurring Judge. There is no doubt whatsoever that there has been a gross miscarriage of justice due to the police bungling. I hold Pandit Shukla and his fellow-ministers to be wholly free from blame. These are the remarks of the Chief Justice about Pandit Shukla: "In the course of the debate the then Prime Minister himself did not hesitate to use the word 'murder' and to indicate that this was not a case of riot but a carefully planned murder ruthlessly carried out." I can find nothing objectionable in this statement. He made use of the information then in his possession. He might have used the orthodox prefix 'alleged' in connection with 'murder' and used guarded language. But there is nothing in his statement to justify the wrath poured upon his head. The judges' finding, however, is that there was a murder and that it was worthy of condemnation. Their natural regret was that because of want of reliable evidence the crime had to go unpunished. I have not, therefore, been able to understand, much less to appreciate, the rejoicing over what is a manifest failure of justice. So far as the discharge of the prisoners was concerned, it was a matter for common, not communal, rejoicing that no man suffered unless there was conclusive evidence. All must accept the unequivocal judgment of the final court of appeal. But there should have been common regret too that there was failure of justice. It cannot be to the advantage of any community that a murderer should be screened. Panditji has written a long letter to the Maulana Saheb about the affair. I have seen the letter. I do not know what the Maulana Saheb has said on the letter. I hold it to be quite convincing. I take from the letter the following Muslim testimony quoted by him:

"As Khan Saheb Abdul Rahman stated on the floor of the House, I 'in spite of governmental duties and ill-health went to the place.' I was accompanied by as many Muslim M. L. A.s as Hindu M. L. A.s of Berar. After visiting Biswa I proceeded to Khamgaon. The Muslim M. L. A.s who were still with me invited me to visit the Muslim high school at Khamgaon, and I took tea with them. When I addressed a public meeting of Hindus and Muslims I was publicly questioned about my having visited the school and taken tea there so soon after the murder of Jugdeorao. In reply I stated publicly that as Congress Premier I was the Premier of all the communities, and that I would accept as many times the invitation of the Muslims as it was extended to me. I appealed to both the communities to restore harmony and goodwill. It was in reference to this

public statement of mine that Khan Saheb Abdul Rahman said in the Assembly: 'I was so pleased to hear the Hon'ble Premier in Khamgaon. I only wish my friends had only followed him in the noble sentiments he has expressed and the lead he has given.'"

I hope that my opinion will not revive the dying embers of an unfortunate controversy which should never have arisen. If the two communities must quarrel, is it not possible to fight fair? Charges without foundation can but add to the existing bitterness.

Sevagram, 6-8-40

DRAWBACKS OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

The other day I was talking with a distinguished friend about the non-violent bravery displayed by men and women satyagrahis in Bardoli, Dharasana, Bombay and other places during the no rent and civil disobedience campaigns. "It is all right," he said, "when we speak to foreigners or our people. But I do not regard this heroism as of much value. You have really no idea of the substance of which true bravery is made. Just picture to your mind, if you can, a dozen enemy 'planes hovering over Dunkirk. Suddenly you see an English youth dashing in their midst alone from the other side of the Channel with his 'plane and trying to bring down as many of them as possible. Practically speaking, he has not the least chance of returning alive. He has never hoped to. The same picture holds true of the adventure of a submariner or a parachutist. Is there any common ground between this bravery and that of your lathi-charge resisters? And, even there, we never had had to taste the worst kind of torture which militarism can inflict. All that we have been able to achieve by our non-violent campaigns is to carry our Brahman, Bania and Kisan lads just one step forward from their age-long timidity. If we had been Kshatriyas, and had, like Ashoka, grown from violence to non-violence, there would have been something to be proud of. But the non-violence of our brand is merely the result of our incapacity to inflict violence. I doubt if we shall adhere to it after we have tasted the strong wine of violence."

The non-violence of Gandhiji himself has been questioned by some on similar grounds. In the birth-day volume on Mahatma Gandhi, compiled last year by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Edward Thompson writes:

"He is a Gujarati, one of a race that is unwarlike and has been often overrun and pillaged, especially by the Marathas. His origins are rarely mentioned in the West, which does not understand their significance, but they are rarely forgotten in India. He has laid himself open to the retort (and it is part of his moral courage that he is aware of this, and does not let himself be deflected by awareness) that his emphasis on *ahimsa*, 'non-violence', is a badge of his unmartial origins. The Marathas, I think, rarely forget that they are Marathas, and that he is

a Gujarati; among them his vogue has been fitful and wavering. It has been the same with the Rajputs, another warlike nation. "To me, as a Rajput," said a Central Indian Prince to me, "the doctrine of *ahimsa* is inconceivable! It is a Rajput's *duty* to kill and to be warlike!"

This is not a new argument. It has been put forth again and again, ever since Gandhiji appeared on the Congress platform. Only a few days ago Dr. R. P. Paranjpye is reported in the press to have said that the spirit of *ahimsa* can never be accepted by Maharashtra. And so I have often asked this question to myself: Is the non-violence, which Gandhiji is teaching and which appeals to people of my temperament, as if instinctively, the indication of my congenital Bania-timidty, further nourished by the teachings of Vaishnavism or Jainism? Or is it the result of the growth of higher virtues such as love, reverence for life, compassion, forbearance, etc.? And has not the non-violent training produced in me some deficiency of character also?

After several years' thinking, I have come to the following conclusion:

I must unhesitatingly admit that pacifism or dislike of bloodshed is a hereditary instinct in me, further nurtured by later training. It is difficult to say how many generations old it is. Just as I never had any necessity to resist the temptation to drink or to eat meat, so also I did not have personally to pass through the experiences of an Ashoka, or to put a great strain upon my intellect or instinct to accept the philosophy of non-violence. No doubt, those amongst my predecessors who, centuries ago, relinquished a violent mode of eating and living, when they became converts to Buddhism, Jainism or Vaishnavism, deliberately passed from violence to non-violence. There must have been a transition stage before the later generations settled down to the non-violent mode to which I was born.

I consider it my good luck that I have inherited non-violence. But that should make me fitter for taking my non-violence a stage further. I need not go through the experiences of my forefathers. My argument has no value for those who consider that violence and not non-violence is the law of our being.

I must therefore find out how I could add to the riches I have inherited. And this is what Gandhiji is doing for all of us. He is exploring the hidden possibilities of non-violence. Here I want to clear up the fallacy in my friend's argument. Bravery has a double meaning. The bravery of the non-violent is itself non-violent. It will never be called upon to compete with the bravery of the young airman who, certain of his own death, dashes into the enemy planes to destroy them. The motive prompting the violent man is wholly different from that of the votary of non-violence. I hold that the imaginary English airman will never be able to show the cool courage of the Dharasana young men. He will be ashamed of facing the charge of the men behind the fence

when he can make short work of them and take possession of the salt works. Similarly the non-violent man will feel ashamed to intoxicate himself with the lust for the imagined enemy's blood and to develop his recklessness. It is a misnomer to call it bravery.

That is not to say that the non-violent man of today has nothing more to learn in the way of bravery. He has to learn the art of facing bullets without a tremble and without any anger against the wrong-doer. I say again that this bravery is any day superior to any known to the world except of course that shown by the non-violent martyrs of old.

Of course it is possible, nay it is highly probable, that a large number of people accepted the creed of non-violence with only a partial understanding of it. This is not a matter of surprise. It is possible that a future teacher of non-violence will say the same about what we are attempting now. To a certain extent, the principle of non-violence is founded on "Respect for life" and "Do unto others as you would have others to do unto you." Both taken together mean that the respect for another's life is founded on respect for one's own. So, respect for one's own life grew along with respect for another's life. Consequently, instinctively life came to be so organised by the votary of non-violence that he kept all danger to his own life at a safe distance. And the word "life" became restricted to the body. In other words, "respect for life" became equivalent to "safety first of the body". Regard for what we know as self-respect fell at a discount. It did not matter if one was abused, insulted, slapped, at times robbed, if on the whole he was allowed to lead a life of some safety and, if possible, also of affluence. And, of course, trade and commerce provided plenty of opportunity for that. All this has become a part of the connotation of the word "bania".

If non-violence is to be restored to its unique status amongst virtues, it must be refined of impurities. To speak in educational technology, projects should be discovered in our training, which will develop boldness in man, consistently with non-violence. And non-violence must not mean mere respect for another's life as one respects one's own, but it must mean such respect at the risk of one's own; and that the respect for one's own life means respect for one's own honour and not body. So that the commandment means—you should respect another's life and honour as and because you respect your own.

Some Books by Gandhiji

	Price	Postage
Satyagraha in South Africa	Rs. 4 8	0 8
My Early Life	1 0	0 2
Speeches and Writings	4 0	0 9
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	1 8	0 5
Hind Swaraj	0 4	0 2
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Part II	1 0	0 3

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Harijan

Aug. 11

1940

IS NON-VIOLENCE IMPOSSIBLE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"One may admit that in theory non-violence is an infallible weapon, and that no power on earth can be a match for the man who has achieved non-violence to the fullest extent. But is this possible? There may be a rare yogi who can tame wild beasts like lions and tigers and render them meek as lambs, but the average man must resort to a rifle or similar weapon to protect himself against such beasts. You with your wonderful power may convert others by the sheer force of your thought, but the average man has to have recourse to worldly remedies like a law court, pleaders and so on. Even in the dim and distant past we rarely hear of men who practised ahimsa in daily affairs. Lord Buddha tried for a time to lead people along the path of ahimsa, but what happened after him? Society went back to its old ways, forgetting Buddha's teaching. The past, therefore, offers little promise, for the future, of society going along the lines of ahimsa any more than it has done before, and our sages, therefore, must have wisely left the world and resorted to the forest for practising truth and non-violence. You may inspire a few persons to study ahimsa, but society as a whole is not likely to take to it. The same argument applies to India as a nation. She must needs seek means other than those of ahimsa in order to win her liberty. It is idle to expect an infant learning his primer to understand a book like Tilak's Gita. Even so is it idle to expect people steeped in worldly pleasures to understand the infallibility of ahimsa. Besides ahimsa is the final goal, the attainment of which requires much greater preparation than is required in order to obtain a degree in medicine or engineering. We shall have to have numerous colleges and universities for the teaching of the science and art of truth and non-violence. Today society directs its energies to creating new wants and satisfying them. How do you expect it to turn those energies in the direction of researches in ahimsa?"

The doubts and difficulties raised by this correspondent occur to others also, and I have on various occasions tried to solve them too. But when the Working Committee of the Congress has been instrumental in making of ahimsa a live issue, it seems necessary to deal with these doubts and difficulties at some length.

The correspondent doubts in substance the universal application of ahimsa, and asserts that society has made little progress towards it. Teachers like Buddha arose and made some effort with some little success perhaps in their lifetime, but society is just where it was in spite of them. Ahimsa may be good enough to be the duty of an individual; for society it is good

for nothing, and India too will have to take to violence for her freedom.

The argument is, I think, fundamentally wrong. The last statement is incorrect inasmuch as the Congress has adhered to non-violence as the means for the attainment of Swaraj. It has indeed gone a step further. The question having been raised as to whether non-violence continues to be the weapon against all internal disturbances, the A. I. C. C. clearly gave the answer in the affirmative. It is only for protection against outside aggression that the Congress has maintained that it would be necessary to have an army. And then even on this matter there was a considerable body of the members of the A. I. C. C. who voted against the resolution. This dissent has got to be reckoned with when the question voted upon is one of principle. The Congress policy must always be decided by a majority vote, but it does not cancel the minority vote. It stands. Where there is no principle involved and there is a programme to be carried out, the minority has got to follow the majority. But where there is a principle involved, the dissent stands, and it is bound to express itself in practice when the occasion arises. That means that ahimsa for all occasions and all purposes has been recognised by a society, however small it may be, and that ahimsa as a remedy to be used by society has made fair strides. Whether it will make further strides or no is a different matter. The Working Committee's resolution, therefore, fails to lend any support to the correspondent's doubts. On the contrary it should in a certain degree dispel them.

Now for the argument that I am but a rare individual, and that what little society has done in the matter of ahimsa is due to my influence, and that it is sure to disappear with me. This is not right. The Congress has a number of leaders who can think for themselves. The Maulana is a great thinker of keen intellect and vast reading. Few can equal him in his Arabic and Persian scholarship. Experience has taught him that ahimsa alone can make India free. It was he who insisted on the resolution accepting ahimsa as a weapon against internal disturbances. Pandit Jawaharlal is not a man to stand in awe of anyone. His study of history and contemporary events is second to none. It is after mature thought that he has accepted ahimsa as a means for the attainment of Swaraj. It is true that he has said that he would not hesitate to accept Swaraj if non-violence failed and it could be won by means of violence. But that is not relevant to the present issue. There are not a few other big names in the Congress who believe in ahimsa as the only weapon at least for the attainment of Swaraj. To think that all of them will give up the way of ahimsa as soon as I am gone, is to insult them and to insult human nature. We must believe that everyone can think for himself. Mutual respect to that extent is essential for progress. By crediting our companions with independent

judgment we strengthen them and make it easy for them to be independent-minded even if they are proved to be weak.

I hope neither the correspondent nor anyone else believes that the Congress or many Congress leaders have bidden good-bye to ahimsa. To the limited extent that I have pointed out faith in ahimsa has been reiterated and made clear beyond any doubt by the Congress. I agree that the limit laid down by the Congress considerably narrows down the sphere of ahimsa and dims its splendour. But the limited ahimsa of the Congress is good enough for the purpose of our present argument. For I am trying to make out that the field of ahimsa is widening, and the limited acceptance of ahimsa by the Congress sufficiently supports my position.

If we turn our eyes to the time of which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards ahimsa. Our remote ancestors were cannibals. Then came a time when they were fed up with cannibalism and they began to live on chase. Next came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter. He therefore took to agriculture and depended principally on mother earth for his food. Thus from being a nomad he settled down to civilised stable life, founded villages and towns, and from member of a family he became member of a community and a nation. All these are signs of progressive ahimsa and diminishing himsa. Had it been otherwise, the human species should have been extinct by now, even as many of the lower species have disappeared.

Prophets and *avatārs* have also taught the lesson of ahimsa more or less. Not one of them has professed to teach himsa. And how should it be otherwise? Himsa does not need to be taught. Man as animal is violent, but as Spirit is non-violent. The moment he awakes to the Spirit within he cannot remain violent. Either he progresses towards ahimsa or rushes to his doom. That is why the prophets and *avatārs* have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood, justice, etc. — all attributes of ahimsa.

And yet violence seems to persist, even to the extent of thinking people like the correspondent regarding it as the final weapon. But as I have shown history and experience are against him.

If we believe that mankind has steadily progressed towards ahimsa, it follows that it has to progress towards it still further. Nothing in this world is static, everything is kinetic. If there is no progression, then there is inevitable retrogression. No one can remain without the eternal cycle, unless it be God Himself.

The present war is the saturation point in violence. It spells to my mind also its doom. Daily I have testimony of the fact that ahimsa was never before appreciated by mankind as it is today. All the testimony from the West that

I continue to receive points in the same direction. The Congress has pledged itself to ahimsa however limited. I invite the correspondent and doubters like him to shed their doubts and plunge confidently into the sacred sacrificial Fire of ahimsa. Then I have little doubt that the Congress will retrace its step. "It is always willin'." Well has Pritam, our poet, sung:

Happiest are those that plunge in the Fire
The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames.
Sevagram, 5-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

THE TEST OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Those who regard themselves as out and out votaries of non-violence and believe the step taken by Rajaji and others to be wrong, have to pass through a severe test. I have expressed my opinion in the clearest possible language. I believe that Rajaji has gone off the track. He believes that I have. The future alone will decide who is right.

But as I have not the slightest doubt about the correctness of my position, I have not hesitated to advise those who think with me to leave the Congress. But this does not mean that they have to do so forthwith. It is enough if they are ready to retire when I decide upon the date. Before the actual step is taken, we shall have to make sure of certain things. Their retirement must be such as to cause no shock to fellow Congressmen. If these do not appreciate the step, I have to explain it to them patiently, and to convince them that it is in the interest of the Congress that it should be taken. It is common cause between them and us that it would be an ideal thing if we could protect the country against foreign aggression by non-violence. It is therefore desirable that there should be a group of people pledged to devote their lives to proving the efficacy of non-violence. If the existence of such a group is good for the country, it is apparent that they should remain outside the Congress, and that the Congress should not only tolerate them but welcome them, render them as much help as possible, and regard them as their own. That means that far from there being any estrangement or misunderstanding between the Congress and this group, their relations should, if possible, be sweeter than before.

To bring about this happy consummation, the out and out votaries of non-violence should not even mentally find fault with their erstwhile comrades. They may not remind them of their previous statements. It is their duty to revise their statements if they feel that they were erroneous, and it is possible that they may not read in them the same implications as others discover in them. The best thing, therefore, is to bear joyously with one another. This mutual tolerance presupposes their choosing different spheres of action and working in co-operation wherever possible.

It will be some time before we can create such an atmosphere, but we are sure to succeed if we make a serious endeavour in this direction. In the meanwhile let everyone occupy himself with the constructive activities I have suggested, and make steady progress therein. One or more leaders in each province should prepare a list of the seceders. I intend to convene a meeting of the principal seceders at the proper time. But I will not take a single step without mature deliberation.

Sevagram, 5-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

THE LIVE ISSUE

Wait, Watch, and Pray

A few members of the A. I. C. C. who are out and out believers in non-violence visited Sevagram the other day. Some of them had remained neutral on the Delhi resolution, some had opposed it. What was the right attitude? What were they to do next? What was the programme before them? Should they not retire forthwith? These and other questions were troubling them, and they did not know what to do. In response Gandhiji began to do some loud thinking.

"Wait, watch, and pray," said he, and remained silent for a while. Then he said: "You must carefully follow what I am writing from week to week. You must be absolutely sure that you are out and out believers in non-violence. Can your ahimsa stand the test? Rehearse to yourselves what you would do in case of a riot. Those who have differed from us are no cowards. If they say that they cannot do without an army and police, they deserve a respectful hearing. I myself do not know what I should do in a difficult situation. You know I have capitulated on the question of the desirability of maintaining a police force. But what I can say is that I shall hope to behave non-violently, should the occasion arise. I should not like to die before my death. I do not want to prepare India for military defence from today. We should never forget that we are not the whole of India. The Congress is without doubt a powerful organisation, but the Congress is not the whole of India. The Congress may not have an army, but those who do not believe in non-violence will. And if the Congress too surrenders, there is no one to represent the no-army mentality. This was my argument in a nutshell. But I failed to carry conviction. Therefore I must find fault not with my comrades but with myself. There must be some weakness in my argument, and so I must prepare myself to carry conviction to those who differ from me."

"But," he added, "I have digressed. What you and I have to do is to show our ahimsa when there is rioting or similar disturbance. If every one of us, wherever he is, begins doing so there will come into being a non-violent army.

Even the limited non-violence that all are subscribing to would not have come into being if we had seen no successful demonstrations of it. So we have to hold on to our faith, even if when the time comes we may fail. There is no use arguing with the comrades who have differed from us, I hope only temporarily. The question is one of demonstrating the truth in us, and we won't do it, unless we show that we have no malice, no bitterness, no inclination to find faults. We have to prepare ourselves for the terrible ordeal. The testing time may come sooner than we imagine. I am sailing on an uncharted sea. I have no cut and dried programme, and I am brooding from moment to moment. In the meanwhile follow my weekly writings and carry out the constructive programme. The time for resignation is not yet. We must not be misunderstood."

"But," said a worker, "you have asked us to retire immediately, and all of us are ready."

"Your readiness is good, and it is enough for me for the time being. If you conscientiously voted against the Delhi resolution, you did nothing wrong; if you remained neutral, you did nothing wrong. You would have been wrong if you had joined hands with those who sought to defeat the resolution on any but the ground of non-violence. For having given your vote on the Wardha resolution and having lost, you could not vote against the Delhi resolution which was the natural corollary of the Wardha resolution."

"But it was by accident that those who voted against the Delhi resolution, did so."

"No, it was by design. They are no believers in non-violence to the extent you are, but they wanted to defeat the resolution for the sake of their policy."

"But then how long are we to remain in the Congress?"

"I cannot give a definite answer. I shall have a talk with the Maulana. We must not rush the Maulana and the Working Committee. If they find that the out and out non-violence people were the sustaining part of the Congress organisation, they will retrace their step."

"Then how long shall we wait?"

"Until I give you the word."

"But," said one of them, "I disliked the Wardha resolution and wanted to resign at once."

"You might have done so. Then you would have been within your rights. But to do so now might savour of violence and self-righteousness. You must remember that I waited for more than a year before taking the final step, and then too I took it with the full approval of the friends of the Working Committee."

Power Politics or Swaraj Politics?

The non-violence issue has drawn out many a quiet worker from his shell. Shri Vinoba, who was immersed in his experiments on the takli and organising standard wage spinning, and latterly in his study of Arabic and the Quran to qualify

himself better for Hindu-Muslim unity, writes regularly. He has written a long article full of trenchant reasoning under the above-mentioned caption. Some of his arguments may be summarised here:

"The whole trouble arises out of the fact that we have not yet won Swaraj. But for the attainment of Swaraj even the Working Committee is pledged to non-violence. Now how can complete Swaraj be won without complete non-violence, i. e. without organising the masses in a completely non-violent way? And if the masses are completely non-violently organised, where remains the bugbear of anarchy and internal disturbance? We are thus begging the whole question."

And then:

"Once you are caught in the war-machine there is no getting out of it, there is no question of justice or injustice, wrong or right. You resent to-day the closing by the British of the Burma road to Chinese traffic at the dictation of Japan. After you are caught in the machine, you will have to swallow many camels like that. For everything will depend on whether you can militarily resist an opponent or not. Again India promising to help for defence only has no meaning. Does defence mean internal defence? By no means. The frontiers of India are the African Coast, the Mediterranean and so on, and so there is no limit to your being involved in the war. Which means that you will throw away capital built after 20 years' labour without a thought. In doing so you will create a multitude of enemies, for all the enemies of England become *ipso facto* our enemies. Now all this we will do if we are promised Swaraj. When we come to think of it, will it be in anything but the name? For no sooner than the declaration of Swaraj is made you will have mortgaged it to the British. For you cannot have the military training to fight all the enemies you will have created without being under the eternal military tutelage of Britain.

The trouble is that we want Swaraj without any sacrifice. We want it to drop into our hands. We have to labour patiently, silently, non-violently for it, and when it comes it will come as inevitably as the dawn of day. The sun rises in the east but floods the remotest corners of the west with his light and heat. Even so when Swaraj of our own making comes it will enable the whole world to find out the means of its freedom."

"But," some people object, "we may in course of time acquire the capacity of non-violent administration. But by the time we are ready, others will get into power and we shall be back numbers." Vinoba's reply to them is:

"Gandhiji has already given the answer. Those who will get into power will also be our brethren. I would add this that our concern is with Swaraj-politics and not power-politics. I do not mind our having to be back numbers, our being consigned to oblivion. I should be content if God does not consign us to illusion and delusion. We want Swarajya, not any rajya."

Sevagram, 7-8-40

M. D.

SPINNING ANNIVERSARY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Narandas Gandhi writes from Rajkot as follows about the Spinning Anniversary:

"The 71 days' programme for the forthcoming anniversary was commenced on the morning of 20th July with prayers and the song of the 'True Vaishnava'. Spinning is in full swing. Some begin from 4 A. M. Amritlal gets up at 3-30 A. M. and begins spinning from 4 A. M., and by 3-30 P. M. with a break for breakfast and lunch spins nearly 6,000 yards in 11 hours. After this he learns music, has his walk and rest. He has resolved to spin 400,000 yards in 71 days. We have the evening prayer at 6-30. About 75 people attend. The following figures of collections for Daridranarayan made on the last five birthdays may be of interest:

	COLLECTIONS		EXPENSES	
	(In contributions coins			
	Rs.	of Copper, Nickle or Silver) coins	Rs.	
1935	2555—3—3	66	43—0—0	
1936	7348—12—0	67	155—4—6	
1937	16396—12—6	68	184—4—6	
1938	16228—4—3	69	250—5—0	
1939	16877—9—4	70	266—11—3	
Total	59406—9—4		899—9—3	

Purposes for which collections were used

	Kathiawad Harijan Sevak Sangh	Khadi Work	Rajkot National School	Famine Relief
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1935		2512—3—3 ¹		
1936	7193-7-6			
1937	10000-0-0	6212-8-0 ²		
1938	9000-0-0	3500-0-0 ²	3477-15-3	
1939	2140-0-0	1390-0-0 ² 1001-0-0 ³	1390—0—0	{ 10,189-14-0 ⁴ 500-0-0 ⁵

[1. For work in Rajkot through Narandas Gandhi. 2. For 10 khadi centres in Kathiawad. 3. Khadi work in Porbandar through Chhaganlal Joshi. 4. Famine relief through the national school. 5. Famine relief in Porbandar through Chhaganlal Joshi.]

Figures are usually uninteresting and I rarely give details of these collections. But I have given these in detail as they are of striking interest. They are an eloquent testimony to the work that can be done by the single-minded devotion and efficiency of a single man. This annual spinning sacrifice goes on without fuss and advertisement. It is worthy of emulation everywhere for it means automatic propagation of khadi.

Sevagram, 5-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

Autobiography

Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Satyagraha in South Africa

Companion volume to *Autobiography*. Rs. 4 + 9As. Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4.

AUNDH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Who does not know little Aundh? Little it is in size and income, but it has made itself great and famous by its Chief having bestowed, unasked, the boon of full self-government on his people. Its chief minister Appasaheb Pant has brought out an attractive pamphlet of nine pages describing the experiment, from which I reproduce the following:

"Village democracy is the basis of the new Constitution. Every village elects by the vote of all of its adults a panchayat of five persons. One of these five is elected by the panchayat unanimously as their president. If this unanimity is not possible, then all the adults of the village elect the president out of the panchayat.

Duly elected presidents of a group of villages constitute the taluka panchayat. The taluka panchayat decides in its meetings the way in which it would spend the money that it receives. It receives as near as possible half the revenue that is collected in that taluka. The villages prepare their budgets and present them through their presidents to the taluka panchayat. These are discussed and a budget for the whole taluka is prepared. The villages can spend the money they get as they think fit. As yet education and public works constitute the chief items of expenditure.

The members of the Assembly know not only about the affairs of the Central Government, but they are intimately connected with the everyday work in the villages, and they get acquainted with the work of other villages in their taluka at the meetings of the taluka panchayat. The member of the Legislative Assembly, in this way, is an active worker almost 12 hours of the day. It is not that he stands for election, gets elected on certain issues, and does not worry about these till the next election. He has to face the villagers every day. The Constitution gives the power of recall to the villagers. 4/5ths of the voters can ask for a re-election of the panchayat.

The panchayats dispense justice. The villager need not spend money, go out of his village, and spend days at the taluka town to get a hearing. The panchayat decides his case on the spot. The peasant can get witnesses in the village. And in the cases that are difficult and involve intricate points of law, a sub-judge comes to the village and assists the panchayat with the dispensation of justice. The sub-judge not only gives expert advice to the panchayat, but also acts as a guide to the peasant who many a time is completely ignorant of his legal rights and is therefore liable to be misguided by the vested interests — the goondas."

Justice in Aundh is therefore cheap, swift, and effective. In the panchayats of two talukas alone 197 criminal and civil suits have been disposed of. In 75 per cent of civil suits and 50 per cent of criminal cases no pleaders were engaged. The witnesses had to be paid nothing, being

themselves on the spot. There was thus great saving of time and money. Most cases were decided at a single sitting. The whole village turns out at the hearing of cases. Hence lying is rare, because it can be easily detected. Therefore many cases are compromised out of court. This method of dealing out justice is itself great adult education.

There are 88 village schools for 72 villages. After the introduction of adult franchise, 35 per cent of the adult population received education. Basic education is not neglected, nor is physical. The Rajasheb himself takes a keen interest in the physical development of his people. It is done through *Suryanamaskars*. It is a special style.

If Appasaheb has shown the bright side of the experiment, he has not lost sight of the difficulties and troubles. I omit notice of these. For they are the usual difficulties that attend all such experiments. The leaders of the people, if they retain their faith, will surely surmount them. This is how the pamphlet closes: "Little has been done. Much remains to be done. It's an important work we are doing. We want sympathy and advice."

I am sure everybody sympathises with the Aundh people. Let those who have any to give send Appasaheb their thoughts. Let them be sure that they are sound and relevant.

Sevagram, 6-8-40

Not A Harijan

Shri Ramachandran draws my attention to the fact that Shri Achuthan should not have been described as a Harijan. Whilst he is too big to resent the description, his fellow Ezhawars are likely to take offence. I ought to have known this. For when I was touring in Travancore I had this delicate matter brought to my notice. All those whose feeling has been hurt by my use of the word will please believe me when I say that no offence was intended by me. I have never regarded the word as a term of reproach. But I am aware that there are many who do not look at things with my eyes.

Sevagram, 7-8-40

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII, NO. 27]

POONA — SUNDAY, AUGUST 18, 1940

[ONE ANNA

MORAL SUPPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes as follows:

"On the declaration of war you had advised giving moral support to Britain. Many persons never understood the implications of such support. You have never explained them either so far as I know. I am a regular reader of *Harijanbandhu*, but I have not seen a clear explanation there. Everyone puts his own interpretation on the words. At the last sitting of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee the leaders said: 'Bapu was ready to give moral support to Britain. What else has the Congress done in its latest resolution? As a matter of fact the Congress asks for more than it promises to give. Bapu was willing to give all for nothing.' If war is itself a wrong act, how can it deserve moral support or blessings? In the Mahabharata, was the help that Lord Krishna gave to Arjuna moral, or was it more destructive than the deadliest weapons of war?"

I did explain in *Harijan* what I meant by moral support. It is possible that the explanation did not appear in *Harijanbandhu*. In my English writings things are often left to be understood. The ellipses need, however, to be brought out in translations.

Broadly speaking, Britain could have had moral support from the Congress, if only she had acted justly towards India. There was no spirit of bargaining in my proposal because the help was not offered in exchange for anything.

Suppose my friend possesses moral strength which he has acquired through *tapasyā*. And suppose I am in need of this strength. I shall not get it from him for the asking. He may always be ready to give it to me, but if I have not the capacity within me to take it from him, how shall I ever obtain it? Moral support cannot really be given in the sense of giving. It automatically comes to him who is qualified to take it. And such a one can take it in abundance.

The Congress has this moral reservoir. The acceptance of the creed of truth and non-violence has been its *tapasyā*. It has acquired world prestige through the acceptance of truth and non-violence for the attainment of its goal. If the Congress could have given its blessings to Britain, the world would have adjudged Britain's cause to be just. The masses over whom the Congress holds sway would also have acknowledged justice to be on Britain's side. But in

all this the Congress would have had nothing material to give. The British Government would, by its own action, have acquired moral prestige or strength. Though the Congress would not give one man or one pice as material aid, its moral support and blessings would definitely have turned the scales in favour of Britain. This is my belief. That my belief may be groundless and that the Congress never had any moral prestige is quite possible. The determination of this question is unnecessary for my argument.

But the opportunity for rendering moral support now seems almost to have gone. The Congress felt itself unable to adopt my course. It cannot be taken mechanically. It presupposes a living faith in truth and non-violence. The greatest quality in the Congress is this that it has never claimed to have what it really does not possess. And therefore its resolutions are dignified and carry force with them.

The help that the Congress in its latest resolution promises to give is material and for a consideration, eminently just, no doubt, but it is not and cannot be unconditional. I do not suggest that this position is either untenable or morally wrong. The resolution has dignity because it is the considered opinion of the majority. But by passing it the Congress has, in my opinion, surrendered the prestige it had or was supposed to have. Many Congressmen say that while they firmly believed that they could attain Swaraj through non-violence, they had never meant it to be understood that they could retain it also through non-violence. The entire outside world, however, believed that the Congress was showing the golden way to the abolition of war. No one outside India ever dreamed that, if the Congress could wrest Independence from a mighty power like Britain purely through non-violence, it would not be able to defend it also by the same means.

In my opinion Lord Krishna's help to Arjuna cannot be said to be moral, because he himself had an army and was an expert in the art of war. Duryodhana acted foolishly in that he asked for Krishna's army, while Arjuna got what he wanted in the person of the expert in the science of war. Therefore, if we interpret the Mahabharata literally, Lord Krishna's strength was certainly more destructive than that of his army. Because of his scientific skill Krishna was able with an army of seven divisions to destroy Duryodhana's army of eighteen. But it is well

known that I have never looked upon the Mahabharata as a mere record of earthly warfare. In the garb of an epic the poet has described the eternal warfare within the individual as well as in society, between Truth and Untruth, Violence and Non-violence, Right and Wrong. Looking at the epic even superficially one can understand how the great Vyasa has demonstrated that in this war the victor was no better off than the vanquished. Out of that vast concourse of warriors only seven remained to tell the tale. And the poet gives a true picture of the woeful state of mind also of these seven. The author has shown clearly too that in armed warfare the contending parties are certain to stoop to meanness and trickery. When occasion arose even the great Yudhishtira had to resort to untruth to save the battle.

One more question of the writer remains to be answered. If war is itself a wrong act, how can it be worthy of moral support or blessings? I believe all war to be wholly wrong. But if we scrutinise the motives of two warring parties, we may find one to be in the right and the other in the wrong. For instance, if A wishes to seize B's country, B is obviously the wronged one. Both fight with arms. I do not believe in violent warfare, but all the same B, whose cause is just, deserves my moral help and blessings.

Sevagram, 12-8-40 • (Translated from Gujarati)

Notes

'One Step Forward'

I have before me two neatly bound volumes in English and Hindustani, being a report of the first Conference of Basic National Education held at Poona in October 1939. The English volume is entitled *One Step Forward*. It covers 292 pages in English and 290 in Hindustani. The price is Rs. 1/4 per volume. Besides instructive introductory pages the report is divided into three parts. The first contains general speeches and discussions. The second is devoted to various interpretations of basic education, and the third part is devoted to a description of the exhibition of basic education for which Shrimati Ashadevi made herself mainly responsible. There is an appendix which contains the names and addresses of delegates and invited guests. In the concluding part of his brief introduction Shri Aryanaykam says:

"The conference and the exhibition have finally lifted the scheme of basic national education above the realm of controversy and proved to the educational world that as regards the fundamental principles, contents and method, the claims of this new education are justified by a year's experience of work with the teachers and children."

The proceedings of the conference are proof of that claim. I must resist the temptation to quote from the body of the report. Those who are interested in education should not be without a copy. For me it is a matter of comfort

that this the latest, though perhaps not the last, effort of mine has met with almost universal approbation. The year's record promises a bright future for the experiment. I must review the annual report in another issue.

Sevagram, 5-8-40

A Convincing Argument

This is what an Englishwoman who knows what war means says about the Working Committee's decision to insist on non-violence for dealing with internal disturbances while fearing to trust non-violence to defend India:

"Though I have said nothing all these days about the developments in the country regarding non-violence, you can be sure I have been watching them with the deepest interest and emotion. But there is one thing at this stage I want to try and put down on paper. To throw non-violence overboard when it comes to facing external aggression seems to me to be throwing it away at the very moment when its efficacy is the most sure and its benefit to mankind the greatest. I have been trying to make out why I instinctively feel that non-violence would be more effective in such circumstances, and the reasons appear to be these: In internal disorder — loot, robbery, rioting, etc., it is more often than not a case of dealing with unintellectual and lower types of humanity, whose ignorance or loose passions must be firmly dealt with, just as a child must be saved by its parents. But in the case of external aggression, the two elements you are dealing with are intellectually developed leaders of nations and masses of innocent soldiers. On both of these non-violence is bound to have its reactions. Mass non-violent defence by the brave would win over the innocent enemy-soldiers in a day, and the leaders, especially men of such intelligence as Hitler, would be deeply moved by its grandeur, and their very commonsense would tell them to refrain from forcing their soldiers to such a conflict, where repugnance, remorse and revolt against orders would be the inevitable consequence. That this would bring to the suffering world a glorious light and a glorious hope, goes without saying.... Of course you may say that in what I have written I appear to advocate force for the suppression of internal disorder. What I mean is parental firmness — restraining action invoked by love.

The point working in my mind at this moment is:

If the Working Committee members ever thought non-violence should be and could be the ideal for internal affairs, then how much more it should be and could be the ideal for external affairs! The very frightfulness of Europe today, which appears to have shaken their faith, makes me feel all the more ardent about non-violence."

Sevagram, 4-8-40

M. K. G.

Books on Basic Education

	Price	Postage	As.
One Step Forward	Rs. 1 4		4
एक कदम आगे	1 4		4
Educational Reconstruction	1 4		4
Basic National Education	0 8		3
J. B. Kripalani—The Latest Fad	1 0		2
C. J. Varkey—The Wardha Scheme	1 14		3
Available at Harijan Office—Poona	4		

ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH HANDICRAFTS

I

During the Congress regime adult education drives were organised in almost all the provinces. In most cases they were restricted to teaching grown-up people to read and write, and were even referred to as "anti-illiteracy drives". The experience was not always encouraging. For instance, it was found that those who were thus educated did not keep up their interest in education after the education course was over, and quite a number of cases lapsed back into illiteracy after a longer or shorter period. All the same, the balance of opinion here is still in favour of this kind of adult education. In America, however, where they have gone through the whole gamut, there is beginning to be experienced a swing round in favour of using handicrafts as a medium for educating both young and old. In fact Mr. Allen Eaton, whose volume *Handicrafts in the Southern Highlands* I noticed in *Harijan* recently, has devoted one of the most illuminating chapters in his book to examining the utility of handicrafts as a means for giving adult education.

Adult education is comparatively a later growth even in America. The idea that everyone should continue education throughout life has only recently been generally adopted. The most important contribution made to adult education in the present generation, according to Mr. Eaton, was "the convincing proof offered by Edward L. Thorndike and associates of the Columbia University that adults could learn on the average as readily as children." But the fact that adults can learn carries with it no assurance that they will, and so search is continuing with new zest for those things that stimulate learning. From this search have emerged two definite schools with variants between—the old school which would teach all the facts to children while they are young, and the new school which would give them the tools of learning while young but would provide the facts and techniques as near as possible to the time when they will need to use them. As that great educationist John Dewey observed, "First the need, then the knowledge or technique to satisfy that need." Adult education, according to this school, is the continuation of the process of learning among men and women regardless of age or previous experience in school. In the words of another savant, "adult education presumes that the creative spark may be kept alive throughout life, and moreover that it may be rekindled in those adults who are willing to devote a portion of their energy to the process of becoming intelligent."

An outstanding advantage that is claimed for handicrafts in the process of adult learning is that they can be used as a starting point, as a centre of interest for a large number of individuals regardless of their level of intelligence or experi-

ence. "They hold potentialities for the doctor of philosophy on one end of our educational procession, and for the man who does not read or write on the other end, and, of course, for the far larger number in between." Mr Eaton enumerates the following five classes of people in U. S. A., by whom at least the handicrafts may be used for advancement in experience: 1. The graduate of college, university or professional school; 2. the adult, who may have had only a grammar or high school training; 3. the grown-up who has not gone to school much, but who has learned to read and write after a fashion; 4. the immigrant who cannot read or write the English language, but who may have had schooling in his homeland; 5. the adult who because of lack of opportunity has never learned to read or write.

A person can get along without an education while young, it has been observed, but as he grows older, he feels the need for learning more and more. "You can add much to your own happiness," observed Ambassador Howard in one of his addresses, "if you will learn not only to appreciate beautiful things, but also create them within the measure of your capacity."

An excellent example of the educational potentialities of spinning and weaving is recorded by Mr. Eaton on p. 307 of his book:

"Several mountain women, acting upon the suggestion of two of their companions that they try to learn something about weaving as done in other places and in other times, soon found themselves engaged in a study embracing all the basic processes of textile-making. Their quest for knowledge carried them into the beginning of history, and in their studies they travelled round the globe, making contacts with every continent and seeing interesting and sometimes rare examples of weaving from the handlooms of many countries. For more than three years they have been on this quest.... Theirs is an ever-widening search which has opened up the fields of history, literature, geography, anthropology, agriculture, and art, with glimpses into botany, chemistry, and other branches of learning until, as one of the number said recently, 'it appears like if you knew all there is about to know about spinning and weaving, you would know about all there is to know about everything.'"

(To be concluded)

Sevagram, 17-7-40

Pyarelal

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0. Postage 8 As.

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1384 pages. 18 chapters. Copious Index of 32 pages. 219 illustrations. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound; by V. P. P. Rs. 6. Rs. 6 leather-bound; by V. P. P. Rs. 7. Available at *Harijan* office—Poona 4.

Issues of Vols. I to VI of *Harijan*, with certain exceptions, can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage). Issues of Vol. VIII can be had at the published price plus postage. MANAGER

Harijan

Aug. 18

1940

IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes :

"What are the qualities that you intend to inculcate in people by laying stress on the constructive programme? What are the qualifications necessary for a constructive worker in order to make his work effective?"

The constructive programme is a big undertaking including a number of items: (1) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity; (2) Removal of untouchability; (3) Prohibition; (4) Khadi; (5) Other village industries; (6) Village sanitation; (7) New or basic education; (8) Adult education; (9) Uplift of women; (10) Education in hygiene and health; (11) Propagation of Rashtra-bhasha; (12) Cultivating love of one's own language; (13) Working for economic equality. This list can be supplemented if necessary, but it is so comprehensive that I think, it can be proved to include items appearing to have been omitted.

The reader will see that it is the want of all these things that is responsible for our bondage. He will also see that the constructive programme of the Congress is not supposed to include all the items. That is understood to include only four items, or rather six, now that the Congress has created the All India Village Industries Association and the Basic Education Board. But we have to go further forward, we have to stabilise and perfect ahimsa, and so we have to make the constructive programme as comprehensive as possible. There should be no room for doubt that, if we can win Swaraj purely through non-violence, we can also retain it through the same means. In the fulfilment of the constructive programme lies the non-violent attainment of Swaraj.

The items I have mentioned are not in order of importance. I have put them down just as they came to my pen. Generally I talk of khadi only nowadays, because millions of people can take their share in this work, and progress can be arithmetically measured. Communal unity and the removal of untouchability cannot be thus assessed. Once they become part of our daily life, nothing need be done by us as individuals.

Let us now glance at the various items. Without Hindu-Muslim, i. e. communal, unity we shall always remain crippled. And how can a crippled India win Swaraj? Communal unity means unity between Hindus, Sikhs, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis, Jews. All these go to make Hindustan. He who neglects any of these communities does not know constructive work.

As long as the curse of untouchability pollutes the mind of the Hindu, so long is he himself an untouchable in the eyes of the world, and an untouchable cannot win non-violent Swaraj. The removal of untouchability means treating the so-called untouchables as one's own kith and kin. He who does treat them so must be free from the sense of high and low, in fact free from all wrong class-sense. He will regard the whole world as one family. Under non-violent Swaraj it will be impossible to conceive of any country as an enemy country.

Pure Swaraj is impossible of attainment by people who have been or who are slaves of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It must never be forgotten that a man in the grip of intoxicants is generally bereft of the moral sense.

Everyone now may be said to believe that without khadi there is no just and immediate solution of the problem of the starvation of our millions. I need not therefore dilate upon it. I would only add that in the resuscitation of khadi lies the resuscitation of the ruined village artisans. Khadi requisites (wheels, looms, etc.) have to be made by the village carpenter and blacksmith. For unless these requisites are made in the village it cannot be self-contained and prosperous.

The revival of khadi presupposes the revival of all other village industries. Because we have not laid proper stress on this khadi-wearers see nothing wrong in using other articles which are foreign or mill-made. Such people may be said to have failed to grasp the inner meaning of khadi. They forget that by establishing the Village Industries Association the Congress has placed all other village industries on the same level as khadi. As the solar system will be dark without the sun, even so will the sun be lustreless without the heavenly bodies. All things in the universe are interdependent. The salvation of India is impossible without the salvation of villages.

If rural reconstruction were not to include rural sanitation, our villages would remain the muck-heaps that they are today. Village sanitation is a vital part of village life and is as difficult as it is important. It needs a heroic effort to eradicate age-long insanitation. The village worker who is ignorant of the science of village sanitation, who is not a successful scavenger, cannot fit himself for village service.

It seems to be generally admitted that without the new or basic education the education of millions of children in India is well-nigh impossible. The village worker has, therefore, to master it, and become a basic education teacher himself.

Adult education will follow in the wake of basic education as a matter of course. Where this new education has taken root, the children themselves become their parents' teachers. Be that as it may, the village worker has to undertake adult education also.

Woman is described as man's better half. As long as she has not the same rights in law as

man, as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, so long we should know that India is suffering from partial paralysis. Suppression of woman is a denial of ahimsa. Every village worker will, therefore, regard every woman as his mother, sister or daughter as the case may be, and look upon her with respect. Only such a worker will command the confidence of the village people.

It is impossible for an unhealthy people to win Swaraj. Therefore we should no longer be guilty of the neglect of the health of our people. Every village worker must have a knowledge of the general principles of health.

Without a common language no nation can come into being. Instead of worrying himself with the controversy about Hindi-Hindustani and Urdu, the village worker will acquire a knowledge of the *rashtrabhasha*, which should be such as can be understood by both Hindus and Muslims.

Our infatuation for English has made us unfaithful to provincial languages. If only as penance for this unfaithfulness the village worker should cultivate in the villagers a love of their own speech. He will have equal regard for all the other languages of India, and will learn the language of the part where he may be working, and thus be able to inspire the villagers there with a regard for their own speech.

The whole of this programme will, however, be a structure on sand if it is not built on the solid foundation of economic equality. Economic equality must never be supposed to mean possession of an equal amount of worldly goods by everyone. It does mean, however, that everyone will have a proper house to live in, sufficient and balanced food to eat, and sufficient khadi with which to cover himself. It also means that the cruel inequality that obtains today will be removed by purely non-violent means. This question, however, requires to be separately dealt with.

Sevagram, 13-8-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

Deeply Distressing

In response to *The News Chronicle's* request Gandhiji has cabled the following statement:

Having retired from participation in Congress politics, I have refrained from expressing opinion on the recent Viceregal pronouncement. But pressure from friends in England and fellow workers here demands response from me. The Viceregal pronouncement is deeply distressing. It widens the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress, and England. Thinking India outside the Congress, too, has not welcomed the pronouncement. The Secretary of State's gloss soothes the ear, but does not dispel suspicion. Neither does the pronouncement take note of the smouldering discontent. My own fear is that democracy is being wrecked. Britain cannot claim to stand for justice, if she fails to be just to India. India's disease is too deep to yield to any make-believe or half-hearted measures.

Sevagram, 13-8-40

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Can He Stand Alone?

Q. You are anxious that there should be believers in complete non-violence in every province. Is there not need then to organise a Sangh of such persons? Or are you of opinion that ahimsa is a force that enables individuals to stand alone?

A. Complete non-violence needs neither the aid of speech nor of the pen. And if it does not require the help of these two means, it certainly does not stand in need of organised strength. A man or woman who is saturated with ahimsa has only to will a thing and it happens. I can picture this truth in my imagination. It is stated in the scriptures too. But my experience can only be reckoned as meagre; so meagre that I cannot ask anyone to build on it. Hence my desire to build an organisation pledged to unadulterated non-violence. At the same time I believe that true believers in out and out non-violence should have the strength to stand alone. They will thus be soldiers and their own generals at the same time. If the non-violent army of my dreams can be set up, it will put an end to the existing disbelief in the power of non-violence. Indeed the Congress will itself be converted to complete non-violence.

What Should He Do?

Q. I am a Congressman and I believe in out and out non-violence. I am also a member of Congress committees. You have advised people like me to leave the Congress. I am in touch with the villagers in my area. Should I continue to bring these into the Congress fold or allow them to remain outside?

A. This is not a good question. So long as you are in the Congress, it is your duty to persuade others to join its ranks. You should explain the Congress policy to them. Those who join the Congress with an understanding of the real difference between himsa and ahimsa will do so knowingly. They will join the Congress either with the desire to try to bring the Congress on to the path of complete non-violence or to support it in its present policy. Your duty is to explain the position fully to them and freely admit as many as wish to join. You may resign from the Congress only when the date for leaving it is fixed. Until then you are to carry on as you have been doing heretofore.

What Should a Briton Do and Not Do?

Q. In your appeal to 'Every Briton' you say: "You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want..... You will give all your 'earthly possessions' but never your souls or your minds..... You will refuse to own allegiance to them." Please explain clearly what a Briton should or should not do. I ask the question because your answer will have a bearing on the duty of every satyagrahi.

A. Not to yield your soul to the conqueror means that you will refuse to do that which your conscience forbids you to do. Suppose the

enemy' were to ask you to rub your nose on the ground or to pull your ears or to go through such humiliating performances, you would not submit to any of these humiliations. But if he robs you of your possessions, you will yield them because as a votary of ahimsa you have from the beginning decided that earthly possessions have nothing to do with your soul. That which you look upon as your own you may keep only so long as the world allows you to own it.

Not to yield your mind means that you will not give way to any temptation. Man is oftentimes weak-minded enough to be caught in the snare of greed and honeyed words. We see this happening daily in our social life. A weak-minded man can never be a satyagrahi. The latter's 'no' is invariably a 'no' and his 'yes' an eternal 'yes'. Such a man alone has the strength to be a devotee of truth and ahimsa. But here one must know the difference between steadfastness and obstinacy. If after having said 'yes' or 'no' one finds out that the decision was wrong and in spite of that knowledge clings to it, that is obstinacy and folly. It is necessary to think things out carefully and thoroughly before coming to any decision.

The meaning of refusal to own allegiance is clear. You will not bow to the supremacy of the victor, you will not help him to attain his object. Herr Hitler has never dreamt of possessing Britain. He wants the British to admit defeat. The victor can then demand anything he likes from the vanquished, and the latter has perforce to yield. But if defeat is not admitted, the enemy will fight until he has killed his opponent. A satyagrahi, however, is dead to his body even before the enemy attempts to kill him, i. e. he is free from attachment to his body and only lives in the victory of the soul. Therefore, when he is already thus dead, why should he yearn to kill anyone? To die in the act of killing is in essence to die defeated. Because, if the enemy is unable to get what he wants from you alive, he will decide to get it after killing you. If, on the other hand, he realises that you have not the remotest thought in your mind of raising your hand against him even for the sake of your life, he will lack the zest to kill you. Every hunter has had this experience. No one has ever heard of anyone hunting cows.

You may find that I have not answered the questions that you had in your mind. I have made a humble effort and dealt with your general question by giving you a few homely examples. I hope that from them you will be able to deduce answers to the questions left unanswered.

Dignity of the soul and self-respect are interpreted differently by different persons. I am aware that self-respect is often misinterpreted. The over-sensitive man may see disrespect or hurt in almost everything. Such a man does not really understand what self-respect is. That has been my experience in many cases. But no harm

accrues even if a non-violent man holds mistaken notions of self-respect. He can die cheerfully for the sake of what he believes to be his dignity and self-respect. Only he has no right to injure or kill the supposed wrong-doer.

Sevagram, 13-8-40

The Case of My First Son

Q. You have failed to take even your own son with you, and he has gone astray. May it not, therefore, be well for you to rest content with putting your own house in order?

A. This may be taken to be a taunt, but I do not take it so. For the question had occurred to me before it did to anyone else. I am a believer in previous births and rebirths. All our relationships are the result of the *samskars* we carry from our previous births. God's laws are inscrutable and are the subject of endless search. No one will fathom them.

This is how I regard the case of my son. I regard the birth of a bad son to me as the result of my evil past whether of this life or previous. My first son was born when I was in a state of infatuation. Besides, he grew up whilst I was myself growing and whilst I knew myself very little. I do not claim to know myself fully even today, but I certainly know myself better than I did then. For years he remained away from me, and his upbringing was not entirely in my hands. That is why he has always been at a loose end. His grievance against me has always been that I sacrificed him and his brothers at the altar of what I wrongly believed to be public good. My other sons have laid more or less the same blame at my door, but with a good deal of hesitation, and they have generously forgiven me. My eldest son was the direct victim of my experiments — radical changes in my life and so he cannot forget what he regards as my blunders. Under the circumstances I believe I am myself the cause of the loss of my son, and have therefore learnt patiently to bear it. And yet it is not quite correct to say that I have lost him. For it is my constant prayer that God may make him see the error of his ways and forgive me my shortcomings, if any, in serving him. It is my firm faith that man is by nature going higher, and so I have not at all lost hope that some day he will wake up from his slumber of ignorance. Thus he is part of my field of experiments in ahimsa. When or whether I shall succeed I have never bothered to know. It is enough for my own satisfaction that I do not slacken my efforts in doing what I know to be my duty. 'To work thou hast the right, never to the fruit thereof' is one of the golden precepts of the Gita.

Sevagram, 5-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

Wanted Agents

For selling copies of *Harijan* in various towns of India. For terms apply to the Manager, *Harijan*—Poona 4.

NAZISM IN ITS NAKEDNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Dutch friend writes:

"You will perhaps be able to remember me having made a drawing of you at Rom. Rolland's in 1931. Even before meeting you in person I followed the Indian movement with interest, in particular your leadership and your methods of combat. I am a Dutchman and lived for many years in Germany, where I had built up a living as an artist. Nazism, which gained hold in Germany seven years ago, caused me many conscientious doubts, especially with regard to the schooling of my three children. I often thought of writing to you to ask your advice; I knew, however, how fully your time was occupied and did not want to embarrass you with my difficulties. Eventually I managed to settle my affairs to my own satisfaction.

It is just one year ago since I left my house in Munich to spend some time in Holland. When war broke out in September we did not return to Germany but remained in Holland, since I had no wish to expose my children to the mental state of a country at war. On 10th May, by the use of every possible subtle trick, Holland was overpowered. After four days of the most ruthless bombing we fled to England and are now on our way to Java, the country of my birth, where I hope to find work, not as one of the group which exploits the colony but as a guest.

Europe has put its trust in violence, but for centuries past in the wars of soldier against soldier certain rules of chivalry were observed. Nazism has thrown that code overboard, and I can say with a clear conscience that no country has ever made use of such vicious treachery, villainy and cowardice in attaining its ends as modern Germany. The upbringing even of little children is based on the exercise of violence. Nazism systematically trains children to cunning and treachery even towards their own parents, to immorality and much more in the same spirit. When Indian students, who in the course of years have visited me at home, enthused about Germany, they were merely deceived by the gloss which Nazism knows so well how to lay on. A short explanation always convinced them of the tremendous difference between 'Indian National Socialism', as they often called your movement, and Hitler's Nazism.

Two books, *The Revolution of Destruction* and *Hitler Speaks*, have been written by Hermann Rauschning, a former intimate of Hitler. These books give a very clear impression of the movement in Germany, and should be read by all thinking people. Hitler aims at nothing less than the destruction of all moral values, and in the bulk of German youth he has already attained that end.

Your article in *Harijan* about the Jewish problem in Germany particularly interested me since I had many Jewish friends there. You say in it that, if ever a war were justified, it is this one against Germany. In the same article, however, you write that, if you were a Jew, you would attempt to soften the hearts of the Nazis by non-violence. Recently you also advised Britain and the British people to surrender their beautiful island to the

German invader, without resistance by force, and to conquer him afterwards by non-violence. There is probably no man in the whole history who has a better knowledge of the practice of non-violence than yourself. Your views have awakened veneration and love for you in millions of hearts not only in India but in the outside world as well. Even your opponents are compelled eventually to honour you and admit the rightness of your aims and methods. But your opponents are the British, a people that, though like every other it has its weak points, in spite of its business sense, retains a heart.

Through Nazism, the German youth has lost all individuality of thought and feeling. The great mass of young people has lost its heart and is degraded to the level of a machine. The German conduct of the war is absolutely mechanical; machines are driven by robot men who have no qualms of conscience about crushing under their tanks the bodies of women and children, bombing open towns, killing hundreds of thousands of women and children, and on occasion using them as a screen for their advance, or distributing poisoned food. These are all facts, the truth of which I can vouch for. I have spoken with many of your followers about the possibility of applying non-violence against Germany. A friend of mine, whose work it is to cross-examine German prisoners of war in England, was deeply shocked by the spiritual narrowness and heartlessness of these young men, and agreed with me that non-violence could not be applied with any success against such robots. The most terrible side of the question is the fact that Hitler has been able in the short space of seven years to sink German youth to such depths of demoralisation. A glance at either of the books mentioned above will convince you of that. I know of no other example in history of a people sinking spiritually so low.

I hope that my letter has not trespassed too much upon your time. On the return journey to Europe in a happier time which, if God wills, may soon be possible, I shall try to bring my wife and children for a short visit to you."

The friend has sent his name and address. But I withhold both for fear of harm coming to him through unnecessary publicity. The letter must be valued on its own intrinsic merits.

What, however, concerns me is not so much his characterisation of Nazism as his belief that non-violent action may have no effect on Hitler or the Germans whom he has turned into so many robots. Non-violent action, if it is adequate, must influence Hitler and easily the duped Germans. No man can be turned into a permanent machine. Immediately the dead weight of authority is lifted from his head, he begins to function normally. To lay down any such general proposition as my friend has, betrays ignorance of the working of non-violence. The British Government can take no risks, can make no experiments in which they have not even a workable faith. But if ever an opportunity could be given to me, in spite of my physical limitations. I should not hesitate to try what would

appear to be impossible. For in ahimsa it is not the votary who acts in his own strength. Strength comes from God. If, therefore, the way is opened for me to go, He will give me the physical endurance and clothe my word with the needed power. Anyway all through my life I have acted in that faith. Never have I attributed any independent strength to myself. This may be considered by men who do not believe in a higher Power than themselves as a drawback and a helpless state. I must admit that limitation of ahimsa, if it be accounted as such.

Sevagram, 6-8-40

TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri P. J. Sebastian sends me the following 'true copy' of the press note of the Travancore Government :

"The Government of Travancore have observed with regret that, in the columns of his newspaper 'Harijan', Mr. Ghandi has afforded hospitality to statements emanating from Messrs. Achuthan and G. Ramachandran, the former being the latest President and latter the propagandist of the moribund Travancore State Congress. Evidently it is hoped by these statements and the comments of Mr. Ghandi to force an outside enquiry and outside mediation upon the State. Mr. Achuthan who is a Travancore subject is reported to be moving between British Malabar and Cochin and his statement was published some weeks ago. This Government had resolved to ignore it realising as they did that such statements have been merely variants of the baseless assertions made by Mr. Ramachandran repeated in different phraseology.

In view however to the publicity which accompanies statements associated with Mr. Ghandi and in order that the public may not be misled, as Mr. Ghandi allows himself to be misled by such statements, the Travancore Government propose to take appropriate legal proceedings against Messrs. Achuthan and G. Ramachandran in the course of which the truth or falsity of their averments can be tested.

Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum,
29th July 1940.

(Sd.) M. K. NILAKANTA AIYAR,
Chief Secretary to Government"

I have published the text without interfering with the spelling or the grammar. In sending the copy Shri Sebastian says:

"It has not up to now appeared in any of the Madras papers. The object of the press note seems to be to warn the Travancore papers not to copy the article on 'Travancore' in the *Harijan* of the 28th July. It is worthy of note that none of the Travancore papers has published the *Harijan* article of the 28th, though the article of the 21st together with the reply of the Dewan had been published."

I am publishing everything important coming to me about Travancore because I believe it to be true. The threatened proceedings against Shri Ramachandran and Achuthan will not disprove the statements published. They will confirm the impression that the Travancore State authorities are determined by all means at their disposal to crush the movement for liberty. If past experience is any guide, this Travancore repression will fail to crush the movement. Note how the issues are evaded in the press note. There is no demand for an 'outside inquiry' or 'outside mediation', nor is there any question of force. The Dewan himself and many others in Travancore are outsiders. But they are not forced upon the State when the Maharaja engages them, and the use of the word 'outsider' ceases to have any meaning for the appointer. It is preposterous to use the word 'force' for friendly suggestions by the Press or appeals by State subjects, or to use words 'outsiders' and 'outside mediation' for suggestions to the State to bring impartial judges from outside. Were Justice Hunter, himself a non-Punjabi, and his non-Punjabi colleagues forced upon the Punjab Government when in response to public agitation Government appointed the Hunter Committee? Or was Justice Ramesam forced upon Sir Mirza Ismail when he appointed that learned outsider to conduct an inquiry into the Viduraswatham shooting? The public is bound to give a sinister meaning to this gross misuse of the language by the Travancore authorities. Again, if the Travancore people are hostile to or apathetic to the doings of the State Congress, where is the occasion for the suppression of the State Congress bulletins and newspaper comments? Just causes truthfully and non-violently conducted have always survived repression and drawn sympathy from unexpected quarters. I call such sympathy divine help. God works in mysterious ways. Let the persecuted State Congress people have faith that God is with them.

Sevagram, 4-8-40

Empire or Democracy ? by L. Barnes.

Price Rs. 5-10 + Postage 4 Annas.

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MARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII No. 28]

POONA — SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 1940

[ONE ANNA

DR. LOHIA AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

By courtesy of Shri Achut Patwardhan I have a copy of Dr. Lohia's statement before the court and the judgment of the presiding magistrate. The whole of Dr. Lohia's statement is sound, but I resist the temptation to give it in full. Here, however, is its permanent part:

"In all our activities we have to be non-violent. Non-violence is dictated not only by the circumstances in our country but by considerations that operate throughout the world. It is not only a practical necessity, it is an ethical desirability. Whatever little confusion there might be on this point due to faulty reporting is set aside by the reporter himself. I am reported to have said: 'When we have recourse to weapons we become weak of heart. Those who rely on weapons do not rely on their hearts. They turn into slaves of their own weapons. They have no strength left in themselves.'

I am an opponent of the old cult of the lathi, and its modern equivalent the cult of the aeroplane. There is an inner contradiction between these cults and the enduring of human life, a contradiction which is daily becoming more fierce. The next twenty years will show which wins, and the dualism cannot last longer.

Should human life endure, there can be only one form of organisation. Adult democracy must obtain throughout the world, and there will be no place in it for imperialism, nor for capitalism. I have given an indication in my speech of this form of government as it will affect the Indian people. It was with a view to bring into the foreground this principle of adult democracy that I suggested an immediate peace plan to Mahatma Gandhi. I claim no originality for this plan whose items are:

1. All peoples will be free. Those newly acquiring freedom will determine their constitution through a constituent assembly.

2. All races are equal, and there will be no racial privileges in any part of the world. There will be no political bar to anyone settling wherever he likes.

3. All credits and investments owned by the Government and nationals of one country in another will be scrapped or submitted for impartial review to international tribunals. They will then be owned not by individuals but by the State.

When these three principles will have been accepted by the peoples of the world, a fourth will automatically come into operation.

4. There will be total disarmament.

I am happy in the knowledge that Mahatma Gandhi has endorsed this peace plan.

Let me in conclusion state that I have no ill-will towards any people. I have lived among the German people and liked their thoroughness of enquiry, the scientific bent of their mind, and their efficiency in action. I am unhappy that they have today to carry on their shoulders a system which results in war and conquest. I have no intimate knowledge of the British people. I dare say that they have their virtues. I may be permitted to quote from my speech: 'I do not want the destruction of Britain. The British have done evil to us, but I do not want to do evil to them.' Again, I am unhappy that the British people have to carry on their shoulders today a system which has enslaved the peoples of the world."

Of Dr. Lohia this is what the court has to say:

"The accused is a highly intellectual and cultured gentleman, perhaps with a doctorate degree of some European University, a man of high principles and morals whose honesty of purpose nobody can doubt. He does not mind suffering for his convictions and does not care much for his sentence or its duration. We certainly do not punish him for holding certain political views about the present Government, for the very claim of the Government that it is democratic and run on public opinion entitles the public to criticise it according to his light by constitutional means, but we must protect such Government from embarrassment in her relation with the masses who are bound to be disaffected by a speech like the one the accused has delivered in Dostpur, and particularly when the British nation and Empire is in grip with the most unscrupulous enemy. I therefore consider that his detention in jail for a long duration or until the present cloud is drifted away is very desirable and to that end in view I sentence him to two years R. I. He is recommended for B Class."

Then why has he been rewarded with rigorous imprisonment? The duration of the term I understand. He must be kept from the supposed mischief. I wonder whether the fact of the imprisonment will not aggravate the mischief. Of this, the Government must be the judge. But the people will remember that love of one's country and outspokenness are a crime in a country where the State is irresponsible to the people. Dr. Lohia and other Congressmen's imprisonments are so many hammer-strokes that must weaken the chain that binds India. The Government is inviting the Congress to start civil disobedience and deliver the last blow it would fain have reserved for a better day — better for the British. It is a pity.

Sevagram, 21-8-40

GANDHI SCHOLARSHIPS

List of Harijan students who have been granted
Gandhi Scholarships for the year 1940-41.

Name	Course of study	Amount p. m.			
Andhra			Rs. As.		
Shri D. Venkanna	B. A. Jr.	5			
" K. Venkateshwarlu	L. I. M. II yr.	10			
" A. Hanumanthu	I. A. Sr.	5			
" B. C. Venkiah	Veterinary Course	7 8			
" G. Anandayya	I. A. Sr.	5			
" L. Bullayya	B. A. Jr.	5			
" U. Ram Rao	B.Sc. Agriculture	10			
" M. Ramanuja Doss	L. I. M.	10			
Assam					
Miss Surabala Das	B. A. Jr.	10			
Shri Maheshwar Das	Overseer's course	7 8			
" Krishna Lal Biswas	" 2nd yr.	7			
" Bhabendra Nath Das	M. Sc.	15			
" Hemeshwar Das	B. A. Jr.	7 8			
" Dharendra Nath Das	L. M. P.	7			
" Narendra Nath Barooah	I. A. Sr.	7 8			
Berar					
Miss C. M. Borkar	I. A. Sr.	7 8			
Shri R. T. Chin	" "	5			
Bihar					
Shri Jagdis Narayan Choudhary	Shastri Course	10			
C. P. Hindi					
Shri Chhotelal Katiya	Engineering	10			
" Shivalal Mahobia	B. A. Sr.	7 8			
" Jugal Kishor Katia	B. A. Sr.	7 8			
" D. J. Madke	Engineering	10			
" Laxminarayan J. Jharla	I. Sc. final	7 8			
C. P. Marathi					
Shri Udhao Venkat Rao Kamble	I. A. Jr.	7 8			
" U. S. Charbhe	B. A. Sr.	5			
" M. D. Panchbhai	B. A. Sr.	7 8			
" S. S. Nikhade	B. A. Sr.	5			
" S. T. Ramteke	L.M.P. 4th yr.	10			
" M. A. Chavan	B. A. Sr.	7 8			
Miss S. H. Shinde	I. Sc. Sr.	5			
Central India					
Shri K. C. Yadava (Gwalior St.)	I. A. Jr.	10			
" Anant Ballal (Indore)	I. A. Jr.	10			
Delhi					
Shri Ram Krishna Rajar	I. A. Sr.	7 8			
Gujarat					
Shri Br. Bhisma Deva	Vedic Course				
	at Gurukul Kangri	10			
" I. N. Bhagat	I. A.	5			
Karnatak					
Shri Y. C. Shankaranand	M. A.	15			
" K. Honnappa	B. Sc.	12			
Kerala					
Miss K. J. Jankibai	M. B. B. S.	25			
" T. K. Narayani	B. A. Jr.	5			
Shri T. Prabhakara Sharma	Secondary Training	6			
" K. R. Narayanan	B. A. (Hons.)	5			
Maharashtra					
Shri S. R. Kamble	I. Sc. Jr.	5			
" M. D. Kamble	I. A. Sr.	5			
" D. S. Budhaji	" "	5			
" S. K. Dige	B. A. Sr.	7 8			
" S. R. Kharat	I. A. Jr.	5			
" B. V. Kamble	I. A. Sr.	5			
" B. D. Kamble	B. A. Jr.	5			
" N. N. Pendhari	I. A.	7 8			
" N. M. Dhivde	S. T. C.	5			
" S. A. Pote	"	5			
Mysore					
Shri M. R. Narasimhiah	Practical Electric				
	Training	5			
" B. M. Nachiketha	Vedic Culture	10			
Nizam Dominion					
Shri K. Veeraswamy	I. A. Sr.	5			
" B. S. Rajarathnam	B. A. Sr.	5			
" B. Pantiya	M. B. B. S.	10			
" T. Hanumaiah	I. A. Sr.	5			
Orissa					
Shri Purushottam Sethi	I. A. Jr.	7 8			
" Anant Naik	I. Sc. Jr.	7 8			
" Purushottam Das	Medical	15			
" Sitaram Svain	B. A. Jr.	10			
" Dinbandhu Bhoi	I. A. Sr.	10			
Punjab					
Shri Khushi Ram	I. A. Jr.	5			
" Surat Singh	I. A. Sr.	6			
" Ram Narayan	I. A. Sr.	6			
" Charan Singh	Medical	20			
" Gungan Ram	I. A. Sr.	6			
" Sardar Singh	B. A. Sr.	10			
" Sant Ram Perkashi	I. A. Jr.	10			
Sind					
Shri N. P. Oad	Law Final	15			
Tamil Nad					
Shri K. Atmanathan	Veterinary	10			
" G. Venkatappa	M. B. B. S.	20			
" M. S. Mani	Sanitary				
	Inspector's Course	10			
" M. V. Chelliah	Power Spinning				
	and Weaving				
	Supervisor's				
	Course	7 8			
" A. Velu	Sanitary Inspec-				
	tor's Course	10			
Shri C. N. Rathnam	Vidwan	7 8			
" K. S. Perumal	L. I. M.	10			
Miss G. Deveeramam	I. A. Sr.	5			
U. P. East					
Shri Vishwanath Ram	I. Sc. Final	7 8			
" Chokheylal	" "	10			
U. P. West					
Shri Jahan Singh	Engineering	10			
" Sitaram Jatava	Advanced				
	Ayurvedic	12			
" Swami Ramanand	Shastri	5			
			Total Rs.	662	8
Note: 1. Some cases from Berar, Bihar, C. P. Hindi, Karnatak, Kerala, U. P. East and U. P. West are still under consideration.					
2. All applications from Bengal are still under consideration. The aggregate amount of scholarships will be Rs. 70 p. m.					
3. All scholarships in Tamil Nad are for a period of 10 months only.					
			Shyam Lal		
Delhi, 6-7-40			Asst. Secretary, H. S. S.		

VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH

Shri N. S. Varadachari sends reports of rural reconstruction work in five centres which are worthy of notice. He says the heartening factor is that the initiative and labour is all due to the spirit that has animated the villagers themselves. Not much money has been spent. Whatever was needed came from the villages. In some cases Government grants were also available. The work was started two years ago in the Rajaji centre and a year ago in the others. The new centres sprang up because the people asked for help and have shown an eagerness and willingness to learn how to better their living conditions and surroundings.

From one village in the Rajaji centre in 1938 the work is now carried on in 12. The total population of all the villages is 2,532. Thirty furlongs of new roads have been laid. Government has contributed a certain amount towards this work. But the villagers have made themselves responsible for keeping the roads in good condition. The streets are kept clean by the women in one of the centres. The sanitary condition of the neighbourhood has changed beyond recognition. The Rajaji centre has 9 silage pits which are well kept. These are being installed in the other centres wherever possible. Well water is protected from pollution, and wherever there is not an ample supply efforts are being made to make the deficiency good. 4 wells and 1 bore well for Harijans have been sunk. Where drainage water can be utilised with advantage small kitchen gardens are encouraged, both private and community. In the Rajaji centre each Harijan family has got its own garden. In one village every house has a manure pit in its backyard at a suitable distance from the living quarters. Care of cattle is an important part of the programme. In one centre the cattle shed is dug to a depth of 18 inches and filled with soft fine sand which forms a soft porous bed for the animals. Once in 2 or 3 days the sand is turned over, and every month or six weeks when it requires to be changed it is all carted into manure pits. There is thus no wastage and no smell or dirt in the shed itself. There are 6 schools and 352 boy and girl pupils in all the centres. A literacy campaign has been commenced among the adults. There are 519 literates in these centres at the moment. The Rajaji centre boasts a library with 620 books for which there is ample demand.

Existing industries in the Rajaji centre are basket-making, pottery, date palm weaving, black-smithy and carpentry. It has not been possible to get figures of the actual amounts earned through these. Malt and hand-pounded rice have been introduced. The entire process of manufacturing malt from ragi and cholam and biscuit-making from malt was taught by the Asst. Agricultural Chemist, Coimbatore, with the result that 3

families are regularly making malt and selling it in Chittoor. They have sold Rs. 91/12/- worth since last October. 416 putties of paddy were pounded and used in the Rajaji centre villages since the last report. Spinning has been started in all the centres, and some villagers are growing their own cotton. There are 386 spinners, 108 charkhas, 138 carders, and 309 square yards of cloth have so far been produced. Attempts at bee-keeping and paper-making from bamboo have also been made. For various reasons these have not so far met with success, but they are not going to be given up.

Shri N. S. Varadachari is confident that as the villagers are keen the work will endure and grow.

Sevagram, 19-8-40

(Abridged by A. K.)

Asoka and Non-violence

Principal Thadani sends me the following lines which should be read with interest:

"The general policy of the Congress has undergone a radical change, and one does not know what this War may bring about. I am not a politician; but it was during the last Great War that I thought of what you have advised the British people today. And then I conceived of *Asoka*, which I wrote during the course of the War, but published later. I felt during the last War that, if one side suffered itself to be destroyed without touching its opponent, not only would the War be over, but a new order of life would ensue. And then I thought of Asoka's conversion after the conquest of Kalinga, and imagined that the people of that country had offered such a non-violent opposition to Asoka, suffered themselves to be slain without slaying a single soldier of the King, and it was this that brought about the change in the heart of Asoka.

I do not know if you ever read that little book of mine, but perhaps it might interest you now. I have been reading it, and perhaps you might find time for a few lines if not the whole poem:

Go forth and die upon the battlefield;
Go forth and live immortal in your deed;
Go forth and die, to live for evermore.
Be slain, but slay not—die, but do not yield;
Nor fight, nor fly, nor kill, nor cause to bleed;
But suffer and be saved for evermore.
The world is wounded—let her heart be healed;
The world is fettered—let her soul be freed;
And free and whole, live on for evermore.
Go forth and die, ye earth's unbroken shield;
Go forth and die—thus have the gods decreed;
Go forth, to live anew for evermore."

Sevagram, 13-8-40

M. K. G.

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1384 pages. 18 chapters. Copious Index of 32 pages. 219 illustrations. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 6. Rs. 6 leather-bound; By V. P. P. Rs. 7 Available at *Harijan* office—Poona 4.

Harijan

Aug. 25

1940

EQUAL DISTRIBUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In last week's article on the Constructive Programme I mentioned equal distribution of wealth as one of the 13 items.

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realise the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

It is perfectly possible for an individual to adopt this way of life without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can observe a certain rule of conduct, it follows that a group of individuals can do likewise. It is necessary for me to emphasise the fact that no one need wait for anyone else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with the new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them. For according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent

action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity enters into his earnings and there is ahimsa in his venture. Moreover, if men's minds turn towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society, and that without any bitterness.

It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society. But this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale in non-violence. Somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that ahimsa is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should therefore be limited to that sphere. In fact this is not the case. Ahimsa is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is at once my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence. The history of religion is full of such examples. To try to root out religion itself from society is a wild goose chase. And were such an attempt to succeed, it would mean the destruction of society. Superstition, evil customs and other imperfections creep in from age to age and mar religion for the time being. They come and go. But religion itself remains. Because the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion. The ultimate definition of religion may be said to be obedience to the law of God. God and His law are synonymous terms. Therefore God signifies an unchanging and living law. No one has ever really found Him. But avatars and prophets have, by means of their 'tapasya', given to mankind a faint glimpse of the eternal law.

If, however, in spite of the utmost effort, the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non-

violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. Man has been conversant with violence from the beginning, for he has inherited this strength from the animal in his nature. It was only when he rose from the state of a quadruped (animal) to that of a biped (man) that the knowledge of the strength of ahimsa entered into his soul. This knowledge has grown within him slowly but surely. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

I scarcely need to write anything about non-cooperation and civil disobedience, for the readers of *Harjanbandhu* are familiar with these and their working.

Sevagram, 19-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

AN INTERESTING DISCOURSE

I

The Scope of Ahimsa

"You see that I am answering every one of your questions straightaway without the slightest hesitation. That is because the great question underlying your questions possesses me and I have rehearsed to myself every one of the situations arising out of the various implications of ahimsa." These words were uttered by Gandhiji towards the close of a long and interesting discourse with a number of friends from Poona who had come for the sole purpose of clearing their doubts on ahimsa. They were all out and out believers in non-violence, or if they were not, they had come all the way from Poona, in order to be such believers, after their doubts were cleared. Balasaheb Kher, the ex-Prime Minister of Bombay, accompanied them. They had drawn up an exhaustive questionnaire, even at the risk of making some of their questions trite, for they did not want to leave any room for doubt.

The first question was about the limits and implications of ahimsa and the extent of its application. Should one stop with the human species or extend it to all creation?

Gandhiji said: "I was not prepared for this question. For the Congress ahimsa is naturally confined to the political field and therefore only to the human species. Hence out and out non-violence means for our purpose every variety of non-violence on the political field. In concrete terms it covers family relations, relations with constituted authority, internal disorders and external aggression. Put in another way it covers all human relations."

"Then what about meat-eating and egg-eating? Do they consist with non-violence?"

"They do. Otherwise we should have to exclude Mussalmans and Christians and a vast number of Hindus as possible co-workers in ahimsa. I have known many meat-eaters to be far more non-violent than vegetarians."

"But what if we had to give them up for the sake of a principle?"

"Oh yes, we would, if we had to compromise our principle. Our principle is defined as I have shown already."

A Wrong Analogy

"If, as you have said, Polish resistance to the German invasion was almost non-violent, and you would thus seem to reconcile yourself with it, why do you object to the Wardha resolution of the Working Committee?"

"Surely," said Gandhiji, "there is no analogy between the two cases. If a man fights with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits armed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting almost non-violently. Haven't I said to our women that, if in defence of their honour they used their nails and teeth and even a dagger, I should regard their conduct non-violent? She does know the distinction between himsa and ahimsa. She acts spontaneously. Supposing a mouse in fighting a cat tried to resist the cat with his sharp beak, would you call that mouse violent? In the same way, for the Poles to stand valiantly against the German hordes vastly superior in numbers, military equipment and strength, was almost non-violence. I should not mind repeating that statement over and over again. You must give its full value to the word 'almost'. But we are 400 millions here. If we were to organise a big army and prepare ourselves to fight foreign aggression, how could we by any stretch of imagination call ourselves almost non-violent, let alone non-violent? The Poles were unprepared for the way in which the enemy swooped down upon them. When we talk of armed preparation, we contemplate preparation to meet any violent combination with our superior violence. If India ever prepared herself that way, she would constitute the greatest menace to world peace. For if we take that path, we will also have to choose the path of exploitation like the European nations. That is why I still regret the moment when my words lacked the power of convincing the Sardar and Rajaji. By having passed that resolution we proclaimed to the world that the ahimsa we had subscribed to all these years was not really ahimsa but a form of himsa."

Administering Non-violently

Q. "How will you run your administration non-violently?"

A. "If you assume that we would have won independence by non-violent means, it means that the bulk of the country had been organised non-violently. Without the vast majority of people having become non-violent, we could not attain non-violent Swaraj. If, therefore, we attain Swaraj by purely non-violent means, it should

not be difficult for us to carry on the administration without the military. The goondas too will then have come under our control. If, for instance, in Sevagram we have five or seven goondas in a population of seven hundred who are non-violently organised, the five or seven will either live under the discipline of the rest or leave the village.

"But you will see that I am answering the question with the utmost caution, and my truth makes me admit that we might have to maintain a police force. But the police will be after our pattern, and not the British pattern. As we shall have adult suffrage, the voice of even the youngest of us will count. That is why I have said that the ideally non-violent State will be an ordered anarchy. That State will be the best governed which is governed the least. The pity is that no one trusts me with the reins of government! Otherwise I would show how to govern non-violently. If I maintain a police force, it will be a body of reformers."

"But," someone retorted, "you had the power in the Congress?"

"That was a paper-boat," said Gandhiji. "And then you must not forget that I never spared the Congress ministries. Munshi and Pantji came in for a lot of strictures from me. As I have said in another connection even the dirty water from the gutter, when it mixes with the water of the Ganges, becomes as pure as the Ganges water; even so I had expected even the goondas would work under Congress discipline. But evidently our ministers had not attained the purifying potency of the fabled Ganges."

"But," said Shri Kher, intervening at this stage, "the Congress ministers had no non-violent power with them. Even if 500 goondas had run amok and had been allowed to go unchecked, they would have dealt untold havoc. I do not know how even you would have dealt with them."

"Surely, surely," said Gandhiji, "I had rehearsed such situations. The ministers could on such occasions have gone out and allowed themselves to be done to death by the goondas. But let us face the fact that we had not the requisite ahimsa. We went in with our half-baked ahimsa. I do not mind it, inasmuch as we gave up power the moment we felt we should give it up. I am sure that, if we had adhered to strictest non-violence during these two or three years, the Congress would have made a tremendous advance in the direction of ahimsa and also independence."

"But," said Balasaheb, "four or five years ago when there was a riot, and I appealed to the leaders to go and throw themselves into the conflagration, no one was ready."

"So you are supporting my argument. You agree that our loyalty to ahimsa was lip-loyalty and not heart-loyalty. And if even the half-baked ahimsa carried us a long way, does it not follow that thorough ahimsa would have carried

us very far indeed, even if it had not already brought us to the goal?"

Non-violent Army

"But we cannot visualise how you will stand non-violently against a foreign invasion."

"I cannot draw the whole picture to you because we have no past experience to fall back upon and there is no reality facing us today. We have got the Government army manned by the Sikhs, Pathans and Gurkhas. What I can conceive is this that with my non-violent army of, say, two thousand people I should put myself between the two contending armies. But this, I know, is no answer. I can only say that we shall be able to reduce the invader's violence to a minimum. The general of a non-violent army has got to have greater presence of mind than that of a violent army, and God would bless him with the necessary resourcefulness to meet situations as they arise."

Shri Kher now raised a philosophical question. "The world," he said, "is made up of pairs of opposites. Where there is fear, there is courage too. When we walk on the edge of a precipice we walk warily, for we have fear. Fear is not a thing to despise. Will your non-violent army be above these pairs of opposites?"

"No," said Gandhiji, replying in the same philosophical terminology. "No, for the simple reason that my army will represent one of the pair — ahimsa — out of the pair of himsa and ahimsa. Neither I nor my army is above the pair of opposites. The state of *gunātita*, in the language of the Gita, rises above himsa and ahimsa both. Fear has its use, but cowardice has none. I may not put my finger into the jaws of a snake, but the very sight of the snake need not strike terror into me. The trouble is that we often die many times before death overtakes us."

"But let me explain what my army will be like. They need not and will not have the resourcefulness or understanding of the general, but they will have a perfect sense of discipline to carry out faithfully his orders. The general should have the quality which commands the unquestioning obedience of his army, and he will expect of them nothing more than this obedience. The Dandi March was entirely my conception. Pandit Motilalji first laughed at it, he thought it to be a quixotic adventure, and Jamnalalji suggested instead a march on the Viceroy's House! But I could not think of anything but the salt march as I had to think in terms of millions of our countrymen. It was a conception that God gave me. Pandit Motilalji argued for some time, and then he said he must not argue as after all I was the general, and he must have faith in me. Later when he saw me in Jambusar, he was completely converted for he saw with his own eyes the awakening that had come over the masses. And it was an almost magical awakening. Where in history shall we find parallels of the cool courage that our women displayed in such large numbers?"

"And yet none of the thousands who took part in the movement were above the average. They were erring, sinning mortals. God has a way of making use of the most fragile instruments and remaining Himself untouched by everything. Only He is *gunātita*."

The Real Equipment

"And then what after all is the army that wins? You know Rama's reply to Vibhishana when the latter wondered how Rama would be able to conquer a foe like Ravana, when he had no chariot, no armour, nor any shoes to his feet? Rama says :*

"The chariot, my dear Vibhishana, that wins the victory for Rama is of a different sort from the usual one. Manliness and courage are its wheels; unflinching truth and character its banners and standards; strength, discrimination, self-restraint and benevolence its horses, with forgiveness, mercy, equanimity their reins; prayer to God is that conqueror's unerring charioteer, dispassion his shield, contentment his sword, charity his axe, intellect his spear, and perfect science his stout bow. His pure and unwavering mind stands for a quiver, his mental quietude and his practice of *yama* and *niyama* stand for the sheaf of arrows, and the homage he pays to Brahmanas and his guru is his impenetrable armour. There is no other equipment for victory comparable to this; and, my dear friend, there is no enemy who can conquer the man who takes his stand on the chariot of *dharma*. He who has a powerful chariot like this is a warrior who can conquer even that great and invincible enemy — the world. Harken unto me and fear not."

"That is the equipment," added Gandhiji, "that can lead us to victory. I have not retired from the world, nor do I mean to. I am no recluse. I am content to do what little work I can in Sevagram and give what guidance I can to those that come to me. What we need is faith. And what is there to be lost in following the right path? The worst that can happen to us is that we shall be crushed. Better to be crushed than to be vanquished."

"But if we had to equip ourselves violently, I should be at my wit's end. I cannot even think out an armament plan, much less work it. On the other hand my non-violent plan is incredibly simpler and easier, and with God as our Commander and Infallible Guide where is there cause for any fear?"

Sevagram, 21-8-40

M. D.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

* Gandhiji only made a reference to these verses from Tulsidas' Ramayan. I translate them here fully for the benefit of the reader. M. D.

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Satyagraha in South Africa	Rs. 4	8	0	8
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ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH HANDICRAFTS

II

A case of the effective use of a handicraft in strengthening the dull memory of a girl is described in chapter V entitled "Spinning and Weaving for Home and Market". At a settlement school in the Southern Highlands, several children had been bringing rugs that they had made on their family looms. Inquiry revealed the fact that all the family had taken a hand in weaving except the dull girl, who could never remember how to do anything. When asked if she would care to come to school and learn to weave, she was delighted, but her expression changed immediately. "It is no use, I can't learn anything," she said.

"The teacher encouraged her to try. At first she would sit at the loom and do only what she was told; when it came to a change, she could not remember, and either stopped or continued in the same way. But whatever she completed was well done.... The girl was always on hand before weaving started, always stayed at her loom as long as she could, and little by little she learned how to remember. Finally she could make a simple rug entirely by herself. She was then asked to help beginners. This opened up a new world to her, and stimulated by the hope of showing others how to weave, she learned to warp up a loom, and then taught others. All this required a long time, but whatever she learned she retained, and now she weaves several kinds of articles... including the old mountain coverlets which she likes best."

The capacity of handicrafts to provide "freshness to body and mind" has given birth to the science of "occupational therapy", and they have come to be an indispensable feature of treatment in the best American hospitals, particularly in mental hospitals and among the feeble-minded.

The educative value of handicrafts rests on a deep scientific foundation. As Charles Eliot has observed, "We have lately become convinced that *accurate work with carpenter's tool, or lathe or hammer and anvil, or violin, or piano, or pencil, or crayon, or camel's hair brush, trains well the same nerves and ganglia with which we do what is ordinarily called thinking.*" The practice of the handicrafts has thus two distinct functions in adult education; one, as an incentive to participation in the generally accepted forms of learning, the other as having strong potentiality for learning within itself. "In the former, a handicraft may encourage reading, writing, inquiry, analysis, discussion, and other activities associated with formal education....but a handicraft in its practice also provides training in estimating, measuring, in judging the yielding and resisting qualities of materials, the powers and limitations of tools, and it affords exercise in the choosing of colour, form, texture and other qualities both practical and æsthetic. Thus we may experience through a handicraft the *cultural*

satisfaction which comes through knowing, and also which comes through doing."

"This double advantage," concludes Mr. Eaton, "cannot be too highly esteemed. In our systems of formal schooling and in our general attitude toward education we have overemphasized intellectuality, the thinking of things, and have neglected the educational importance of the doing of things. In life the two cannot be entirely separated, nor should they be; it is through their happy and constructive blending that we grow, experience and advance. As Ernst Harms so well expressed it, 'Human life and human culture as well consists not only of thoughts but also of feelings and impulses that spring from æsthetic and moral sources.' And from wide observation and experience he has concluded that '*of all the means by which we can educate the whole personality none seems more effective than the home crafts and other types of handicraft.*'"

Educationists and organisers of adult education drives in this country would do well to seriously consider and ponder these words of wisdom. We are accustomed to associate learning or education with books, classes and schools. Is it not possible that we tend to overlook the great amount of learning that comes through doing, and especially doing work with the hands which calls for skill, thought and artistry? Learning through books and the wide use of reading and writing are, as Mr. Eaton points out, "for the vast masses of our people comparatively recent achievements; making things with the hands has been in everyday practice for ages."

Sevagram, 17-7-40

Pyarelal

Notes

Debt Bondage of A Hill Tribe

Shri Mandeswar Sarma, who is working among the hillmen of Madugole Agency area in the Vizagapatam District, writes :

"I am glad to inform you that the debt bondage system prevailing from ages in these areas has been abolished very recently by the Government of Madras as the result of the efforts of the Hill Tribes' Association and the Provincial Zaim Ryots' Association. Debt bondage means that the hill muttahdars and employers advance some money, say Rs. 50 or 60, to tribesmen and exact whole-time services of the meek hillmen for 5, 10 and even 20 years, and at times for generations together. By this new regulation thousands of hillmen have been set free. We are leading the hillmen in all these matters in a non-violent groove. I am helping them to realize non-violent values by themselves. It is our ambition to take you to this area after three thousand persons actively take to the spinning wheel and the takli. For this we need your blessing. They are about twenty thousand. At present twelve hundred hillmen are spinning. We are also trying to wean them from drink."

Though the Madras Government have taken long to redress the glaring wrong referred to

here, they deserve to be thanked on the principle that it is better to be late than never. It should now be easier for the workers like Shri Sarma to carry out ameliorative measures among the hillmen. My blessing he has. I do not know that I can hold out any hope of visiting his area even if he succeeds in getting three thousand charkhas going among the hillmen. He should have no difficulty in realising his modest ambition.

Sevagram, 4-8-40

Improper Use

There is in Kashmir a firm called Ganju House. I do not know any of its partners or the nature of the business done by the Company. Shri H. Kotak who was for some time in the Ashram at Sabarmati and later in the A. I. S. A., having ceased connection with the latter, joined the Ganju House and advertised it and his connection with it by using without my permission a private and personal letter written to him by me. My attention was drawn to the improper use. I rebuked Shri Kotak for such use of my letter. He has realised his mistake and sent the following notice to the Lahore Tribune for publication:

"A notice was published in the name of this House (meaning Ganju House) mentioning my name and connected with it a letter from Gandhiji which had no connection with the House. I had made use of a private and personal letter. My action was highly improper and wholly unauthorised. I am in my present work solely on my own. He is not interested in it."

I am glad that Shri Kotak has repaired the blunder.

Sevagram, 21-8-40

M. K. G.

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MARJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII No. 29]

POONA, — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1940

[ONE ANNA

MY IDEA OF A POLICE FORCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes as follows:

"The English sister, whom you recently quoted, rightly says that efforts should always be made to stem external aggression by non-violent means, and that present circumstances offer a peculiarly suitable opportunity for demonstrating that it is possible to secure better results through non-violence than through armed force. But ahimsa as a weapon to counter internal disorders presents difficulties. In our country there can be three types of internal disturbances, viz. communal, industrial, and dacoities. The root causes of these are mutual distrust, social injustice, and grinding poverty due to economic exploitation and unemployment. So long as these causes exist, the threefold disturbances will take place in spite of armed forces. Your constructive programme is the only means of removing these root causes. But it will take time. What is to be done in the meantime? Can non-violence solve the difficulties?

Can we envisage an order of society in which we will not have to resort to himsa in any form whatsoever? Suppose for argument's sake that there exists a society where the majority does not possess goods that would excite envy and where everyone has the wherewithal to live contentedly. Even then it does not seem possible that there will be no disputes over proprietorship of land, lending and borrowing of money, and other business dealings. For these, therefore, we must provide the means of justice and see that the decisions of the courts or arbitration boards are carried out. For this it will be essential to have a police force. You have yielded this point. But I should like to know what restrictions you would place on the police force. If there were a non-violent Government in power today, would it use the police force for quelling internal disorders? And are you willing to maintain it for all time or only temporarily? My mind refuses to go so far as to envisage a time when a police force will be a superfluity. There seems to me to be no escape from placing this limitation, as it were, on ahimsa."

The questions asked in this letter are of the utmost importance and deserve notice. If true ahimsa had come into being within us, and if our so-called satyagraha movements had been truly non-violent, these questions would not have arisen because they would have been solved.

For one who has never seen the arctic regions an imaginary description of them, however elaborate, can convey but an inadequate idea of the reality. Even so is it with ahimsa. If all

Congressmen had been true to their creed, we would not be vacillating between violence and non-violence as we are today. The fruits of ahimsa would be in evidence everywhere. There would be communal harmony, the demon of untouchability would have been cast out, and, generally speaking, we should have evolved an ordered society. But the reverse is the case just now. There is even definite hostility to the Congress in certain quarters. The word of Congressmen is not always relied on. The Muslim League and most of the Princes have no faith in the Congress and are in fact inimical to it. If Congressmen had true ahimsa in them, there would be none of this distrust. In fact the Congress would be the beloved of all.

Therefore I can only place an imaginary picture before the votaries of ahimsa.

So long as we are not saturated with pure ahimsa we cannot possibly win Swaraj through non-violence. We can come into power only when we are in a majority or, in other words, when the large majority of people are willing to abide by the law of ahimsa. When this happy state prevails the spirit of violence will have all but vanished and internal disorder will have come under control.

Nevertheless I have conceded that even in a non-violent State a police force may be necessary. This, I admit, is a sign of my imperfect ahimsa. I have not the courage to declare that we can carry on without a police force as I have in respect of an army. Of course I can and do envisage a state where the police will not be necessary; but whether we shall succeed in realising it, the future alone will show.

The police of my conception will, however, be of a wholly different pattern from the present-day force. Its ranks will be composed of believers in non-violence. They will be servants, not masters, of the people. The people will instinctively render them every help, and through mutual co-operation they will easily deal with the ever-decreasing disturbances. The police force will have some kind of arms, but they will be rarely used, if at all. In fact the policemen will be reformers. Their police work will be confined primarily to robbers and dacoits. Quarrels between labour and capital and strikes will be few and far between in a non-violent State, because the influence of the non-violent majority will be so great as to command the respect of the principal elements in society. Similarly there will be no room for communal disturbances.

Then we must remember that when such a Congress Government comes into power the large majority of men and women of 21 years and over will have been enfranchised. The rigid and cramped constitution of today has of course no place in this picture.

Sevagram, 20-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

AN INTERESTING DISCOURSE

II

A Sister's Questions

Now came questions of practical difficulty.

Q. "May a non-violent man possess wealth, and if he may, how can he keep it non-violently?"

A. "He may not own any wealth, though he may possess millions. Let him hold it in trust. If he lives among dacoits and thieves, he may possess very little, indeed little beyond a loin-cloth. And if he does this, he will convert them."

"But you must not generalise. In a non-violent State there will be very few dacoits. For the individual the golden rule is that he will own nothing. If I decided to settle and work among the so-called criminal tribes, I should go to them without any belongings and depend on them for my food and shelter. The moment they feel that I am in their midst in order to serve them, they will be my friends. In that attitude is true ahimsa. But I have discussed this question at length in a recent article in *Harijan*."

Q. "How is one to protect the honour of women?"

A. "I am afraid you do not read *Harijan* regularly. I discussed this question years ago, and have discussed it often since. The question may be discussed under two heads: (1) how is a woman to protect her own honour? and (2) how are her male relatives to protect it?"

"As regards the first question, where there is a non-violent atmosphere, where there is the constant teaching of ahimsa, woman will not regard herself as dependent, weak or helpless. She is not really helpless when she is really pure. Her purity makes her conscious of her strength. I have always held that it is physically impossible to violate a woman against her will. The outrage takes place only when she gives way to fear or does not realise her moral strength. If she cannot meet the assailant's physical might, her purity will give her the strength to die before he succeeds in violating her. Take the case of Sita. Physically she was a weakling before Ravana, but her purity was more than a match even for his giant might. He tried to win her with all kinds of allurements but could not carnally touch her without her consent. On the other hand, if a woman depends on her own physical strength or upon a weapon she possesses, she is sure to be discomfited whenever her strength is exhausted."

"The second question is easily answered. The brother or father or friend will stand between his protege and her assailant. He will then either dissuade the assailant from his wicked purpose or allow himself to be killed by him in preventing him. In so laying down his life he will not only have done his duty, but given a new accession of strength to his protege who will now know how to protect her honour."

"But," said one of the sisters from Poona, "there lies the rub. How is a woman to lay down her life? Is it possible for her to do so?"

"Oh!" said Gandhiji, "any day more possible for her than for man. I know that women are capable of throwing away their lives for a much lesser purpose. Only a few days ago a young girl of twenty burnt herself to death as she felt she was being persecuted for refusing to go in for ordinary studies. And she perished with such cool courage and determination. She ignited her sari with an ordinary oil-light and did not so much as raise a cry, so that the people in the neighbouring room were unaware of the happening until all was over. I do not give these details to commend her example, but to show how easily woman can throw away her life. I at any rate am incapable of this courage. But I agree that it is not the external light but the inner light that is needed."

The same sister wondered how one was to avoid anger and violence altogether in dealing with children. "You know our old adage," said Gandhiji laughing heartily, "play with him till he is five, hammer him for ten years, treat him as your friend when he is sixteen." "But," he added, "don't you worry. If you have to be angry with your child on occasions, I shall call that anger non-violent anger. I am speaking of wise mothers, not the ignorant ones who do not deserve to be mothers."

Central Teaching of the Gita

The discussion again took a serious turn with a challenging question on the philosophy of the Gita: "Is the central teaching of the Gita selfless action or non-violence?"

"I have no doubt that it is *anūsakti*—selfless action. Indeed I have called my little translation of the Gita *Anūsaktiyoga*. And *anūsakti* transcends ahimsa. He who would be *anūsakta* (selfless) has necessarily to practise non-violence in order to attain the state of selflessness. Ahimsa is, therefore, a necessary preliminary, it is included in *anūsakti*, it does not go beyond it."

"Then does the Gita teach himsa and ahimsa both?"

"I do not read that meaning in the Gita. It is quite likely that the author did not write it to inculcate ahimsa, but as a commentator draws innumerable interpretations from a poetic text, even so I interpret the Gita to mean that, if its central theme is *anūsakti*, it also teaches ahimsa. Whilst we are in the flesh and tread the solid earth, we have to practise ahimsa. In the life beyond there is no himsa or ahimsa."

"But," said Balasaheb Kher, "Lord Krishna actually counters the doctrine of ahimsa. For Arjuna utters this pacifist resolve:

Better I deem it, if my kinsmen strike,
To face them weaponless, and bare my breast
To shaft and spear, than answer blow with blow.
And Lord Krishna teaches him to answer blow with blow."

What to Do ?

"There I join issue with you," said Gandhiji. "Those words of Arjuna were words of pretentious wisdom. 'Until yesterday,' says Krishna to him, 'you fought your kinsmen with deadly weapons without the slightest compunction. Even today you would strike if the enemy was a stranger and not your own kith and kin!' The question before him was not of non-violence, but whether he should slay his nearest and dearest."

Again the questioners came down to solid earth, and began to put questions about the Congress and the attitude of those who believed in complete non-violence. Gandhiji explained that they should refrain till he gave the word. He wanted still to plead with the leaders who had passed the Poona resolution. He expected to show them that the Congress would lose all its prestige if they adhered to the new policy. But the question had to be dealt with patiently. On the other hand it did not matter even if the Congress resolution received no response. The resolution was as good as enforced, when it was deliberately passed, and their duty did not alter with the refusal of the Government to respond. "Besides," he added, "there is an inherent flaw in the Poona resolution. It should be obvious to the meanest understanding that, if you think that you cannot do without arms in meeting foreign aggression, they would *a fortiori* be needed in dealing with daily disturbances—internecine feuds, dacoities and riots. For organised unarmed resistance against an organised invasion is any day easier than deliberate ahimsa in face of a dacoit who breaks into your house at night. That calls for ahimsa of the highest type."

Miscellaneous Questions

Now came a few miscellaneous questions. "Can one work in two capacities—one's own individual capacity and one's representative capacity?"

"Yes, but they should not be in conflict with each other. And how can a leader follow the people? He has to lead them, and they have to follow him. A newspaper may both lead and follow the public, but not a leader of the people."

"Then, how is it that the Sardar is reported to have said in Ahmedabad that individually he would follow Mahatmaji but otherwise he would act as a representative of his province?"

"I do not believe that he said this. Can one think of the Sardar taking up the sword as a representative of Gujarat, and abandoning it in his individual capacity?"

"You have told us how to behave in case of riots. May we know how you acted in 1921 when there was rioting on the day the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay?"

"There were two occasions. The first was the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha. Then as I was discharged near Marine Lines I heard that rioting was going on near Pydhunie. I got into a car, drove straight to the scene, and was able to restrain the crowd. The second was at the time of the Prince of Wales' visit when the people were burning motors, tram cars, etc. I went to the scene and pacified them. But riots broke out at Byculla and spread in other parts. The anger was against Congressmen. I did not go myself, but I sent Congressmen to face the angry crowds and pacify them. That was a most delicate situation. I purposely did not go myself, because I thought an injury to me by the angered crowd would be attended with much bloodshed instead of resulting in pacification.

"That, however, is not to say that I am a brave man. I am by nature timid, but God has always come to my rescue and blessed me with the courage needed for the occasion. The one occasion on which my courage was put to the severest test was on 13th January 1897 when, acting against Mr. Escombe's advice not to disembark until dusk, I went ashore and faced the howling crowd determined on lynching me. I was surrounded by thousands of them, I was pelted with stones and kicked, but my courage did not fail me.* I really cannot say how the courage came to me. But it did. God is great."

Sevagram, 26-8-40

M. D.

* For details see *Autobiography*, part III chaps. 1—3.

ANDREWS MEMORIAL FUND

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Harijan

Sep. 1

1940

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

"You say non-violence is for the brave, not for cowards. But, in my opinion, in India the brave are conspicuous by their absence. Even if we claim to be brave, how is the world to believe us when it knows that India has no arms and is therefore incapable of defending herself? What then should we do to cultivate non-violence of the brave?"

The correspondent is wrong in thinking that in India the brave are conspicuous by their absence. It is a matter for shame that because foreigners once labelled us as cowards we should accept the label. Man often becomes what he believes himself to be. If I keep on saying to myself that I *cannot* do a certain thing, it is possible that I may end by really becoming incapable of doing it. On the contrary, if I have the belief that I *can* do it, I shall surely acquire the capacity to do it even if I may not have it at the beginning. Again it is wrong to say that the world today believes us to be cowards. It has ceased to think so since the satyagraha campaign. The Congress prestige has risen very high in the West during the past twenty years. The world is watching with astonished interest the fact that although we have no arms we are hoping to win Swaraj, and have indeed come very near it. Moreover, it sees in our non-violent movement rays of hope for peace in the world and its salvation from the hell of carnage. The bulk of mankind has come to believe that, if ever the spirit of revenge is to vanish and bloody wars are to cease, the happy event can happen only through the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress. The correspondent's fear and suspicion are, therefore, unfounded.

It will now be seen that the fact that India is unarmed is no obstacle in the path of ahimsa. The forcible disarmament of India by the British Government was indeed a grave wrong and a cruel injustice. But we can turn even injustice to our advantage if God be with us, or if you prefer, we have the skill to do so. And such a thing has happened in India.

Arms are surely unnecessary for a training in ahimsa. In fact the arms, if any, have to be thrown away, as the Khansaheb did in the Frontier Province. Those who hold that it is essential to learn violence before we can learn non-violence, would hold that only sinners can be saints.

Just as one must learn the art of killing in the training for violence, so one must learn the art of dying in the training for non-violence.

Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He reckons not if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise ahimsa to perfection. The votary of ahimsa has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the *Atman* that transcends the body; and the moment one has a glimpse of the Imperishable *Atman* one sheds the love of the perishable body. Training in non-violence is thus diametrically opposed to training in violence. Violence is needed for the protection of things external, non-violence is needed for the protection of the *Atman*, for the protection of one's honour.

This non-violence cannot be learnt by staying at home. It needs enterprise. In order to test ourselves we should learn to dare danger and death, mortify the flesh and acquire the capacity to endure all manner of hardships. He who trembles or takes to his heels the moment he sees two people fighting is not non-violent, but a coward. A non-violent person will lay down his life in preventing such quarrels. The bravery of the non-violent is vastly superior to that of the violent. The badge of the violent is his weapon—spear, or sword, or rifle. God is the shield of the non-violent.

This is not a course of training for one intending to learn non-violence. But it is easy to evolve one from the principles I have laid down.

It will be evident from the foregoing that there is no comparison between the two types of bravery. The one is limited, the other is limitless. There is no such thing as out-daring or out-fighting non-violence. Non-violence is invincible. There need be no doubt that this non-violence can be achieved. The history of the past twenty years should be enough to reassure us.

Sevagram, 27-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A. I. S. A. Employees

Q. The Secretary of the Bhiwani Congress committee asks: Is there a ban on A. I. S. A. employees as far as signing the satyagraha pledge is concerned? They fulfil all the conditions of the pledge, but they may not offer themselves for jail without the permission of the A. I. S. A., and therefore they cannot sign the form. Is it then permissible for them to retain their membership of Congress executive committees, or should they resign from them?

A. Your interpretation of the rule of the A. I. S. A. is correct. No one can work in two spheres at the same time. The work of the A. I. S. A. too is Congress work. None

of its employees can be allowed to court imprisonment. His absence must harm khadi. Therefore, granted that the rule is necessary, it is plain that no A. I. S. A. employee may remain a member of a Congress committee. The entire committee may be arrested, or if the committee so desires, it can order any of its members to court imprisonment.

(Translated from Hindustani)

Uncertified Khadi

Q. The Secretary also asks: Members of Congress local executive committees sometimes sell uncertified khadi. They give the same wages to spinners and weavers as the A. I. S. A. Only their khadi is not certified. According to Congress rules are they entitled to remain on Congress committees or should they resign from them?

A. In my opinion they are not entitled to membership of Congress committees. The official answer must be officially secured. If it is correct that they give the same wages to spinners and weavers, why do they not get the necessary certificate from the A. I. S. A.?

(Translated from Hindustani)

How to Convert Atheists

Q. How can one convert atheists to belief in God and religion?

A. There is only one way. The true servant of God can convert the atheist by means of his own purity and good conduct. It can never be done by argument. Innumerable books have been written to prove the existence of God, and if argument could have prevailed, there would not be a single atheist in the world today. But the opposite is the case. In spite of all the literature on the subject, atheism is on the increase. Often, however, the man who calls himself an atheist is not one in reality; and the converse also is equally true. Atheists sometimes say, "If you are believers, then we are unbelievers." And they have a right to say so, for self-styled believers are often not so in reality. Many worship God because it is the fashion to do so or in order to deceive the world. How can such persons have any influence on atheists? Therefore let the believer realise and have the faith that, if he is true to God, his neighbours will instinctively not be atheists. Do not let him be troubled about the whole world. Let us remember that atheists exist by the sufferance of God. How truly has it been said that those who worship God in name only are not believers but those who do His will!

(Translated from Hindustani)

Living Wage

Q. You once wrote in *Harijan* to the effect that villagers are at liberty to buy yarn spun in their own villages without reference to the living wage, and that the A. I. S. A. should let them go their way in this matter. Are those who wear khadi woven from such yarn eligible as Congress delegates? And what is the village worker to do in this regard? He natur-

ally does propaganda in favour of a living wage. There are always a certain number of villagers who buy A. I. S. A. khadi, but at the same time there are many who cannot afford to do so. And even if they pay less than the living wage, there is no doubt that the spinners get some relief and khadi finds a certain place in village life too. Is the village worker there to encourage such khadi?

A. If we were always careful enough not to read into a writer's sentences a meaning which defeats his very purpose, such questions would rarely arise. Where no wages are paid and the yarn is self-spun, no ban of any kind can be applied. It is of course assumed that the A. I. S. A. rule is not broken on a false plea of self-sufficiency. The same applies to the village worker.

But there is one important issue raised in your questions. The A. I. S. A. worker in a particular village cannot pay a living wage if he is to use the village khadi. Therefore he will buy yarn at a lesser rate and give some work to the spinners who would otherwise get nothing. But he may not become a member of the Congress. He will serve the Congress from without. Sometimes such persons serve the Congress far better, and they are moreover saved from the ambitions that membership often carries with it. It is clear that such khadi cannot be sold outside the village. It should all be absorbed locally. The moment uncertified khadi is put into the market the A. I. S. A. law is broken and real khadi receives a setback. The A. I. S. A. is labouring under great stress in trying to raise the spinners' wages. Never in the world have I heard of wages being increased from one or two pice to 8 or 12 pice per day without the wage-earners having asked for a rise in pay. The A. I. S. A. has done monumental work in this matter.

(Translated from Hindustani)

Will It Fail?

Q. You say that the Congress is not cent per cent non-violent today. If that is so, will not a satyagraha movement launched by it be unsuccessful?

A. It is not possible for a large popular organisation like the Congress to be wholly non-violent, for the simple reason that all its members cannot have attained a standard level of non-violence. But it is perfectly possible for some of its members, who truly understand the implications of pure ahimsa and observe its law in their lives, to lead a successful satyagraha movement. This truth has even been demonstrated so far by the Congress.

Sevagram, 27-8-40 (Translated from Gujarati).

Mahatma Gandhi

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ANDREWS MEMORIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend, who is himself trying to collect for the Andrews Memorial, has written a letter from which I take the following relevant paragraphs:

"As I read it there are four objects of the appeal (you will kindly correct me, if I am wrong):

(i) Ensuring the permanence of the present established work by an endowment to enable Santiniketan to fulfil Andrews' high hopes for it, unhampered by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened.

This is obviously the first need, for it would be doubtful wisdom to add new developments to an institution which itself is insecure. At the same time the amount required for this purpose is nowhere specified.

If there is a sufficiently generous response to the appeal, providing more than is required for this first need, then it will be possible to go on to the other three parts of the scheme, viz.

(ii) A small but properly equipped hospital;

(iii) The provision of 'Deenabandhu wells' in the district;

(iv) The provision of the Hall of Christian culture.

Now, if I am right in this, it must surely occur to the reader of the appeal that, if, as seems likely, the institution requires a considerable sum for its endowment fund, the chances that any contributions made now will actually be available for either of the second, third or fourth part of the scheme are somewhat remote. It is not stated whether contributors are allowed to earmark their gifts for any of the special objects in the scheme; and obviously, if a large proportion of contributors did so, the primary object of the appeal—the placing of Santiniketan on a sound basis financially—may be defeated.

My second difficulty was about the statement of the aims, and I had in view particularly those of the proposed hall of Christian culture, in which I am naturally interested.

That is first described as providing for India's thought contact with the Western world, on the analogy of the 'Cheena Bhavan' and China. This suggests a doubtful identification of 'Christian culture' and 'Western culture.'

The statement then goes on to speak of (a) the application of the teaching and character of Christ to international problems, and (b) the task of interpreting in Eastern modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ.

What we have, therefore, seems to be three rather different aims, all very important and relevant. Perhaps it may be necessary to leave it in this rather wide form; and yet I cannot help thinking that a more careful wording might make clear the relation of the other two aspects of the aim to that which is described as the 'central purpose'.

Thirdly, I raised the question of trustees and a sound basis for confidence in the future running of the scheme. If I understand your letter rightly, the trustees of this special fund are to be the trustees of Santiniketan and Sriniketan, mentioned at the end

of the appeal. The appeal itself does not seem to make this clear.

Does this imply that the disposal and allocation of the special fund raised is directly in the hands of these trustees of Santiniketan, so that, in effect, the fund becomes an additional part of the corpus of the Trust?

It seemed to me that for a scheme of the importance and magnitude of that contemplated in the appeal there would be a place for some special committee or body of trustees related a little more definitely both to the special objects and to the wider interests to which the appeal will extend."

The enquiry is pertinent and deserves a proper answer. As I happen to be one of the signatories to the appeal for funds, what I write may be taken as authoritative. The present trustees have made a rough calculation of the expenses in connection with the three definite additions to Santiniketan. After providing for them, a surplus is expected to be available which will go into the general funds. But naturally these three items will have precedence. Nevertheless it is open to donors to earmark their funds for any of the three additions, and the money will be so used. Therefore there need be no apprehension about the additions, whether donations are earmarked or not. If I may let out a secret, I may say that the general appeal was my idea. Gurudev, who first thought of the memorial being identified with Santiniketan, had in mind only two things—the hospital and the hall, the latter being the suggestion of a Christian friend. Deenabandhu wells were to be built out of Santiniketan funds. Taking the cue from Gurudev, I felt there should be no hesitation whatsoever in identifying the whole of Santiniketan with Andrews' memory. The Poet is a host in himself. He has an established international fame which will grow with time. Nevertheless Andrews was its best advertiser. Gurudev has no advertising ability. He simply works, wishes, and then leaves his wishes to fate. Not so the practical Englishman. He felt attracted to the Poet, and found his peace and permanent abode in Santiniketan. England was his birth-place; he never tore himself away from her. But his soul found its full expression and home in Santiniketan, and I know, because I was his co-worker, that he went literally from door to door in order to get funds for Santiniketan. And he would often say to me: 'Never mind Santiniketan, but you must get so much money for me. You know what Santiniketan means to me and what the Poet means to the world.' And I succumbed to his advance whenever he made it, even though I could ill afford the time. His love for Santiniketan was greater—I say this without any offence to anyone living in Santiniketan—than theirs. It was certainly as great as the Poet's, and Santiniketan, as it is at present, is due as much to Andrews as to the Poet. Probably Andrews was the more persistent of the two.

With this knowledge at the back of my mind I had no hesitation in suggesting that the appeal should be general. Hence I would say to would-be donors that they would miss the central fact of the memorial if they detached the three additions from Santiniketan. For the three together would be a poor memorial to Deenabandhu if Santiniketan were no more. And let me say at once that Santiniketan will never owe its permanence to the five lakhs that may be collected. It will be permanent because the Poet has breathed life into it and the spirit of Andrews hovers over it. If it keeps up the character imparted to it by its founders, including Andrews, it will never die.

The second difficulty is easily answered. The interpretation of Christ in the Hall of Christian culture will bear the imprint of the Poet's all-embracing soul, and therefore Christian culture, as it will flourish in Santiniketan, will never be exclusive. Much will depend upon the Christians who might be attracted to Santiniketan. A more careful wording in defining the scope of the Hall of Christian culture was not possible, was not intended. I suggest to my correspondent that such matters are better left in a liquid state. Who shall say what the future has in store for any of the big things of the world?

The third difficulty is also easily disposed of. It had occurred even to me, but I felt that it would not be right to create a new trust for the memorial funds. The names of the present trustees are given in the appeal. If they are good enough to be made responsible for the management of the vast international Estate, called Santiniketan and Sriniketan, they might well be entrusted with the additional responsibility of dealing with the funds that may be collected for the memorial.

Finally I may mention that the response hitherto made through the memorial appeal has been very poor. I know that the organisation of the fund rests principally upon my shoulders. I have done nothing in the hope that Deenabandhu's solid work for submerged humanity would need no organised effort, and that it would evoke spontaneous response. I have not yet lost that hope. I publish the meagre list of donations hitherto received. The reader will notice, as I have noticed, that as yet there is no collection from the student world nor any coppers from the labour world.

Sevagram, 27-8-40

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NON-VIOLENT CRAFTS

The joint meeting of the A. I. S. A. and the Gandhi Seva Sangh that was held last June discussed several questions relating to a wider understanding of the economics of khadi. At one sitting Gandhiji spoke at length about the non-violent aspect of the development of handicrafts. "As," he said, "a non-violent man's actions will all be coloured by non-violence, his occupational activity will necessarily be non-violent. Strictly speaking, no activity and no industry is possible without a certain amount of violence, no matter how little. Even the very process of living is impossible without a certain amount of violence. What we have to do is to minimise it to the greatest extent possible. Indeed the very word non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to abandon the violence that is inevitable in life. Therefore whoever believes in ahimsa will engage himself in occupations that involve the least possible violence. Thus, for instance, one cannot conceive of a man believing in non-violence carrying on the occupation of a butcher. Not that a meat-eater cannot be non-violent—there are many among meat-eaters who are better observers of non-violence than those who abstain from meat, e. g. Deenabandhu Andrews—but even a meat-eater believing in non-violence will not go in for shikar, and he will not engage in war or war preparations. Thus there are many activities and occupations which necessarily involve violence and must be eschewed by a non-violent man. But there is agriculture without which life is impossible, and which does involve a certain amount of violence. The determining factor therefore is—is the occupation founded on violence? But since all activity involves some measure of violence, all we have to do is to minimise the violence involved in it. This is not possible without a heart-belief in non-violence. Suppose there is a man who does no actual violence, who labours for his bread, but who is always consumed with envy at other people's wealth or prosperity. He is not non-violent. A non-violent occupation is thus that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others.

"Now I have no historical proof, but I believe that there was a time in India when village economics were organised on the basis of such non-violent occupations, not on the basis of the rights of man but on the duties of man. Those who engaged themselves in such occupations did earn their living, but their labour contributed to the good of the community. A carpenter, for instance, ministered to the needs of the village farmer. He got no cash payment but was paid in kind by the villagers. There could be injustice even in this system, but it would be reduced to a minimum. I speak from personal knowledge of the life in Kathiawad of over sixty years ago. There was more lustre in

people's eyes, and more life in their limbs, than you find today. It was a life founded on unconscious ahimsa.

"Body labour was at the core of these occupations and industries, and there was no large scale machinery. For when a man is content to own only so much land as he can till with his own labour, he cannot exploit others. Handicrafts exclude exploitation and slavery. Large scale machinery concentrates wealth in the hands of one man who lords it over the rest who slave for him. For he may be trying to create ideal conditions for his workmen, but it is none the less exploitation which is a form of violence.

"When I say that there was a time when society was based not on exploitation but on justice, I mean to suggest that truth and ahimsa were not virtues confined to individuals but were practised by communities. To me virtue ceases to have any value if it is cloistered or possible only for individuals."

Sevagram, 26-8-40

M. D.

Notes

Sindh

The position of Congressmen in Sindh is by no means enviable. They have a most difficult time before them. Their non-violence, if they have it in them, has not benefited those who live in fear of their lives. It is true that no one else has helped them. I warned them at the very outset that they must learn the art of helping themselves as others do, or by non-violence as Congressmen are supposed or expected to do. In some places they are organising national guards. Those who do, look up to Congressmen for help and guidance. For the latter have been their helpers and guides hitherto. Some Congressmen feel that without any intention themselves of taking up arms they can put courage into the people, if they train them in the art of self-defence whether with or without arms. The question has attained importance and demands immediate answer in view of the unequivocal resolution of the A. I. C. C. recently held at Poona. I am quite clear that no Congressman, so long as he is even a four anna member of the Congress, can take part in organising or aiding self-defence groups without committing a breach of the Poona resolution. But I am equally clear that it is the duty of those Congressmen who feel the need for helping self-defence groups and have the capacity for doing so, to go to the rescue of the terror-stricken men. This they can do by resigning their membership of the Congress. By doing so they will enhance the prestige of the Congress and their own usefulness. The fact that they feel the call to help is the decisive factor in determining their course of action.

Peaceful Methods?

A correspondent sends a leaflet published by the Madras Provincial War Committee and printed at the Government Press, which enumerates the seven "great ideals" for which "war is being waged" today by England. The second of the ideals runs thus:

"The ideals for which England is fighting are the ideals of India. Our philosophy of life, our traditions of domestic and international policy have had:

Peace for its ideal—as exemplified in the teaching of the Lord Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.

Peaceful methods and tolerance—as the means of political progress and international relations, as symbolised by the policy of India's ideal king Asoka.

In fighting with England we shall be fighting for what we hold most precious in our own national heritage."

My correspondent says these leaflets are issued in the provincial languages and are widely distributed among the villagers. I suggest to the Madras War Committee that they remove clause 2 altogether as being untrue. For my ideal as put before the British people is well known. If Lord Buddha was on earth in the body at this moment, such a war would be impossible. It is a travesty of truth to call English methods methods of peace. Asoka's is perhaps the only instance of a great king having voluntarily abandoned war and adopted peaceful methods.

It is no reflection on the British people that they do not accept my advice or follow Asoka's way. These things cannot be done mechanically. But it is not right to give them the credit they do not deserve or want. Well may the British people who read the leaflet say: 'Save us from our friends.'

Sevagram, 28-8-40

M. K. G.

NOTICE

Harijansevak (Hindustani), which was hitherto published at Delhi, has now been transferred to Poona and will hereafter be published at Poona every Saturday. Intending subscribers are requested to remit their subscriptions (Rs. 4 for one year, Rs. 2-8-0 for six months inland; Rs. 5 annually for Burma; and Rs. 5-8-0 for foreign countries) to the Manager, *Harijansevak*—Poona 4. The retail price per copy is one anna, and in places where we have agents readers can arrange to get copies through them. Agents who wish to get copies of *Harijansevak* also will please write to the Manager as early as possible.

MANAGER

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII No. 30] POONA — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1940

[ONE ANNA

AHIMSA IN DAILY LIFE

A Merchant's Story

If we once make up our minds to examine ourselves at every step, we shall find that we frequently infringe the law of ahimsa, and that we should be ever so much happier if we were vigilant. The need for the soft answer that turneth away wrath arises every moment, but we scarcely realise it. Just a little exercise of silence, and you well may quench the wrath that a retort would surely have provoked. I have an annoying letter. I feel like replying to it sharply, but I sit silent over it for a couple of days and don't feel like replying to it at all. That saves me from an unending series of darts and counter-darts.

A merchant, who does not claim to be a "satyagrahi" or to have been a jail-goer, but who reads *Harijanbandhu* carefully, narrates a little incident in his life which has a lesson for every one of us. I summarise his Gujarati letter. "One morning," he says, "my younger brother, who was a stranger to my place, came from the station in a tonga. On asking him what hire was to be paid to the tongawalla, he said he had agreed to pay 14 annas. I was considerably irritated and said to the tongawalla: 'That is how you would deceive strangers. Eight annas is the usual hire, and I am not going to give you a pice more.' But the tongawalla said: 'That is not my concern. The fact is that he agreed to pay fourteen annas.' It made me more angry. There was plenty of altercation, and at last I offered to pay him ten annas which was the hire fixed by the Municipality. But the man refused to budge. I then threatened to take him to the police station. He said: 'I am going to do nothing of the kind. I will have my fourteen annas and not a pie less. Why do you fling the schedule of rates in my face? Supposing I agree to accept six annas to drive you to the station, and at the station insist on the scheduled ten annas, would you give it to me? Would it be proper for me to insist on accepting nothing less than the scheduled rate?' That was an argument to which there was no reply. But anger had blinded me, and I was hurt that a mere tongawalla could get the better of me in an argument.

"My younger brother now intervened and said the tongawalla was entitled by rights to fourteen annas and it was no use my talking of the schedule. But anger had taken full

possession of me. I asked my brother to keep quiet. But if I was ready to waste time over a false sense of right, the tongawalla was not. After about an hour's hot altercation he accepted ten annas and left cursing and swearing at me.

"But my brother was far from happy over the incident. When he found that I had regained my calm, he reverted to the subject, and asked me why I had failed to appreciate the most convincing argument of the tongawalla. Sense had now come back to me, and I was sorry to have given myself to the devil in sheer pride and a false notion of superiority. I decided to find out the tongawalla and to pay him his four annas. For some days I hunted for him in vain. One day at last I found him and asked him to come to my shop. He hesitated, lest I should scold him for that day's conduct. But I told him that I wanted to make amends for my own stupid behaviour. I paid him his four annas and apologised to him. His surprise knew no bounds. He accepted the four annas with some reluctance and left in grateful joy. A sort of remorse had been gnawing into my mind all these days, and I was now at peace with myself. That day I had been guilty of grave himsa. There was not only the disinclination to do the right thing, there was contempt in my mind for the tongawalla who, I thought, was lower in the social scale than I. I was thoroughly ashamed of myself, and am hoping that God may rid me of any sense of high and low that may still be left in me."

A Personal Incident

And here with some apology I propose to revive an incident that happened in my own life in the satyagraha days of 1930. Readers of *Young India* may know the story as told by Miraben, but I shall give it again in my own words. I was on the crest of a wave of popularity, having been 'dictator' for about a month, and crowds followed the prison-van in which I was being taken to the prison after my conviction. Some of them wanted to load me with garlands, but the English sergeant on the back of the van would not stop. I was appealing to the crowds to go back, but they chased the car, and when they found that it was a futile chase they flung a stone at the sergeant. It hit him right on the chin and gave him a nasty cut. "Ah," he exclaimed in agony, catching the stone as it fell from his face. "See what your wretched people do! If

they adhered to non-violence we, should have nothing to say, but they exploit Gandhi and his non-violence." I expressed my intense sorrow and begged him to stop the van, so that I might ask the crowds to apologise to him and make amends. But it was useless, and he again began to curse our people and 'satyagrahis'. "But," I pleaded with him, "what *can* I do shut up in this van? I can assure you I am deeply pained and ashamed and would do whatever amends you would suggest. Come along, hit me with the stone, it will be good." "No, no," said the sergeant, now relenting. I said, "I mean what I say, you give me the stone, and I shall inflict pain on myself with it, if only it will pacify you." But there was a wire-netting between him and me, and he laughed. "I know you mean what you say," he said, "but it is these folks that spoil your game. Very few are like you. Look at what they have done at Peshawar. Why can't such people clear out of the movement?" He had read the newspapers and had believed the reports attributing violence to the Khudai Khidmatgars. "I know nothing about it," I said, "all I can do is to offer you my heartfelt apologies." "No, please," he said, "I understand. I am not blaming you. I am blaming the people who are ruining your movement." The van now went past the Sabarmati Ashram, and I invited him to come to my house in better days. "I should be delighted if you came. And now perhaps you would give me your name?" I said. He repeated it twice but I could not catch it. "Won't you write it down?" I asked. "Certainly," he said, "but I have neither pen nor pencil." I handed him my fountain pen through the wire-netting, and he wrote his name down on a slip of paper. In a moment we were at the jail gates. He proceeded to return to me my pen. But I said: "No, I would ask a favour of you, as you have been so good. You have that stone in your pocket. Give it to me and keep the pen instead. Don't you think it will be a better memento?" "Most gladly" he said, and gave me the stone, and with overflowing appreciation put the pen away in his pocket. I took the stone and threw it away. "Pray fling even the memory of it away," I said. "It is gone," he said and rushed away.

Two years after the incident, I was being transferred from one jail to another and at Poona station was put into a taxi by the Police Inspector in charge. As the taxi was moving, a sergeant came running towards it, asking the men to stop. I thought there was fresh trouble. But lo and behold, it was the same Sergeant Dangerfield who had recognised me and simply came to shake hands with me. "Well, well," he said, "that incident appeared in the papers, and I was as a result immediately transferred from Ahmedabad." "But, I do not mind it," he added with a smile, and waved good-bye.

I saw that a slight gesture of ahimsa had won me a friend that day.

Another Discourse

Bharatanandji, whose acquaintance the reader will make in another column, demurred to the compliment given to his countrymen, the Poles, by Gandhiji. "You say that the Poles were 'almost non-violent'. I do not think so. There was black hatred in the breast of Poland, and I do not think the compliment is deserved."

"You must not take what I say, so terribly literally. If ten soldiers resist a force of a thousand soldiers armed cap-a-pie, the former are almost non-violent, because there is no capacity for anything like proportionate violence in them. But the instance I have taken of the girl is more appropriate. A girl who attacks her assailant with her nails, if she has grown them, or with her teeth, if she has them, is almost non-violent, because there is no premeditated violence in her. Her violence is the violence of the mouse against the cat."

"Well then, Bapuji, I will give you an instance. A young Russian girl was attacked by a soldier. She used her nails and teeth against him and tore him, so to say, to pieces. Was she almost non-violent?"

"How can it cease to be non-violence, if offered on the spur of the moment, simply because it was successful?" I interposed.

"No," said Gandhiji almost inadvertently.

"Then I am really puzzled," said Bharatanandji. "You say there should be no premeditated violence and no capacity to offer proportionate violence. Here in this case she by her success proved that she had the capacity."

"I am sorry," said Gandhiji, "that I inadvertently said 'no' to Mahadev. There was violence there. It was equally matched."

"But, then, is not intention ultimately the test? A surgeon uses his knife non-violently. Or a keeper of the peace uses force against miscreants in order to protect society. That too he does non-violently," said Bharatanandji.

"Who is to judge the intention? Not we. And for us the deed in most cases is the test. We normally look at the action and not at the intention. God alone knows the intention."

"Then God alone knows what is himsa and what is ahimsa."

"Yes, God alone is the final judge. It is likely that what we believe to be an act of ahimsa is an act of himsa in the eyes of God. But for us the path is chalked out. And then you must know that a true practice of ahimsa means also in one who practises it the keenest intelligence and wide-awake conscience. It is difficult for him to err. When I used those words for Poland, and when I suggested to a girl believing herself to be helpless that she might use her nails and teeth without being guilty of violence, you must understand the meaning at the back of my mind. There is the refusal to bend before overwhelming might in the full knowledge that it means certain death. The Poles knew that they would be crushed to atoms, and yet they

resisted the German hordes. That was why I called it almost non-violence."

"But, Bapuji, I cannot somehow forget that it is God who is the judge, and God permits violence. There is a Puranic story I should like to tell you. God Shiva once suddenly disappeared as he and Parvati were in the midst of a conversation. But soon he appeared again. On being asked where he had been, he said he had gone to the rescue of a *bhakta* who had been attacked, but he had come back on finding that the *bhakta* had helped himself by striking his assailant with a stone."

"Well, well, no amount of argument can teach us ahimsa. And you must not forget that one cannot be sure of the purity of one's intention until one has gone through the whole course of spiritual training laid down by masters of yoga like Patanjali. Perfect *chittashuddhi* (purification of mind) cannot be achieved in any other way."

Here Bharatanandji seemed to be at one with Gandhiji, and he agreed that anyone might easily deceive himself. But he came with another poser. "Ahimsa, brahmacharya, spinning are all *sadhanas*," he said, "and whereas one may suit one, it may not suit another. Why have you made of ahimsa a universal precept?"

"When a means has been tried by a scientist and he has found it of infallible effect he puts it before all. You know the maxim 'यथा पिण्डे तथा ब्रह्माण्डे.' What is true of the individual is true of the universe."

"But you lay down the same law for a saint and a robber!"

"The law is the same; the way may be more difficult for the robber than for the saint. The law is the ideal, no matter how much individuals may fall short of the ideal."

"But you forget the reality before the ideal."

"No. The reality is always present before me, but my striving is always to reach the ideal. Euclid's straight line exists only in our conception, but we have always to postulate it. We have always to strive to draw a true line corresponding to Euclid's imaginary line."

As I listened to this I was put in mind of the exactly similar words of Carlyle: "Ideals can never be completely embodied in practice. And yet it is never to be forgotten that Ideals do exist; that if they be not approximated to at all, the whole matter goes to wreck! Infallibly. No bricklayer builds a wall *perfectly* perpendicular; mathematically this is not possible; a certain degree of perpendicularity suffices him; and he, like a good bricklayer who must have done with his job, leaves it so. And yet if he sway *too much* from the perpendicular; above all if he throw a plannet and level quite away from him, and pile brick on brick heedless, just as it comes to hand:—Such a bricklayer is in a bad way. He has forgotten himself; but the Law of Gravitation does not forget to act on him; he and his wall rush down into confused welter of ruin."

Sevagram, 2-9-40

M. D.

HANDICRAFTS IN AMERICA

Miss Muriel Lester writes from America to Gandhiji:

"I am trying to get people here to spin, as it seems to me awful waste to see hand-weaving done fairly widely but all the yarn used hideously coloured, dully regular, *and* machine-made.

A Canadian friend, who was an engineer before he settled down in the country to revive handicrafts has worked for years on bettering the handloom. He took the English—Mrs. Thackeray's—model with her consent and has given it some new modification that would please you. It is foolproof enough to permit even me to set up work and to get going on it with little or no trouble. I have promised to present one of these to an East End People's House here in which I am much interested. But I will only give it when they begin to spin, even though they look upon this condition as putting the cart before the horse. I told them about our people in Bow (East End of London), how in much less space than these people have, they made sandals, printed Christmas cards, did wood-cuts, made toys, received a lamb's fleece, cleaned the wool, carded it, dyed it in God's own colours, rich and varied, spun it, had it woven and made up into good serviceable mufflers to keep the winter cold out of their systems. On hearing about all this they showed more eagerness to pursue further their own crafts, and I am hopeful of gradually converting them. This 'Housey Hospitality' is run by the Pax people. They are Catholic, complete pacifist, 'Non-Theft' people, possessing nothing. They feed 1,000 men with a modest breakfast consisting of a bit of dry bread and one cup of coffee every morning. They serve them humbly, honouring them as God's children, their brothers, whom they are proud to serve. The movement is spreading all over the U. S. A. Their wood-cuts and carving are charming. I was anxious to buy some for a friend but they do not sell. Dorothy Day, their founder, says: Directly you start selling, people get upset, discuss relative skills and put forward claims, and count up hours spent on production instead of giving the whole of themselves joyfully to their craft."

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. While the mighty war lords are organising large-scale destruction with all the ingenuity at their command, humbler folk are thinking out simple ways and means of bringing joy into the lives of the poor. Who knows but that when the lust for blood is sated the lust for possession too will abate, and, among other monumental changes that must take place for the new order where war shall not be, cottage industries will be given their proper position in the life of the nation. For they give to man opportunities of self-expression and self-development in the realms of art, beauty and the spirit which the giant machine with its inevitable cut-throat competition and desire for accumulating wealth cannot possibly give.

Sevagram, 1-9-40

A. K.

Empire or Democracy? by L. Barnes. Rs. 5-10 + 4 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4

Harijan

Sept. 8

1940

BISWA MISCARRIAGE AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Moulvi Saheb Fazlul Haq, the Premier of the largest Province in all India, has done me the honour of addressing an open letter holding the National Congress, of which he was at one time an ardent follower and admirer, to public ridicule. In his opinion the Congress has done everything to wound Muslim feeling. Says the Moulvi Saheb:

"On several occasions I have published instances of the manner in which the Congress chariot wheels of democracy have ridden roughshod over the feelings and sentiments of countless Muslims and other minorities, and in many cases with your connivance, approbation and consent."

I must plead not guilty so far as the indictment concerns me. I have claimed to have inquired into every case of alleged injustice brought to my notice. I have never hesitated to condemn Congress acts when facts have demanded condemnation.

Let us, however, examine the latest illustration quoted by the Bengal Premier in support of his charge. He deals at length with the notorious Biswa miscarriage of justice. I am invited to give my opinion on it. The Moulvi Saheb evidently had not my opinion before him when he penned the open letter. I refer him to *Harijan* dated 11th ultimo (p. 244) wherein he will find my opinion. I adhere to every word of that opinion.

If the cases of injustices quoted by him are on a par with the Biswa case, his indictment singularly fails. The Congress Ministry had as much to do with the miscarriage of justice as the Moulvi Saheb. No judge has suggested that the police were under the influence of the Congress Ministry and that the latter used it to procure the miscarriage. The fact is that the ministers were in no way responsible for the conduct of the police or the prosecution. Miscarriages, like the one under examination, have occurred before now in India. But in every case the police were held blameworthy, not the Government, except when a clear case of Government complicity was made out. The Moulvi Saheb has produced no evidence whatsoever in support of his statement that the ministers had in any way interfered with the conduct of the prosecution.

He has produced certain remarks of the court on Pandit Shukla's speech in the C. P. Assembly. It amounts to no more than a reflection on the political unwisdom of making a speech which would seem to prejudge the case. The court's stricture in no way connects Pandit Shukla

with the police or the prosecution. Moreover it is an *obiter dictum* which has no judicial value. I doubt if the court was wise in making the stricture without having called upon Pandit Shukla to explain his speech. This explanation, however, Pandit Shukla has given in his letter to the President of the Congress.

The Moulvi Saheb has omitted to notice the outstanding fact that the appellate court has found as a matter of fact that Jagdevrao was killed and that many persons were seriously injured. Their regret is that the guilty ones got off scot-free. Surely the ministers cannot be blamed for this untoward result by the Muslims. If a complaint can be legitimately made by anybody, it is the Hindus who can make it. So far as I am aware there were no Hindus tried, and there were no serious injuries sustained by the Muslims. The Sessions Judge may have erred in weighing evidence. But the fact that he condemned six Muslims to the gallows is a matter that demands serious thinking by all right-minded men. For if the ones condemned were not guilty, some other Muslims were.

I miss in the Moulvi Saheb's open letter any regret for the murder of a Hindu leader and for serious injury to other Hindus, and the fact that the culprits who were responsible for the murder and injuries had gone unpunished. Pandit Shukla was a fellow Premier in a neighbouring Province. I suggest to the Bengal Premier that courtesy required him to ask for Pandit Shukla's explanation before condemning him.

Sevagram, 3-9-40

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Riddle

Q. You have said that a non-violent person should at all times be ready to renounce everything, for the things of this world pertain to the body and not to the spirit. If we were all thus prepared, the question of violent or non-violent warfare would not arise. Wars are fought in order to protect life and property, should these be endangered. You also say that, so long as the desire to protect life and property remains within us, our *ahimsa* cannot be said to be pure. How can we reconcile the two?

A. Yours is a good question. I wrote with reference to the *satyagraha* army. Take our own country for instance. Its entire population will not enlist in the army. But those who are willing to protect the millions by means of non-violence will have to renounce all worldly attachment.

Khadi and Purity

Q. Can one whose heart is not pure wear khadi?

A. It appears you do not read the papers. I have said and written times without number that khadi, as cloth, is there for everyone to use; the drunkard, the immoral, the thief and the dacoit included. But inasmuch as khadi has been accepted as the symbol of our freedom, it

is obligatory for all those who wish to gain and protect that freedom to wear it. And what you say is, therefore, applicable to such persons, because a satyagrahi must be pure in heart. He must shun drink and immorality, and for him the wearing of khadi is a duty.

A Quandary

Q. I was walking along the railway line some distance from the station when I saw a young man standing on the lines with the obvious intent of committing suicide. I tried to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, but he was adamant. Thereupon I dragged him away and held him until the train had passed, but inflicted some bodily injury on him by so doing. I acted spontaneously. Was my action violent or non-violent? I cannot decide for myself.

A. It is good that you acted spontaneously. We act truly only when we act spontaneously. I have no doubt that your action was non-violent and brave. You are to be congratulated on saving the young man's life. You acted as a true friend, just as a surgeon does when for the sake of the good of the patient he does not hesitate to operate even though the operation inflicts temporary pain.

Sevagram, 2-9-40

(Translated from Hindustani)

HOW TO QUENCH IT?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Elsewhere in these columns the reader will see "A Seeker's" letter in which he has asked a question which must have occurred to everyone. The beauty lies in the way in which he has introduced the question. He has depicted the present conflagration in such lurid colours that violence cannot but stink in our nostrils. The reader is sure instinctively to exclaim: "Even if it were possible to win the kingdom of the world by means of such violence, I would not have it."

But this exclamation will be of no avail to quench the conflagration. No doubt it will some day quench itself, but it means mutual fratricidal slaughter like that of the Yadavas of old who destroyed themselves and relieved the earth of so much burden. And such a consummation would any day be preferable to a perpetual conflagration. But no one would wish for this. What one would devoutly wish for is some brave step to stop the conflagration before there is total destruction. This can only be a non-violent step. How and when it can be taken has to be discovered. The "Seeker" will be satisfied when the discovery is made. In my opinion the discovery has already been made. If India can win Swaraj non-violently even while this conflagration is going on, the latter is bound to be extinguished by that one event. That being my firm faith I fought the Wardha resolution tooth and nail, and secured my freedom—not indeed to tickle my vanity but for the success of the experiment. And if I have to

forego this freedom—as is quite likely—it will be for the same purpose.

We read in our religious books that whenever, in the days of old, all ordinary means failed to secure release from an ordeal or a calamity, people resorted to *tapasyā* (penance), i. e. actually burnt themselves. I do not regard these stories as legendary. *Tapasyā* is of various kinds. Misguided men can resort to it, as we find them doing today. The wise also can do it. It is worth while understanding the implication of *tapasyā*. It was by dint of *tapasyā* that Western scientists made their discoveries. *Tapasyā* does not simply consist of betaking oneself to the forest and sitting down there surrounded by blazing fires. That *tapasyā* may even be the height of folly. We have therefore to discriminate.

The question asked by "A Seeker" does not arise out of despair. It is intended to quicken the conscience of those who believe in ahimsa. I have already shown the way. It is the fulfilment of the thirteenfold constructive programme described in a recent article. Those who will carry it out in faith, in full knowledge, and without the slightest fuss will have done their share in the *tapasyā* to quench the conflagration. They will achieve two ends at the same time. They will make India free, and will also quench the conflagration. It is likely that the number of such people is limited, so limited that it can have no effect. I have maintained that, even if there is one individual who is almost completely non-violent, he can put out the conflagration. But I have suggested a *tapasyā* which can easily be performed by the average individual. In this age of democracy it is essential that desired results are achieved by the collective effort of the people. It will no doubt be good to achieve an objective through the effort of a supremely powerful individual, but it can never make the community conscious of its corporate strength. An individual's success will be like a millionaire doling free food to millions of starving people. We should, therefore, bend our energies to a fulfilment of the thirteenfold constructive programme. It may or may not bring Swaraj, but we shall surely have the satisfaction of having done our best.

There is a warning in the "Seeker's" letter to which I should like to draw the reader's attention. He says papers and broadcasts describe with devilish pleasure the amount of injury each is able to inflict upon the other, and suggests that such news should sicken people instead of providing pleasure, if they are to take part in the propagation of peace. I agree. Such people will not be able to carry out even the constructive programme, for they will have no faith in it.

However that may be, it is as clear as daylight that, if this conflagration is to be put out through non-violent effort, it will be done only by India.

Sevagram, 2-9-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

A VILLAGE ENGINEER

In Delhi last month speaking to the members of the Charkha Club Gandhiji said: "Mere discipline will not do. What will discipline do without understanding and a living faith in the spinning wheel? It cannot make for leadership. Discipline is undoubtedly an essential qualification, but what will happen to khadi if all spun for discipline without believing in the virtue of spinning? Discipline without faith is a mockery. It is faith that makes all the discipline in the world. As I speak to you I think of Bharatanandji (formerly Maurice Frydman) and his invention called the *Dhanushtakli*. He was able to make his invention because he had put a living faith in handspinning."

This brief preamble is needed in order to introduce Shri Bharatanandji to the readers. He belongs to Poland, a land that was physically wiped out by the German hordes that carried devastation in their train, but which is alive in the creative souls who are still working for its regeneration. Bharatanandji is an engineer, and like the distinguished electro-physicist Moscicki who had 500 inventions in the field of electro-physics and chemistry to his credit and held scores of patents before he became President of

Poland, he too has an inventive genius. In Poland he would have worked along the lines of Moscicki and geniuses of his kind. But he has imbibed the true spirit of the Indian masses, and his invention cannot run along any other line than that of a non-violent society based on a handicraft civilisation. And who knows his inventions may mean more for our people than Moscicki's mean for his? But to come to his inventive spirit. We met him first in Bangalore some five years ago when he was at the head of a technical department in Mysore and came to visit Gandhiji in order to study the wheel and in order to be able to make the prize-wheel which might produce ten times the output of an average wheel. Ever since his mind has been at it. But instead of producing that prize-wheel he has produced another type of a prize-wheel which is perhaps more precious from the point of view of the poor people of India.

His invention is not a wheel but a cross between a takli and a wheel, if I may say so. It consists of two pieces of bamboo, a strap of leather and a simple takli spindle — all of which can be had for two or three annas. I will let Bharatanandji himself explain the construction of his *Dhanushtakli*:

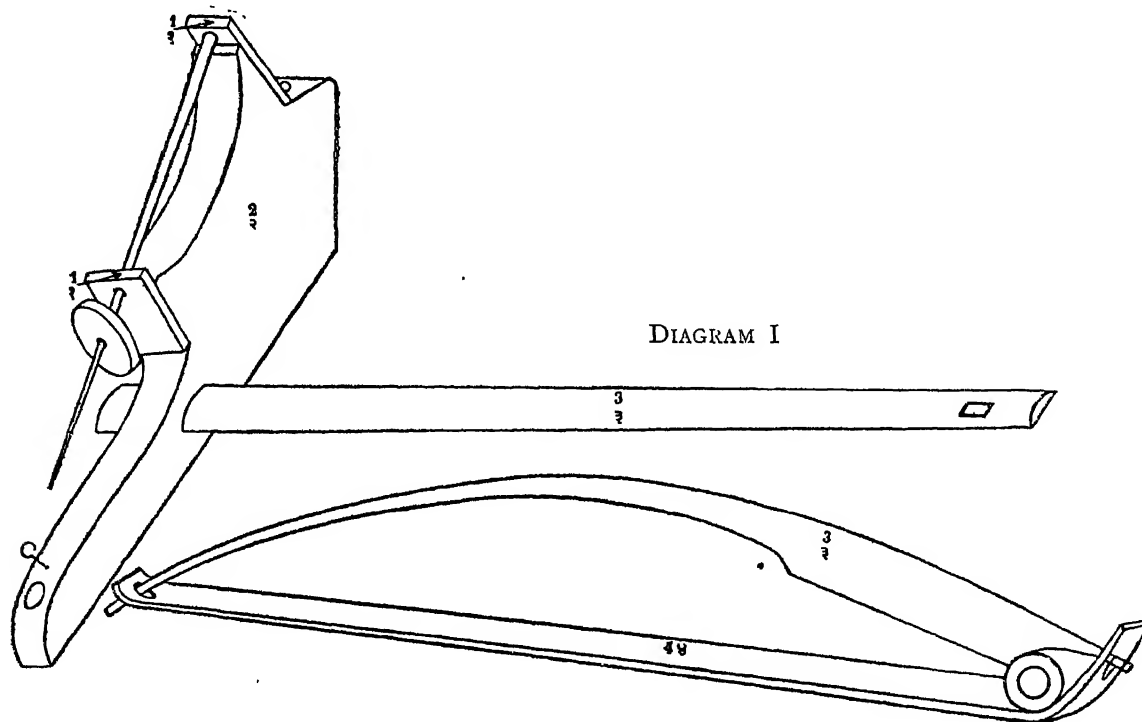
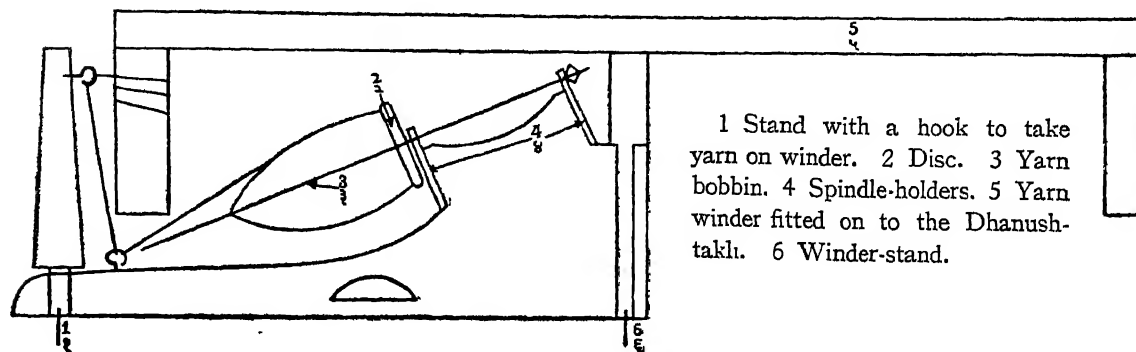


DIAGRAM I

1 Spindle-holders. 2 Piece of wood supporting the spindle. 3 Two Bamboos. 4 Strap of leather.

DIAGRAM II



1 Stand with a hook to take yarn on winder. 2 Disc. 3 Yarn bobbin. 4 Spindle-holders. 5 Yarn winder fitted on to the Dhanushtakli. 6 Winder-stand.

"The principle of construction and working of the *Dhanushtakli* (spinning bow) is similar to that of an ordinary *takli*. While a *takli* vertically hangs loose or stands on its bottom tip, and is kept revolving by a twirl given to it with the fingers or the palm of the hand, the *Dhanushtakli* is horizontally fixed on two spindle-holders like the charkha spindle, and has no pulley in the middle. The twirl is given to it by the stroke of a strap of leather stretched on a bamboo-bow. The strap is treated with a mixture of resin and oil boiled together. One stroke is enough to keep the spindle revolving until you spin a thread of the usual length. The fly disc gives it the proper momentum, and keeps the spindle revolving after a stroke. The spinning is exactly like on a charkha, and the winding and removing of the yarn is quick and easy. The output of the *Dhanushtakli* is 50 to 75 per cent more than that of a *takli*, and comparable with that of a standard charkha."

The whole contrivance is so incredibly simple that an amateur carpenter can make it in the course of a couple of hours. It is incredibly cheap, and incredibly easy to learn. That is why Gandhiji thinks that it may mean a revolution in our rural economics.

Bharatanandji's mind is busy thinking of an equally simple device of a carder, of a spindle-truer, and so on. He has made for himself a septic tank costing not more than a couple of rupees. Whatever he turns his hand to, he does in terms of the poor villager whose welfare is his sole concern.

Sevagram, 28-8-40

M. D.

Notes

Travancore

There has regularly appeared for some time now in the Indian Press a series of scares concerning the internal situation in Travancore calculated to startle the public and emanating from the side of the authorities in Travancore. First the public were informed that the Travancore State Congress was working in close alliance with the Communists, and that what was afoot was a conspiracy for an immediate overthrow of the existing order and Government in Travancore. Hardly had the public time to recover from this astounding discovery, then came the second. So was the presence of a 'fifth column' unearthed somewhere in Travancore. Now, the Communists are not fond of Hitler and the Nazis, and are not likely to raise a 'fifth column'. This was of course followed by the news of the finding of a Fascist-cell. There were other statements that the Government had information from the collection, in many places far and near and outside Travancore, of vast amounts of money for stirring up trouble inside the State, and there was the pungent insinuation that some State Congress workers were misappropriating funds so collected. The latest is the threat to prosecute Shri A. Atchuthan, the acting president of the State Congress, and my-

self for the publication of certain matters in the columns of *Harijan*. Nothing, however, has appeared in support of the statements, some of which are self-contradictory. Do the Travancore authorities expect the public to believe these unsupported allegations?

G. Ramachandran

Ahimsa, India's Heritage

"H. G. Wells says of this remarkable monarch Emperor Asoka that he is the only military monarch on record who abandoned warfare after victory. After the invasion of Kalinga he was so disgusted by the cruelties and horrors of war that he declared he would no longer seek conquest by war but would do so by religion. He seems to have ruled his vast empire in peace and with great ability. He was no mere religious fanatic. Wells, however, goes on to say that India has abandoned Asoka's doctrine. But this accusation is not wholly correct, for Hinduism absorbed all that was best in Buddhism, and the impress of Asoka was not of a transient nature. His heritage still lives.

The Indian idea is that the State exists for just administration of society, and hundreds of examples can be given to prove this. The story of Shivaji furnishes one such. Shivaji could not understand why his guru Ramdas went out daily to beg in spite of the fact that he had made him rich beyond avarice. Therefore he went and made a gift of his entire kingdom to the saint. Ramdas accepted the gift, appointed Shivaji as his vicar, bade him rule the realm not as an autocrat but as a servant, responsible for all his acts to a higher authority. From then onwards Shivaji adopted the robe of a Hindu sannyasi as his standard. Likewise in the seventh century, a thousand years before Shivaji, King Harsha, who was ruler of the whole of Northern India from Kashmir to Assam and as far South as the Narmada river, used to make a five-yearly offering of all his property to his subjects. This king reigned for 30 years, and Hiuen Tsang was present at the last of his *Sarvaswayajna* at Prayag. It used to take some months to give away the accumulated wealth of five years."

V. A. Smith in his 'Early History of India' says:

"Except the horses, elephants and military accoutrement, which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. The king freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, earrings, bracelets, chaplets, and neck jewels, and bright head jewels without stint.

All being given away he begged from his sister an ordinary second hand garment, and having put it on he paid worship to the 'Buddhas of the ten regions', and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit."

The above interesting information, gleaned from an article entitled 'Of cows and kings' in *Rashtra-vani*, is seasonable as showing that attempts have been made in India to enforce non-violence on a mass scale not without success. If our Princes could enter into the spirit that animated Shivaji and Raja Harsha, there would be no States problem.

Sevagram, 2-9-40

A. K.

"REPRESENTATIVE CAPACITY"

(K. G. Mashruwala)

I understand that at the last A. I. C. C. meeting some Congressmen said that, though in their personal capacity they whole-heartedly believed in non-violence and regarded it as the only ultimate solution of the world's ills, in their representative capacity they had to confess that the country was not prepared to go to that length, and that the Working Committee's resolution was more in accordance with the general Congress opinion than that of Gandhiji.

In my humble opinion, there is some unsound reasoning in this assumed conflict between personal and representative capacities. If properly analysed, it will be found that this is really a conflict between unreasoned and reasoned opinion. When a representative says that personally he accepts Gandhiji's position, the question is, why does he do so? If Gandhiji's position is only ethically perfect but as a practical proposition it is tantamount to committing national suicide, then why should he accept it even in his personal capacity? As an intelligent person his only ground can be that, on careful thinking, he is convinced of the soundness of Gandhiji's position. What, therefore, he means to say by contrasting it with his representative opinion is that, if one has to represent only an opinion based on careless thinking or the first impression or the uppermost instinct of the average person, he would have to admit that they think in terms of the Working Committee's resolution. But the duty of a representative is to represent what he thinks will be the considered opinion of the people, and not their ill-considered opinion. And, if he admits that his personal opinion is the sounder one, he must proceed on the assumption that the people will be able to understand that reasoning if it is properly explained to them. It is possible that he may be unable to carry conviction to the people. In that case, he has to resign, instead of raising his hand in favour of a resolution with which his reasoning is not in agreement. This is, I think, the only right attitude when great principles and responsibilities are involved.

When Gandhiji suddenly cancelled the Bardoli satyagraha on account of Chauri Chaura, the majority of Congressmen were opposed to the decision. But when he reasoned with them, they gradually became converted to his view. One's considered opinion is the only opinion which can be represented. A representative cannot represent an opinion which does not satisfy his own reason. Even if he thinks that a question is capable of being argued on both sides with equal force, he must adhere to what satisfies his own reasoning.

Autobiography

Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*
Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

"A SEEKER'S" QUESTION

The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir,

You must be reading in the papers how the war between Germany and England is being waged. Aeroplanes filled with thousands of incendiary bombs do untold havoc, and newspapers and broadcasts describe with pleasure the amount of injury each side is able to inflict on the other. The general public is consoled by being told that the damage done in the enemy country is greater than what the enemy has done in theirs. It is said that military objectives are the sole targets of the raiders; but it is impossible to believe that, flying at great heights and often through smoke screens, the bombers can really take proper aim. And then we hear from both sides of the 'successful' blockades, the object of which is to spread famine; and famine must necessarily, more than even bombs, hurt the civilian population.

Is it impossible for these belligerents to think in terms of humanity and stop this carnage? How can any good even come out of war? And must we not, therefore, declare ourselves unreservedly against war for or against anybody or any ideology?

There must be many godly people in the warring countries who think in this way but have not the strength to raise their voice in protest. May we not help them to do so and at the same time rouse the sleeping conscience of all thinking people?

Yours

A Seeker

(Translated from Gujarati)

Handmade Paper

Our purchases and sales of handmade paper for the month of August have amounted to Rs. 1,755-6-6 and Rs. 2,158-14-9 respectively, bringing the total figures of purchases and sales from January 1 to August 31 to Rs. 15,432-14-3 and Rs. 12,129-12-6 respectively. Rs. 1,403-12-0 have been given for paper-cutting and envelope-making.

MANAGER

Wanted Agents

For selling copies of *Harijan* in various towns of India. For terms apply to the Manager.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. VIII No. 31]

POONA — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1940

[ONE ANNA

SEVAGRAM NOTES

A Cow-protector

Here in Sevagram a strange kind of brotherhood and identity of interests are springing up. To outward seeming we are so unlike one another, for we have come from varying strata of society, and belong—or rather used to belong—to all kinds of classes, castes and creeds. But an identity of interests now binds us and makes us work towards an ideal order of society.

A new-comer, whose acquaintance I am sorry I had not so far made because of my preoccupations, must now be introduced to the reader. Prabhakar hails from Andhradesh. He came as a Harijan student to Maganwadi, received training there in paper-making, bee-keeping and soap-making, and then came here to spend some time before he went back to his part of the country. It was found that he had given up milk, and Gandhiji wanted to know the reason why he had done so. He said he was born in a community which did not scruple to eat beef, meat, carrion and pork. "And carrion too of the worst type, if there can be degrees in badness," he said, with visible emotion. "The carcass would be rotting for days in the earth. We would stealthily unearth it and dry the carrion for days and feast upon it. I was lost to all feeling in this matter. I took a peculiar delight in eating it and also mutton. Toddy I loved, and my widowed mother would spend her hard-earned income to get me toddy. She also drank it. With difficulty I went to school, failed twice in the matriculation examination, and, thank God, thought of going to the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala. It was there that I began to read and understand *Young India*. I read Gandhiji's and other articles on cow-protection and my eyes were opened. I gave up the hateful 'delicacies' and decided never to return to my folly. After finishing my course in rural re-construction I came to Maganwadi. There I spent sleepless nights over the offence I had done to the mother cow. I could not possibly persuade myself to take milk, and I abjured it in expiation for the sin I had committed." "I had to say all this in order to explain to Bapu why I had given up milk," he added.

"Was Bapu convinced?" I asked him. And in reply he narrated a discourse which was as striking as instructive:

"I said to Bapu that I had realised that the cow was like our mother. 'Mother gives us milk for a couple of years. Mother cow gives us milk

the whole of our life.' But Bapu said: 'I am prepared to go one better than you. Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her when we grow up. Mother cow expects from us nothing but grass and grain. Our mother often falls ill and expects service from us. Mother cow rarely falls ill. Hers is an unbroken record of service which does not end with her death. Our mother when she dies means expenses of burial or cremation. Mother cow is as useful dead as when she is alive. We can make use of every part of her body—her flesh, her bones, her intestines, her horns and her skin. Well I say this not to disparage the mother who gives us birth, but in order to show you the substantial reasons for my worshipping the cow. Although I am such a cow-worshipper, I ask you to take milk. I don't take cow's milk as I took a vow about it, but yours is not a vow. But you see what I am doing to expand the dairy here. If you feel so much for the cow, you can dedicate yourself to her service.' I was amazed at the manner in which Bapu described his zeal for cow-protection, and I accepted his advice as a word of command."

"What a story!" I said. "What about your mother? Does she know all this?"

"She knows much of it. She has given up toddy and carrion. She wants me badly at home. I have not seen her for three years. She is a hospital attendant. She used to receive tips from patients. I have persuaded her to resolve to accept them no more. She gets clothes from Government. I have asked her not to receive them as I would make enough clothes out of my yarn for her. I propose to go about from village to village with the *dhanushtakli*, and with the message of handicrafts, cow-protection, and of peace."

The Bullocks' Festival

That story is, I think, a good preamble to the description of an evening of Gandhiji with the cows and bullocks in Sevagram. A group of villagers now comes every Sunday morning to see Gandhiji who talks to them and answers any questions they may have to ask. On the 1st of this month they invited him to go and see their cattle parade, and Gandhiji readily agreed. That one day is the only gala day in the year for the poor beasts. No work is taken from the bullocks that day, so much so that if there is anything urgent to do the men will do it themselves. The bullocks

are garlanded and decorated, but I do not know whether they are given any special feed that day. But as one sees them standing in beautiful array munching their grass and lowing, one wishes they had a voice to speak to us and we had some more (for them) useful way of expressing our gratefulness to them.

So Gandhiji gladly spent the evening with them. He told them how happy he was that they celebrated this ancient custom of giving a holiday to their cows and bullocks. "In ancient India," he said to them, "a man's wealth was reckoned according to the number of cows he possessed, not according to the gold and silver he owned. The cow was worshipped as mother, for she sustained us with milk and her male progeny helped us to carry on agriculture which kept us alive. Cows are there in the West also, and they are kept very well indeed. But their male progeny is not used for agricultural purposes, it is turned into beef. From time immemorial this idea has been repugnant to us, and we have worshipped the cow and her progeny. The bullocks are the means of transport everywhere in our villages and have not ceased to be such even in a place like Simla. The railway train and the motor car go there, but all along the mountain road I found bullocks trudging up and down dragging heavily-laden carts. It seems as if this means of transport is part of our lives and our civilisation. And the bullock has to endure if our handicraft civilisation is to endure.

"But we have fallen on evil days. Our idea of wealth has changed, we reckon it in terms of hard cash, and have come to neglect our cattle which have been progressively deteriorating. I am glad that you are celebrating this day, but you must know its implications. A day's celebration would have no meaning if you neglected them the rest of the year. You have to find out whose animals are the best and to discover how he manages to keep them so well. You will find out whose cow gives the largest amount of milk and discover how he keeps her and feeds her. You may fix some prize for the best bullock and the best cow in the village. We are here for your service. Parnerkarji, who is a qualified dairyman, and Balwantsing, known for his love and care of the animals, are at your disposal. The stud bull is being maintained for the benefit of the village. You must make use of all the facilities we have provided. But you can do so only when you have a genuine love for your animals." "Here," he said, showing a spiked stick that is used in order to prod the bullocks, "here is a thing of which you and I should be ashamed. Supposing I were to prod one of your children with this stick, would you let me do it? And if you will not, how dare you treat these useful animals so? Nowhere else in the world, to my knowledge, is such an instrument of torture used. You should either give this up or not invite me to these shows. You should treat them so kindly and handle them so gently that they will understand a word or a

gesture from you without the use of any stick at all. Address yourselves to the task from today, and see what progress you can make by the time we have the next festival. Our aim is to make of Sevagram a model village. I have on another occasion told you what to do in other matters. Today I am telling you that without model cattle we cannot have a model village. Our service is at your disposal, but our service too cannot be of much use without your co-operation. I hope you will, therefore, meet together at once and frame a programme of immediate action."

A Marriage

In the midst of daily work and other preoccupations it was no easy matter for Gandhiji to agree to celebrate the marriage of a Harijan worker from South India. But he almost went out of his way to do so, because he was a Harijan worker and had come all the way for the purpose from Malabar. Shri Velayudhan of Travancore is a graduate and a diploma-holder from the Tata Post-graduate School of Sociology, and is a research scholar appointed by the Harijan Sevak Sangh for South India. Shrimati Dakshayani from Cochin is a B.A., L.T., and both belong to separate sub-castes among Harijans. Marriage between them is against orthodox usage, and Shri Velayudhan had set his heart on having his marriage performed through Gandhiji according to strictly religious rites. So they came here on the morning of the 4th and announced their intention. For a moment Gandhiji was wondering whom to invite to officiate as the priest. We could easily have got a friend from Wardha. But almost in a flash he decided that Shri Parchure Shastri, than whom we could not expect to get a more learned priest, should officiate. A sufferer from leprosy he has been with us for some time, and is spending his days in worship and meditation and teaching Sanskrit. He readily agreed, and the ceremony was performed right in front of his hut on the morning of the 6th. It was so charming with all its simple solemnity, though the ignorance of Hindi on the part of the bride and bridegroom lent a touch of humour to the occasion. The Shastriji, however, knew enough English to explain the meaning of everything that he said to them. 'Please repeat the shloka I have recited,' he said to Gandhiji, as he asked him to give the girl away in marriage. 'Not so quick please, repeat it word by word, so that I can follow,' said Gandhiji, and as he repeated the simple words, he warned the couple: 'Do you know what this means? I am being asked to give away the bride to you for the purpose of service and for the protection of religion.' Then the marriage vow was explained to them, and it was solemnly taken in front of the sacrificial fire and with all the gods and heavenly bodies as witness. The whole thing was performed in about an hour, and Shastriji then enjoined upon them to keep a vow of silence until evening when they might break it after Gandhiji had shown them the Saptarshis — the Seven Stars — especially Vasishtha with his wife Arundhati.

Shastriji had been punctilious in these details. He had himself fasted and advised the couple to fast before the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony he himself sang an *abhang* from Tukaram soulfully — an *abhang* which is on the lips of every Maharashtri and which Gokhale described as the favourite hymn of Ranade — “जे का रंजले गांजले” (He who declares as one's own the lowly and the lost — know him to be a saint, know that God abides in him). It was so beautifully appropriate.

The couple were delighted. Velayudhan said to me: “If I had celebrated the marriage at home, there was no question of getting a Brahman to officiate as priest, not to think of a revered Shastri like our Shastriji here, and certainly we should never have known the solemn meaning of this great rite.” And Gandhiji was delighted in that he had discovered that day that whenever in future there was a marriage to celebrate, he need not go out of Sevagram to look for a worthy priest. “I think I have not yet come across a Shastri like Parchure Shastri who has done the thing with so much understanding and without the slightest fuss, so expeditiously and so intelligibly,” he said to me.

Sevagram, 9-9-40

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Indian States and Congress Activity

Q. Should Congress members be enrolled in Indian States?

A. This question has been frequently put and answered by me. I have always held that it would be inadvisable to enrol Congress members in the States. There is danger of friction and clash with authority, and the latter interfering with this work of organisation. Indian States subjects who may be anxious to become Congress members can enrol themselves on the register of the nearest Congress office of their province in British India. But it would be better for them not to bother about membership and to confine themselves to such activity as is possible within their own States. This can be largely only constructive work. It will arouse self-consciousness and solidarity among the masses. In fact it may on the whole be better to make people Congress-minded in the true sense of the term than to enrol them as Congress members.

A. I. S. A. Workers

Q. Supposing members are enrolled in the States for the Congress, should not workers of the Charkha Sangh or the Praja Mandals participate or co-operate in Congress political work?

A. Neither of these organisations may go outside its allotted field. The Charkha Sangh workers are already precluded from doing so by the existing rules. Although it is a creation of the Congress, it has no connection with Congress politics. It is purely an economic and philanthropic organisation and cannot be made to subserve a dual purpose. The Praja Mandals should be ruled

by their peculiar position. They are functioning under heavy odds. It would not be fair or proper to burden them with Congress work. It follows from this that they cannot be asked to lend co-operation to the Congress organisation, unless it be in the sense of silent homage expressed in the constructive work. All these organisations can help one another by each rendering true service within its well-defined ambit. Thus if the Congress is successful in the political field, the Charkha Sangh and the Praja Mandals would profit thereby. Similarly the success of the Charkha Sangh equally serves the Congress. Any single Praja Mandal that achieves success in its mission strengthens the Congress to that extent. By straying from our allotted fields we are likely to do more harm than good.

Sevagram, 9-9-40 (*Translated from Hindustani*)

Students and Satyagraha

Q. Why do you object to students participating in the satyagraha campaign, if it is launched? And why must they leave school or college for good, in case they are permitted? Surely students in England are not silently looking on when their country is engaged in a war.

A. To withdraw students from schools and colleges is to encourage them in a programme of non-cooperation. It is not on our programme today. If I were in charge of the satyagraha campaign, I should neither invite nor encourage the students to leave their schools and colleges. We have seen by experience that the students have not yet got over their passion for Government schools and colleges. That these institutions have lost their glamour is a gain, but I do not set much store by it. And if the institutions are to continue, withdrawal of students for satyagraha will do them no good and will be of little help to the cause. Such withdrawal will not be non-violent. I have said that those who intend to join the campaign should leave their schools or colleges for good and resolve to devote themselves to the nation's service even after the struggle is over. There is no comparison between the students here and those in England. There the whole nation is involved in the war. The institutions have been closed down by the managers. Here, on the contrary, students leaving their schools and colleges would do so in spite of the heads of those institutions.

Are Not All Fasts Violent?

Q. Are not all fasts violent? Do I not coerce a friend when I try to prevent him, by means of my fast, from doing a wrong act?

A. Fasts undertaken according to the rules governing them are truly non-violent. There is no room there for coercion. If a friend of mine is going astray, and if I impose suffering on myself by fasting in order to awaken his better instincts, it can be only out of love. If the friend for whom I fast has no love in him, he will not respond. If he has it and responds, it is all to the good. This is how I would analyse his act: He valued his love for me more than his bad ways. There is a possible risk, I admit, namely that as

soon as the effect of the fast is over he would be tempted to go back to his old ways. But then I can fast again. Ultimately the increasing influence of my love will either convert the friend to the extent of weaning him completely from his evil ways, or repeated fasts may lose their novelty, blunt his mind, and make it impervious to my fasting. It is my conviction that a fast undertaken out of genuine love cannot have such an untoward result. But because such a result is not impossible we cannot afford to disregard this pure instrument of moral reform. The risk, however, makes it clear that he who fasts should be properly qualified, and that it should not be lightly undertaken.

Penance

Q. Is not the realisation of one error and the resolve never to repeat it a penance in itself? Is any further penance necessary?

A. Realisation of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it, is enough penance. One casts away his evil habits as a snake casts off his skin, and thus purifies himself. Such self-purification is itself complete penance. But he who gets into the habit of committing errors cannot easily shed it. For all such, penance in its accepted sense, if undertaken with discrimination, is likely to be a great help.

Sevagram, 10-9-40 (*Translated from Gujarati*)

Harijan

Sept. 15

1940

ECONOMIC RUIN IN SINDH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following printed letter has been circulated by Shri Tarachand D. Gajra and Shri C. T. Valecha:

"We trust you received our previous communication, 'A note on the present state of lawlessness in Sindh'. Herewith follows another one, 'Economic ruin due to the lawlessness in Sindh'. It is a sad story of silent misery that has befallen those who are migrating without any financial aid from the public or the authorities. Elsewhere such a thing would evoke wide international public support and sympathy. We hope your interest in our province will grow."

I take the following from the statement referred to in the letter:

"Great havoc has been wrought in the economic life of the province by the present lawlessness in Sindh. The village life is almost at the brink of total ruin. The peasantry, whose only property and means of sustenance are the bulls and the milch cattle, find themselves without both on account of depredations by thieves, as thefts of cattle have risen to abnormal proportions. The lot of the cultivator has come to this that he passes the day of toil followed by a night of vigil.

The Hindus in the villages do not feel themselves strong enough to face thieves and dacoits. Hence they

have taken to migrating from smaller villages to bigger villages, and those who are in bigger villages are leaving for urban areas.

With a view to having some idea of this migratory movement, herein below are given figures about one of the sixtyone tahsils in Sindh, namely Hyderabad taluka. These have been collected by Prof. Ghanshyam M.L.A. (Congress — Hyderabad Rural Constituency). From several villages almost all Hindu families have left, and from most of the remaining ones nearly fifty per cent of the Hindus have migrated."

Then follow the figures about the migration from 42 villages in the single tahsil of Hyderabad. Of these all the Hindu families in 17 villages have migrated. Of the rest some villages had only one family left. More than 50 per cent of the families had left all the other villages.

The framers of the statement thus comment on the figures:

"To fully grasp the significance of the above figures it should be borne in mind that Hyderabad tahsil is in one of the best situated parts of the province. It is immediately round the district headquarters, while the Hyderabad district itself is the central district of the province — both the eastern desert boundary and the hilly western border of the province lying far away. Even the Sukkur district, which witnessed the recent abominable atrocities, is far distant from Hyderabad. If that is the state of affairs in the safest part of the province, the extent of migration from villages in the tahsils in other districts such as Dadu, Jacobabad, Larkana and Sukkur can easily be imagined."

I need not reproduce the other paragraphs of the statement. The whole of it is a dignified and dispassionate narrative of the calamity that has overtaken the Hindus. The narrative shows that it has begun to affect the Muslims also. The Hindus of Sindh are enterprising. They supply the felt wants of the Muslim agriculturists. The two are closely intertwined. Communalism of the virulent type is a recent growth. The lawlessness is a monster with many faces. It hurts all in the end including those who are primarily responsible for it.

The writers of the covering letter are right in saying that the Sindh calamity is an all-India concern. It is as much the duty of the Congress as of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to deal with the situation in the right spirit. The Government of Sindh will be judged by the manner in which they handle the situation. Nor can the Central Government look on indifferently while a province of India, which is watered by the mighty Indus and which contains the remains of our proud and ancient past, is being devastated by lawlessness which, if not checked in time, may travel beyond the imaginary boundary of Sindh. For what happens in India, whether good or bad, in one part, must ultimately affect the whole of India.

On the train to Bombay, 11-9-40

Wanted Agents

For selling copies of *Harijan* in various towns of India. For terms apply to the Manager.

Notes

Congress Ahimsa

I am being inundated with letters complaining that by giving my definition of ahimsa before the Poona Congressmen, who saw me recently at Wardha, I have seriously circumscribed the scope of ahimsa. These friends forget that my remarks were confined to Congress ahimsa only. Personally I would not kill insects, scorpions or even snakes. Nor would I under any circumstance take meat. But I may not impose the creed of such ahimsa on the Congress. The Congress is not a religious institution; it is a political organisation. Its non-violence is limited to human beings. If it were to be further extended, only Hindus, and among even them only Vaishnavas and Jains, would be left to participate in it. Millions of Hindus who eat fish and meat would be excluded. My proposition, to my mind, is so simple and straight that I never thought that anybody could object to it.

My critics should further understand that many Mussalmans have not accepted even the limited ahimsa of the Congress as their creed, and that the Congress itself has, by its Wardha and Poona resolutions, so cramped its scope as to render it almost meaningless. It follows, therefore, that any attempt to widen its scope as to include the sub-human species will defeat its purpose. Unlimited ahimsa will take time to be universalised. We will have ample cause to congratulate ourselves if we learn to substitute the law of love in society for that of the jungle, and if instead of harbouring ill-will and enmity in our bosoms against those whom we regard as our enemies we learn to love them as actual and potential friends. It should be remembered too that mere *jivadayā* (kindness to animals) does not enable us to overcome the 'six deadly enemies' within us, namely lust, anger, greed, infatuation, pride and falsehood. Give me the man who has completely conquered self and is full of goodwill and love towards all, and is ruled by the law of love in all his actions, and I for one will offer him my respectful homage even though he be a meat-eater. On the other hand the *jivadayā* of a person who is steeped in anger and lust but daily feeds the ants and insects and refrains from killing has hardly anything in it to recommend itself. It is a mechanical performance without any spiritual value. It may even be worse—a hypocritical screen for hiding the corruption within.

Non-violence during Riots

A friend writes:

"How can non-violence be efficacious during riots? By self-immolation we can influence only those with whom we have already established living contacts. But the hooligans who perpetrate violence during riots are, as a rule, hirelings imported from outside. How can they have any scruples about hurting those whom they have never known before and for whom they can have no regard or consideration?"

The question deserves careful consideration. The friend who has put it is a valiant worker who

nearly lost his life in trying to do his duty during a riot. I have often written on this question before. The pity of it is that Congressmen have never seriously thought over the question of finding a non-violent way of quelling riots. Their non-violence was restricted to the sole purpose of offering civil resistance to the authorities. In my opinion the non-violence that goes so far and no further scarcely deserves the name 'ahimsa'. You may, if you like, call it unarmed resistance. So far as it is a device for embarrassing the Government it is a species of himsa. To quell riots non-violently, there must be true ahimsa in one's heart, an ahimsa that takes even the erring hooligan in its warm embrace. Such an attitude cannot be cultivated. It can only come as a prolonged and patient effort which must be made during peaceful times. The would-be members of a peace brigade should come into close touch and cultivate acquaintance with the so-called goonda element in his vicinity. He should know all and be known to all and win the hearts of all by his living and selfless service. No section should be regarded as too contemptible or mean to mix with. Goondas do not drop from the sky, nor do they spring from the earth like evil spirits. They are the product of social disorganisation, and society is therefore responsible for their existence. In other words, they should be looked upon as a symptom of corruption in our body politic. To remove the disease we must first discover the underlying cause. To find the remedy will then be a comparatively easy task. So far we have not even attempted a proper beginning. But it is never too late to mend. It is enough that we are at last alive to the necessity of it. We have now to follow it up with prompt action. Let everyone who is interested make a prompt beginning in his own neighbourhood. The difficulty mentioned by my correspondent will automatically resolve itself, if we proceed with our effort in the right spirit.

How to Universalise Khadi?

A correspondent writes:

"1. The spinning propaganda is going on in every part of India; but I wish the A. I. S. A. would simultaneously open khadi production centres where people could send or take their yarn, without much expense, for weaving, and where they could sell their yarn if they wished.

2. The A. I. S. A. should allow every spinner to have his or her yarn woven locally and also to sell it locally.

3. Khadi bhandars in big towns and cities mean heavy overhead charges due to house-rent, electric lighting, management, and other office expenses, and that makes khadi too dear. It ought to be possible for people to purchase cheap khadi in villages or taluka centres."

All the three suggestions are good. But the great difficulty in carrying them out is that we have not enough workers. There is no doubt that all the yarn should be woven where it is spun, and that the khadi should be disposed of there and then. Therein lies the beauty of khadi. The economics of khadi are to a great extent

contrary to those of mill cloth. Cloth manufactured in Manchester is meant for use not in Manchester or England or Europe, but to be exported to Asia or Africa for the use of the people there. On the contrary khadi is meant to be made for the millions by the millions living in villages. Mills use cotton imported from all parts of the world. Cotton for khadi should be produced where it is turned into khadi. We have not yet attained the ideal of the science of khadi, and to that extent the foundation of khadi must be regarded as weak. There was no science of khadi when we began to use khadi. It has evolved with the progress of khadi, and even now it is far from being perfect. But ever-watchful khadi servants are constantly thinking about it and going on perfecting it in the light of experience. I am afraid it will be some time before we can reach the ideal pictured by the correspondent. The A. I. S. A. is not slack in its effort, but it is faced with difficulties at every step. The main thing needed for the universalisation of khadi is the co-operation of the people. Machine manufacture can be planned in an office and can be carried out according to plan. Where people have to be converted to an idea it does take time. We have therefore, for the time being, to put up with khadi bhandars in towns and cities. Most of these are self-supporting. But for them there would not be the demand for khadi that there is today. While, therefore, we should make every attempt to reach the ideal, we cannot jump to it at one bound.

Sevagram, 9-9-40

M. K. G.

(Translated from Gujarati)

Not Quite New

Apropos of my suggestion that a successful non-violent defence against aggression from without is not so fantastic as is supposed, a correspondent sends me the following extract from a writing in *Visvabharti* of 1927:

"Of course, we must not think that killing one another is the only form of war. Man is pre-eminently a moral being. His war instinct should be shifted to the moral plane and his weapons should be moral weapons. The Hindu inhabitants of Bali, while giving up their lives before the invaders, fought with their moral weapons against physical power. A day will come when men's history will admit their victory. It was a war. Nevertheless it was in harmony with peace, and therefore glorious."

Sevagram, 11-9-40

M. K. G.

A Praiseworthy Endeavour

Begum Kulsum Sayani sends an instructive report of her nine months' literacy work among Muslim women in Bombay. She started by employing two teachers for two months, on a salary of Rs. 20 per mensem, and made over three centres each to them where they had to hold classes for two hours daily. The response was not too good to begin with, as is generally the case with women, and Begum Sayani came to the conclusion that, in addition to mere literacy, other subjects of utility and interest should be taught and per-

sonal contacts with the women made in order to attract them. Later Begum Sayani organised centres for the Bombay branch of the All India Women's Conference and the Anjuman-i-Islam on behalf of the Adult Education Committee. In the former 350 out of 400 women were made literate and in the latter 220 out of 288. Begum Sahiba has endeavoured to keep the level somewhat higher than the accepted standard of literacy. She insists on her literates being able to count up to 100, do a little simple arithmetic, and read the 2nd primer in Urdu. For general knowledge she has been giving regular talks on cleanliness, punctuality, truth, religious and communal tolerance, social duties, etc. Newspapers have been read to them in order that they may learn to take an interest in national and foreign affairs. The spirit of nationalism is sought to be inculcated. Iqbal's famous 'Hindustan Hamara' is compulsory in every class. The women have responded in a wonderful way to recitations of poetry. In addition Begum Sayani is issuing a post-literacy journal every month called *Rahbar*. The danger of lapsing back into illiteracy is ever present, and some suitable literature for freshly made literates is very essential. *Rahbar* is a useful little paper and should therefore fulfil a much felt need. This sister's example may well be emulated by women workers elsewhere. Begum Sayani is to be congratulated on having published *Rahbar* without disfiguring it with a single advertisement.

Sevagram, 7-9-40

A. K.

Town-dwellers and Village Industries

The following is a summary of a contribution from Shri Gajanan Naik:

"It is essential to study the root cause of the appalling poverty and unemployment that prevails in the country. Inasmuch as the use and consumption of machine-made articles takes the bread out of the mouths of our artisans, those who use these goods are guilty of adding to our misery.

A middle class family in Bombay spends Rs. 125 annually on food as against Rs. 30 on clothing. But even those who wear khadi forget that, their nutritive value apart, it is just as essential from the economic point of view also to use hand-pounded rice, hand-ground flour, ghani oil, *gud* or hand-made sugar, etc. The Navjivan Sangh in Bombay have sold Rs. 20,549 worth of hand-made foodstuffs during 1939-40, but this is a mere drop in the ocean in the city of Bombay. It is interesting to know that for every maund (28 lbs.) of flour sold ten annas go to the labourer for grinding. The argument that these articles are more expensive does not hold water because of the benefit to health and consequent saving in medicines and doctors' bills, and the fact that in the long run a lesser quantity of these foodstuffs is consumed.

There are many lodging houses in Bombay where hand-made foodstuffs could easily be used with advantage. A small one which houses 32 boarders has spent Rs. 663 worth of hand-ground flour, hand-pounded rice, hand-made dal and ghani oil in six months. The monthly charge is Rs. 17 includin

pure cow's ghee and milk. This does not compare unfavourably with boarding houses where mill products are used. Boarders may insist on being supplied with these nutritive articles of food. A small investment of Rs. 200 only is needed to conduct small dining clubs. Restaurants too may follow suit. The educated unemployed may earn a little money by hawking the products of village industries from door to door in our towns. In this way a great impetus could be given to the work of the A. I. V. I. A."

(Abridged by A. K.)

Old Mind v. Old Age

The word 'old' is generally applied to those who are well advanced in years. In our land there cannot be many such for our average age is only 24 years. England and other Western countries, however, where the average span of life is twice as much as ours, can number many old people in their population.

But if we cannot boast of many 'old in body', we can certainly boast of plenty who are 'old in mind'. And I agree with the sage who said that, in his opinion, the term 'old age' is far more applicable to those who have lost the will and energy to improve themselves by constant research in new fields of endeavour. This unfortunate inertness of mind prevails among both literate and illiterate — possibly even more among the so-called educated.

I once happened to say to a teacher in a national school that, as we were trying to make Hindustani the national language, he should make an effort to learn it. As it was an easy language he would be able to learn it during the summer vacation. But he told me that he was quite incapable of doing so. It was not possible at his age (he was only middle-aged) to undertake any new endeavour, and he had had so much to learn he was tired of it! And if one suggests that in order to work towards Hindu-Muslim unity it is essential that one should have a fair knowledge of each other's culture, history and customs and it would, therefore, be a good thing for teachers in national schools to learn both Hindi and Urdu scripts, the answer one gets is: "Well, this is the limit! How can we possibly learn a script which is so wholly different from ours?" In the matter of spinning the general excuse is: "We have not the time to spare, and even if we had, how can we suddenly take up something we have never put our hands to up till now?"

This mental debility is indeed tragic, and it is real old age. It is good to live to a ripe old age. But that cannot be an end. We must live to purpose. And if we do, we are never too old to learn.

Sevagram, 8-9-40

(Adapted from Shri Vinoba's writings)

Autobiography

Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*
Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0
Postage 8 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4.

KATHIAWAD FAMINE WORK

(By G. Ramachandran)

I sojourned recently for a few days in Rajkot, so full of poignant memories now. There I met my old friend Shri Chhaganlal Joshi whom I had known intimately at the Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, many years ago. We were pleased to meet each other, and he brought Dhebarbhai to see me.

On the second day the latter offered to take me with him on a tour to inspect the famine relief centres they were conducting. I jumped at this chance of taking a peep into the heart of Kathiawad. I spent some time that day at the office of the All Kathiawad Famine Relief Committee. I found out there with what wonderful regularity and thoroughness this wholly non-official committee was conducting famine relief operations throughout Kathiawad. Shri Darbar Gopaldas is the President of that committee, with Shri Becharlal Kalidas Jasani as Vice-President and Dhebarbhai and Chhaganlalji as Secretaries. Over 80 centres were working under the committee. The weekly reports and accounts were in perfect pattern furnishing a wealth of detail regarding every aspect of the work and expenditure. Relief work was going on under four heads: sale of grain at cheap prices, labour employment of unemployed villagers, relief to the old and infirm, and cattle relief. The extent of work under each of these items astonished me. Grain was being sold at over 80 centres at less than the cost price, and this item alone had cost nearly three lakhs of rupees. Under the second item some fifty thousand men and women had found employment in deepening village tanks, building tank-bunds, and constructing village roads at 51 centres. Within two and a half months the committee had given out Rs. 30,000 worth of grain in wages. Rs. 27,000 had been spent in giving relief to the old and infirm, and Rs. 15,000 in providing fodder and cotton seeds for the famished cattle. All this extensive relief work was being carried on almost entirely through some 300 honorary workers. This earnest band is a worthy offspring of the fine leadership and inspiration of the Sardar of Gujarat.

Now to the brief story of our tour. We left Rajkot at noon on the 6th of August. Our first stop was at Anandpur, 28 miles from Rajkot. Here we saw a tank and a stream embankment on which some four hundred village men and women had been employed at a cost of Rs. 1,200. All wages were paid in grain. We saw a well which the Harijan Sevak Sangh had constructed for the Harijans and which was one of the many "Gandhi wells" I saw in the tour. The second stop was at Chobari. Here in the midst of a barren hard tract, I was shown a very old well. It was a beautiful well though in thorough disrepair. Steps led into it from all four sides. You could walk over the top of the well on beautifully carved stone beams. Inside and at the water level too were stone blocks and beams

with faded but beautiful carvings. Some ancient banyan trees stood nearby. A little beyond was the dried-up bed, surrounded by a stone embankment, of a lake with a little stone-carved Mandap in the centre. Who knows but some flourishing group of villages or an ancient town had once existed there under some chieftain who had an eye for creating things of beauty in the midst of his desolate lands. The next stop was at the village of Sanosra. It was in this village that Becharlalji, who was also with us, was born and where he had once worked as a poor boy long before he became the wealthy man that he now is. Here, besides a cheap grain shop of the relief committee there was a free kitchen for starving villagers. At a little distance from the village we inspected another tank embankment on which some three hundred unemployed villagers had found labour costing Rs. 750. The next stop was at Chotila. Here we saw a big tank embankment and a tank which had been deepened at a cost of over Rs. 2,000 and employed over six hundred men and women for several days. In fact at the time of our visit, some five hundred men and women were at work giving finishing touches to the embankment.

At Than I was delighted to see an excellent school built and run by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, and also a big well dug by the Sangh. At Sara in the Sayla State we saw a cheap grain shop. At Mathak in Dhrangadhra State, and at Devalia which we next visited, work on tanks and bunds had given labour to hundreds of people at a cost of Rs. 300 and 800 respectively. We then entered the Maliya State. The Miyanas of the Maliya State are known throughout Kathiawad. They are Muslims and live under the C. T. Act. They own lands but are heavily indebted. They are a tall, sturdy and fierce-looking people. For a long time many of them had lived by dacoity and looting. The Kathiawad Relief Committee had a somewhat tough job in organising famine relief work among them. But the Chief of the Maliya State willingly co-operated with the Relief Committee and consented to bear half the charges of all relief operations. It was at Maliya that I saw the largest labour employment work. A huge tank, almost like a beautiful lake, had been deepened and three of its sides elevated as high embankments at a cost of nearly Rs. 2,500. This work had given employment for some weeks to about 400 Miyanas. We visited some of the Miyanas in their own houses. Dhebarbhai, who was welcome everywhere, discussed with them his spinning scheme for their women. At Maliya the cheap grain shop had for weeks sold grain at the rate of over a hundred maunds a day. Grain worth Rs. 40,000 had been already sold. Seeds worth Rs. 1,000 had been distributed at six annas cheaper per maund than the market price.

Now that famine conditions have ceased, the Relief Committee has begun to close down its centres. But they are planning permanent relief for the unemployed in the hundreds of villages they have already touched, through a spinning scheme. Kathiawad appears to be a dry, hard and grim country. I should imagine that spinning has a great future in its villages.

One Aspect of the Cloth Industry

The following figures, gleaned from the A. I. S. A. Report of 1938 and the Indian Cotton Textile Annual for 1939 are interesting. They show that 633½ crores of square yards of cloth are consumed annually in India. This need is supplied as follows:

From Foreign sources	... 63 crores
" Indian mills	... 409 "
" Handwoven cloth	...
Woven from foreign and home mill yarn	... 160 "
Woven from Khadi	... 1½ "

It is obvious from the above that handspun and handwoven cloth could be increased 500 times and 4 times respectively, if it were to supply the entire present need of the country. It has been stated that the total cost of the cloth works out at 200 crores of rupees. If it were all produced from handspun yarn, it would be worth about Rs. 120 crores, after deducting the cost of cotton, dyeing, etc. In other words, 12 crores of our villagers would be richer by that amount of money. If the mills were to produce all the cloth, Rs. 40 crores would be given in wages to mill employes. The remainder, 80 crores, would go into the pockets of capitalists or be spent on iron, stone, coal, etc., to feed big industry. And the money would be distributed entirely in the cities. But if the villagers were to get the Rs. 120 crores, it would mean an increase in income of Rs. 10 per head per annum for them.

These figures are thought-provoking. Shall we minister to the needs of the many or enrich a few?

Sevagram, 8-9-40

(Adapted from Shri Krishnadas Gandhi's article in *Maharashtra Khadi Patrika*)

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1940

[ONE ANNA

SEVEN DAYS IN BOMBAY

The Five Days

An author of the history of the Russian Revolution wrote some years ago, in diary form, a history of the happenings of the ten days that preceded the birth of Soviet Russia. He gave that book the title *Ten Days That Shook the World*. May it not be that the seven days in Bombay—12th to 18th—may come to be recorded in history as the Seven Days that Shook the World? And in a better sense perhaps? The days in Russia had all the colour and terror of a revolution. The Seven Days here had a different character altogether. They were as peaceful as anything can be, and they mark a distinct stage not only in India's march towards peaceful freedom but also perhaps in the march of the world towards peace.

The whole setting was one of peace and not of war. For even if it was a gathering of men who were determined on war for the assertion of their right to self-existence, it was a gathering of people who would not hurt even a fly. The Government had, therefore, no need for any elaborate police—not to say of military—preparations in anticipation of what might happen. Those who met were the guests of a most peaceful body of people—the East India Cotton Association, who do not usually interest themselves in politics but who at this unique juncture in the history of India braved the risk of being regarded as having identified themselves with politics. For they knew that the issue at stake concerned them no less than the rest of India, perhaps more.

The Working Committee was facing the hour of the greatest crisis in Congress history. The days since June 18 when they issued what is known as the Wardha Statement had been days of excruciating travail both for them and for Gandhiji. For Gandhiji they had been days also of intense prayer. I may not produce here a diary of the seven days, but Pandit Jawaharlal in his speech at the A. I. C. C. described in one or two sentences what had happened. He was in bitter pain over the wild and irresponsible utterances of a handful of the members of the Committee, and was trying to plead with them to see the error of their ways. "You know," he said, "what Gandhiji has done? He has accepted full responsibility for the resolution. But do you know how it came into being? How great he spiritually is I do not know. But I know that politically he is without a peer. So far as matters of principle are concerned his iron will will not bend to any appeal for a compromise. But he listened to us for

hours, let every aspect and argument that we had to press work upon his mind. He produced one draft and then another and then a third until he saw that he had met the considerations advanced by every one of us, and was not content until the result was a resolution that was as far as possible the collective reflection of the minds of us all." (I am not quoting his words, I took no notes, but I am giving the impression left on my mind by his moving speech.)

And as one could see it, Gandhiji seemed to grow from moment to moment. He took two hours to produce the first draft which became the basis of the resolution as it ultimately emerged. He did not know that in spite of the intense mental labour that he had devoted to it his draft reflected the minds of the members. When he addressed the house in Hindi, though he spoke in firm and measured tones there was trepidation and hesitation. "The responsibility I am assuming," he said, "is perhaps the greatest I have ever assumed in my life. I do not know whether I shall succeed in satisfying you or even satisfying me. Nor have I the vaguest notion of the result. But for over 50 years I have trained myself never to be concerned about the result. What I should be concerned about is the means, and when I am sure of the purity of the means, faith is enough to lead me on. All fear and trembling melt away before that faith, and once we have launched forth there is no looking back." In the English speech the firmness seemed to have increased, the soul in him cried out: "We have waited long enough. Now comes the moment when the virtue of waiting has become vice." And yet he said: "There is impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. Would you trust your ship to a captain who is groping? If you would, well and good. Otherwise reject his generalship summarily." For days he had waited for light, but beheld obscurity. A glimmer had appeared on the horizon with the confidence with which he advised the Working Committee. But still there was a pall of haze. The next day it had lifted, and he was able to declare almost in the exaltation of certitude: "The thing I have placed before you is not small. I myself had thought it was small. But it was not so. It has not come from my intellect. It has come from recesses of the heart where dwelleth the Innermost. It is He who has given it. It was born at the end of infinite travail."

Verily once more the words of the Psalmist had come true: 'Light is sown for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart.'

When Virtue Becomes Vice

I have in brief given the setting in which the event happened. I shall now proceed to give the outstanding portions of his three utterances. They have appeared at length in the press, but as they are unpruned and unauthorised, one is apt to miss the wood for the trees. Mine will be a rapid summary with pauses at passages of outstanding importance.

An esteemed friend had sent him a telegram on the eve of the decision reminding him of the attitude of sympathy and of unconditional co-operation that he had adopted at the beginning of the war. He had not forgotten it. But if he could not take the mind and the heart of the Congressmen with him, that attitude would have been useless. "If what I said did not find an echo in their hearts, they would have been of no use whatsoever to the Viceroy, to the great British Nation and to India." But even after the first resolution on the War adopted at Wardha they had waited for exactly a year. He was not sorry that they had waited, the waiting had been all to the good, it had given him at any rate the strength to adopt the attitude he was taking. Why did the very man who had day in and day out advised non-embarrassment now stand before them with the latest resolution? He said: "There comes a time in man's life when virtue itself becomes vice. Virtue which was virtue in its time, when torn from the purpose to which it was dedicated, becomes vice. The exercise of self-restraint was good enough, but when it threatened our very existence, the national spirit, whether it abided in Congressmen or non-Congressmen, when it threatened to kill the very spirit which enabled us to exercise self-restraint, then that virtue becomes vice." He proceeded: "I am speaking not only for the Congress, but for all who stand for national freedom—Muslims, Parsis, Hindus, Christians—even for those who are against the Congress, so long as they represent Indian aspirations, viz. unadulterated Independence. I should be untrue to all of them if I said now, 'No embarrassment to the British'. My repetition of it would be just as useful for my salvation and for the guarding of my virtue as the repetition by a parrot of God's name which is but a mechanical vocal effort without intelligence, and which cannot take him near to God. Therefore, if I exercised that self-suppression at this critical moment in the history of the nation, it would be suicidal, I should be untrue to myself. We cannot sit still when we see men like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Jaiprakash Narain, than whom I know no braver or straighter men, being marched to jail not because they preached violence but because they carried out the behest of the Ramgarh resolution. It had become a point of honour with them. It is not satyagraha to watch thus people being marched to jail in the exercise of their right of freedom of speech. If we looked on, the Congress would disappear and with it the national spirit. India, said the Maulana, at the time of Nan-Kana tragedy,

was one vast prison, and therefore if we delivered her we would easily be able to free not one but all the Gurudwaras. If our liberty of speech is choked, the movement for the freedom of our country from bondage is choked. Then as I have said the virtue of self-restraint is going to become vice. The virtue cannot be exercised, as the resolution says, to the extent of self-extinction—extinction of the national spirit, wherever it resides, whether amongst Congressmen or non-Congressmen."

We Learnt It from You

Further exercise of self-suppression, he explained, would be an act unfriendly to Britain. We have learnt, from Englishmen, to value the priceless boon of freedom of speech. In expressing his sympathy for Britain and his admiration of the bravery of the British, Gandhiji brought this point out in a striking way: "We have sympathy for all the suffering nations in this war. I wish well of Britain. The destruction of a single innocent child in England shocks me. When I heard of the impending damage to St. Paul's I felt as much as I should have if the Kashi Viswanath and the Jumma Masjid were in a similar plight. I know the sentiment that surrounds St. Paul's. The news therefore shocked me. But what can I do beyond saying that it has shocked me? In spite of the shock, the British people are playing and dancing and carrying on their business as usual, and we are told that an eleven year old lad writes to his father that he would far rather be destroyed in England with his parents than seek refuge in Canada. That fearlessness is in their bones, and if we have learnt anything from them it is that. Even if London and the whole of the British Isles were to fall, they have the courage to carry on the fight from Canada, Australia or New Zealand. Therefore let us emulate their bravery, let us not be carried away by our sympathy to the extent of neglecting our clear duty."

That duty is to declare from the house-tops that we shall have none of this war, we shall do nothing by way of providing men, money or ammunition for the conduct of the war. To let the Viceroy tell the world that the whole of India is with Britain in this war, is to allow him to deceive the world. If the war was being fought for democracy, with what justice can that claim be advanced when democracy was being trampled to death in India? Dominion Status was being promised, but the Provincial Autonomy that was given to the provinces under their own Act was reduced to a mockery. In his impassioned Hindi utterance he asked: "Was Punjab consulted? Was Bengal consulted? Was Sind consulted? Was the Frontier Province with a population of over 90 per cent Musalmans consulted before India was declared a belligerent? Were the people in these provinces asked whether they wished to join the war? How can one man, however good, be invested with so much power over nearly 40 crores of people? I am a friend of the Viceroy and hope to remain his friend until the end of my days, but the situa-

tion created by imposing him as a virtual dictator on India is intolerable. It is a negation of democracy."

The Demand

The Congress has during the past one year exhausted all the means in its power to bring about an understanding with Britain. It asked for a declaration of India's Independence. It declared that it would be content if British Government were prepared to accept a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly. It offered a third alternative and in doing so almost stultified itself, nearly went back, as it seemed to me, on the solemn professions of the past 20 years of its existence. It was pledged to winning Swaraj by non-violence; it forgot that in promising Britain its active co-operation in the war-effort in case Britain recognized India's independence, it was contradicting itself and offering to pay the price of its principle—for the sake of Independence. But happily even that offer was rejected. Now comes the fourth offer in the field: "Simply declare that India is free to carry on, non-violently and openly, anti-war propaganda, India is free to preach non-cooperation with Government in their war effort, and we will have no civil disobedience."

That is the lowest possible test of their honesty. Civil liberties are the very foundation of democracy, and if you deny them you deny democracy. Only the other day a British judge defined the essence of democracy. Delivering judgment in an action brought against *The Daily Worker*, Mr. Justice Stable observed: "The expression of views, no matter how unpopular, how fantastic or how wrong-headed they may appear to the majority, is a right, and a right which I, among others, are paid to see preserved. I subscribe wholeheartedly to the words that fell from the lips of Mr. D. N. Pritt, K. C. (defending Counsel), that it is those views which are held by only a few, those views that are unpopular, those views which do run counter to the views of the great majority of mankind, particularly in times of national emotional crises, such as war, it is those views which this court should be particularly zealous to protect." It would seem that what is going on in India is the most flagrant negation of this elementary principle of democracy.

This is how Gandhiji put it in his direct simple language: "In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy, if he will be good enough to see me, —and I have no doubt that he will —and to place my difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced. We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. You go your way, and we go ours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. If our advice prevails, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure you find that they respond, then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the zamindars, from anybody high

or low, you can have it; but let our voice also be heard. If you do so, it will be eminently honourable; it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you —although you are engaged in a life and death struggle—that you have recognised this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you do so although you have limitless powers to choke our voice and give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to tell the people of India not to join the war effort."

That is the position that would put the Congress and the British Government at ease with one another. As Gandhiji put it: "The British can then say to the world, 'Judge us by our conduct. Here in India we are playing the game.'"

What of Freedom?

Then, it may be asked, what about our demand for Independence? Independence is contained in the right to declare and preach non-cooperation with the war effort. "That liberty," he said, towards the close of his speech, "is the foundation of your Swaraj. If that foundation-stone is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might to defend that single stone." He explained this thought at greater length in his closing speech:

"I am sorry that your mind has failed to grasp a very simple but a very important point that I made yesterday. I described the right of free speech as the foundation-stone of Swaraj. Let me explain this. I have yet to come across a complete definition of Swaraj. I do not think I have been able to give it myself. I do not think even Jawaharlal has ever given it. It is possible that someone from amongst you may be able to give it, as it has often happened that others have defined for me things I have been labouring for. If anyone can do so, I shall gladly make him my 'guru'. But this resolution contains the seed of Swaraj. If you hold fast to it, all that the movers of the various amendments desire is automatically attained. If we can win this liberty of free speech—either by fighting for it or by negotiation—we have secured everything—free speech for a communist like Dr. Ashraf and free speech for a Forward Bloc-wallah like Sardar Sardul Singh. If I give it a religious colour, I can call it full religious liberty, the liberty cultural and religious that the Muslims are asking for. You say you want independence. But you forget that it is beyond their power to give it to us. Nor can we be independent by simply declaring that we are independent. We can be independent only, when after the British have left, we can remain unafraid and rule ourselves unafraid of any attack from any foreign power—Japan, Germany, Russia or Afghanistan. It is absurd to launch civil disobedience today for Independence. How are we to fight for independence with those whose own independence is in grave peril? Even if independence can be given by one nation to another, it is not possible for the English. Those who are themselves in peril cannot save others. But if they

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Harijan

Sept. 22

1940

I WAS UNJUST BECAUSE WEAK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I know Rajaji enough to understand that he is too brave to need any support from anybody, he is too philosophic to harbour an injury for many hours, if not minutes. I know also that his fine sense of humour enables him to enjoy a joke at his expense. Therefore this confession must be taken as one for my own satisfaction only.

I have told the public that, had I not egged him on, Rajaji would never have brought forward his resolution at New Delhi. Having great regard for his judgment and his honesty, when he asserted with amazing assurance that I was wrong and he was right in the implications and application of non-violence, I allowed myself to doubt the correctness of my interpretation to the point of allowing and encouraging him to act on his. I showed weakness and became unjust to him. A weak man is just by accident. A strong but non-violent man is unjust by accident. I was unjust to Rajaji because I exposed him to ridicule and unkind attacks. Though no ultimate harm has come to the Congress because what I still consider was an error has been rectified, it is not a good thing for a great leader to have his work undone all of a sudden, for I know that Rajaji still feels that he was right. If his view had prevailed, the resolution that now holds sway would not have taken the shape it has. I would still have been out of the Congress. For I was out of it at Wardha before the Delhi resolution was taken as the natural outcome of Wardha.

If I was unjust to Rajaji, I was also unjust to the Working Committee. For had I remained firm, the Wardha resolution too would not have been passed. I hold that, so long as I am accepted as the sole authority on satyagraha and its implications, they must not be a matter of vote. My colleagues may debate the pros and cons with me and try to convince me that their interpretation is right. If I cannot accept it, my judgment should prevail because I am both the author of satyagraha and general in satyagraha action. The only way the colleagues can avoid my judgment is by absolving me from guidance. They did in so many words at Wardha. But it is plain that the absolution was not what the word means. They were most unwilling to give me absolution. It was given because I wrung it from them. My weakness began at Wardha. When a serious crisis arose, I should have raised the issue of jurisdiction. It was outside the Working Committee's jurisdiction to decide upon the meaning and application of a matter which belonged to their expert who was their interpreter and executive officer.

I am aware that all the members of the Working Committee do not accept my opinion as to juris-

diction. The matter has not come up for decision. But before the Committee and I came to the resolution now before the country I had made the confession I have now published for the sake of an esteemed co-worker.

It is my conviction that, owing to a series of fortunate combination of acts of the members at the last Wardha meeting, the present resolution was conceived and we have been saved from a national disaster. We have come to a decision which, if Congressmen react to it as they should, must raise India to a position which it has never yet occupied, and brings it nearer to her goal as nothing else could have done.

Whether my estimate is right or wrong time alone can show. But this is merely by the way. Nor is the purpose of this confession to invite the reader to accept my judgment as to the jurisdiction of the Working Committee. The mention of it was relevant to show the nature of my error. It is unpardonable for a general to surrender his judgment to a fellow officer unless the conviction goes home to him that the latter is right — not *may be* right.

I hope I have given the public enough material to show that in all that Rajaji did he was throughout brave and correct. The incorrectness was due to me.

And I wish to say the same thing about his 'sporting offer'. It is no part of this confession to defend it. But so far as I can see, the offer was truly sporting, if the correctness of the Poona resolution be accepted. It should be remembered that the Muslim League is a great organisation wielding influence upon the Muslims of India. The Congress has dealt with it before, and I have no doubt it will deal with it in future. However mistaken Qaid-e-Azam may be in our estimation, let us give him the same credit for honesty of purpose as we claim for ourselves. When the war cloud is lifted and when India comes to her own, surely Congressmen would just as much welcome a Muslim, a Sikh, a Christian, or a Parsi as Premier, as they would a Hindu, and even a non-Congressman, no matter of what faith he may be. I am sure that Rajaji's 'sporting offer' meant no more and no less than this. When passions have died, critics will read his offer in its proper light. It is wrong to misjudge a public worker, and doubly so when he happens to be of Rajaji's calibre. He has lost nothing by the misjudgment. But a nation may easily harm itself by misjudging its true servants and denying itself their services. Above all, when the Congress may have to embark upon a great non-violent struggle for fundamental liberty, it behoves Congressmen to guard against harsh, hasty and uncharitable judgments.

On the train to Wardha, 18-9-40

A Correction

In the article entitled 'Moral Support' which appeared in *Harijan* on August 18, Duryodhana's army is inadvertently described as consisting of 18 divisions. It should have been 11.

SEVEN DAYS IN BOMBAY

(Continued from p. 291)

fight unto death for their freedom, if they are at all reasonable, they must recognise our right of free speech. This they can certainly do. It is our duty to fight for that right. If they resist it and we have to fight, and they are embarrassed, they will have invited embarrassment themselves.

"This liberty is a concrete issue which needs no defining. It is the foundation of freedom, especially when it has to be taken non-violently. To surrender it is to surrender the only means for attaining freedom.

"When Rajaji told me that his own offer was easier for the British to accept than mine, he was expressing half the truth. It may be easy indeed for them to recognise our Independence, but I can understand, during the war, their reluctance to grant us central responsible government. For once they grant it, they have to carry on through us. One day it may be Rajaji, another day it may be Jawaharlal, and then it may be a Damodar Menon. This co-operation that we offer them would be to them a commodity of doubtful value, for they do not trust us, and if I was in the Viceroy's position, I should understand his misgivings. It is risky for them to carry on war through those whom they do not trust. But where is the risk in letting everyone declare that he is free to refuse all co-operation in war and preach that non-cooperation to everyone he comes across, unless they want to enforce co-operation at the point of the bayonet?"

The Only Limiting Condition

But the right sought to be asserted is subject to the condition that we observe non-violence. "The condition is necessary because a Government that is based on violence cannot tolerate violence. That is the unavoidable logic of violence. But even those who are violently inclined need not despair, if they will listen to me today. For if we win Swaraj through non-violence, even the violent, if there are any, will have not only the liberty to preach but to do violence. There would be no army. But that will not prevent a Sikh or a Khaksar from possessing a sword or swords. If the rest are all believers in non-violence, what violence can these inflict? The restraint of speech and action of the majority will automatically exercise similar restraint on those who are contrarily inclined. At any rate, if I had my way as the President of a non-violent Indian republic, I should not hesitate to give those who are violently inclined, the liberty of violent speech. On the other hand, let me tell them that under a violent State they cannot expect that liberty.

"Let me tell those who want mass civil disobedience, strikes, no rent campaigns, that they forget that all those things are there in our old resolution of 1920. In fact I have been striving all these years to prepare the country for all these things. We should have been able to do all of them and to bring about a new social order by now, if only we had observed the conditions. And

if we did not observe the conditions and were not ready, none but we were to blame.

"But you are free to organise mass civil disobedience if you like, though you will then be guilty of indiscipline. But as I said to Subhas Babu who put me the same question, I shall gladly congratulate you if you succeed, but you cannot have my blessings. Of course, the honourable course for you would be to leave the Congress.

"But you know that you cannot organise mass disobedience at the present stage without violence. For similar reasons I am asking students not to leave colleges to join satyagraha, unless they will leave them for good. Similarly about strikes. Dr. Suresh Bannerji, who was once a co-worker but who has for some years strayed away from me but seems now to be coming back, said to me some time ago that only I could conduct a labour strike to a successful conclusion. I can do all these things if I had your full cooperation and complete discipline."

The Effect

As regards the immediate effect Gandhiji said: "When we come to our own, the Government will be in charge not only of the Congressmen but of non-Congressmen. There will be adult suffrage, and the Government will be formed by the elected representatives of all the adult voters — Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews, and those whom we foolishly have regarded as untouchables. What a mixed Parliament of these representatives will do I do not know. But I hope that the Congress vote will always be in favour of non-violence. If it is in a minority, it will record its vote; if it is in a majority, it will administer the State non-violently. For the Congress as Congress can do nothing else. Supposing the Government accepts our demand tomorrow and says: 'Do what you like in future, but now please do help us with men and money.' I am afraid even then we shall have to say to them: "We are sorry we cannot give the co-operation. We wish you well, and may God help you. But committed as we are to the policy of non-violence, nothing that you can offer can persuade us to give you violent assistance." "

In the interval between now and Gandhiji's return from a visit to the Viceroy, what is to be done? Gandhiji said: "I am going to see the Viceroy, but I may fail in my mission. I have never approached a mission in despair. I have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. But if I fail, we shall be free to assert our right to carry on anti-war propaganda and take the consequences. You are of course free to carry on the propaganda from now, but it will not be fair, it will not be restraint. I would therefore ask you to be patient until my return from the Viceroy."

Since this was written, the Working Committee passed the following resolution which leaves no manner of doubt about the Congressmen's duty during the interval:

"In view of the resolution just passed by the A. I. C. C., the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to stop all civil disobedience, individual or other, pending definite instructions of Gandhiji. He regards this suspension as indispensable for his pending interview with H. E. the Viceroy, and as a test of the discipline of registered and unregistered Congressmen and all Congress-minded men and women, and also as a short course of obedience to law before recourse to civil disobedience should become necessary."

The Hindu-Muslim Question

In his closing speech Gandhiji referred to the Hindu-Muslim question, as it had been raised during the debate. He said: "If a conflict is there in store for us, who can prevent it? We have to be prepared even for anarchy and chaos, but we must have the faith that non-violence cannot result in chaos. But if somehow disorders take place, they will be a test of our non-violence. Non-violence is a force that gains in intensity with the increase in the violence that it has to deal with. I hope that you will get that power of non-violence before I die. But there is a message I should like to reach the ears of every Mussalman. India cannot win Independence if eight or more crores of Mussalmans are opposed to it. But I cannot believe that all of them are so opposed, until it is proved to me by the vote of every adult Mussalman. Let them declare that they want to have their political salvation apart from that of the Hindus. India is a poor country full of Hindus and Mussalmans and others staying in every corner of it. To divide it into two is worse than anarchy. It is vivisection which cannot be tolerated—not because I am a Hindu, for I am speaking from this platform as representative of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all else. But I will say to them, 'Vivisection me before you vivisection India. You shall not do what even the Moghuls, who ruled over India for over two centuries, did not do.' What I have said about the Muslims applies equally to Sikhs. If 30 lakhs of Sikhs will obstruct Indian Independence, we shall deal with them non-violently. Non-violent Swaraj cannot be won except by non-violence. There are other obstacles too imposed by the existence of an alien power. But we must strain every nerve to achieve communal peace. Islam means peace. That peace cannot be confined to the Muslims. It must mean peace for the whole world."

Implications of the Resolution

The representative of the American Associated Press saw Gandhiji in Bombay within twentyfour hours of the termination of the A. I. C. C. and said: "Hundreds of our papers have printed the A. I. C. C. resolution, and a summary of your speeches wired by me, and have commented on it. Four questions emerge out of these comments, and I seek your answers to the questions." Gandhiji was immersed up to the ears in work, and was actually attending a meeting of the Working Committee when Mr. Stimson arrived. He interrupted the meeting and dictated his answers to the four questions.

The first question was: "How do you desire not to embarrass Britain with your demand to preach anti-war propaganda in a non-violent way?"

Gandhiji said: "Because non-violence is the Congress creed which involves Congress hostility to all war. Hence it is a vital necessity for the Congress to dissociate itself from identifying itself with any war. Hence my desire not to embarrass Britain was necessarily limited and conditioned by the counter necessity of preserving the Congress existence, and therefore civil disobedience is definitely restricted to freedom of speech and action, provided they are absolutely non-violent. Therefore I have claimed in my speech that, if the full import of Congress action is understood, it must in the end help Britain and the world."

"Why," wondered Mr. Stimson.

"Because in the midst of the conflagration all round there is one powerful body pinning its faith to uttermost non-violence. If it succeeds, then the groaning world can heave a sigh of relief and find a way out of these monstrous armaments."

The second question was: "How do you visualise the future of India in the event of a Nazi victory?"

A. All I can say is — I am not dismayed by the prospect, if my country remains true to the cult of non-violence. But that does not mean that I should be in any way pleased with the prospect of a Nazi victory. What terrifies me is that as things are going on at present defeat of Nazism will be bought at a terrific price, viz. superior Nazism, call it by any name you like.

Q. In view of what has happened in Malabar, is there any hope of mass civil disobedience being carried on non-violently?

A. Not at present, and therefore, as you must have noticed, in my speech I made an emphatic declaration that so far as I was concerned there was no prospect of my embarking on mass civil disobedience. But if you ask me whether it is possible to conduct mass civil disobedience without its resulting in violence, I would emphatically say 'yes'. But my country is not at present ready for mass action, and in a way I am thankful that the unfortunate events in Malabar have come as a warning to the country and a pointer for me also.

Mr. Stimson's last question was: Does your policy mean disapproval of America's help to Britain in the shape of planes and munitions?

A. Not in the slightest. For the simple reason that America does not believe with the Indian National Congress in non-violent action. I wish it did. Then America's contribution to peace and help to Britain would be infinitely more substantial than any number of planes and any amount of material that America can supply to Britain. And if the weekly correspondence I receive from America and visits from Americans who come to see me is any index to American opinion, I expect America to take a leaf out of the Congress book and outrun the Congress in the race for the establishment of peace on earth through universal disarmament.

Am I Inconsistent?

The correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, who interviewed Gandhiji in Bombay on the 18th, saw him when he had already had a heavy day on the top of a night of insufficient sleep, and when he had heavy engagements yet to fulfil. But as he presented a conundrum on behalf of the British people Gandhiji gladly found time for him and replied to his question which was as follows: "While expressing your sympathy with the British people in their plight, don't you think there is an inconsistency between your earlier decisions and your latest decision?"

"I thought," said Gandhiji replying to the question, "that I had clearly and sufficiently explained my position in my speech, in anticipation of the charge of inconsistency. If there is any inconsistency, it is due in this particular instance to changed circumstances. My sympathy is not only the same as it had been expressed in Simla on the declaration of war, it has become deeper because what was imaginary has become vividly real. In Simla almost a year ago I had expressed my grief over what might befall Britain. Today the dreaded thing has happened and is still going on. By nature I am so framed that every calamity moves me irrespective of the people whom it may overtake. But my sympathy, even though it is deeper today than a year ago, has undoubtedly changed in form. I was unprepared for the recent Government declarations, and I claim that it is the genuineness of my sympathy which has made me single out the one fact which Britain can easily recognise and yield without any hitch in her prosecution of war. I readily grant that there might be some reason for not dividing the responsibility for the conduct of the war with those who are the determined opponents of British imperialism and all it implies, and therefore I felt that, if the Congress continued to abide by its policy of non-embarrassment which is inherent in its non-violence, the Congress should for the moment abate agitation by way of direct action for independence. But freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence as substitute for war is the most relevant when indecent savagery is being perpetrated by the warring nations of Europe. The Congress will forfeit all its right to be considered a non-violent organisation, if out of false sympathy or what would be worse—fear of consequences—it ceased to agitate against the inhumanity that is being perpetrated in Europe and which, if not checked by somebody or some organisation, may overtake the whole world. I hope this statement of Congress policy as I interpret it, as its sole guide, will not only satisfy the British public opinion, but will make it range itself on the side of the Congress, so as to enable the Viceroy to recognise the justice of the Congress claim, which is a claim not for itself but which is a claim for freedom of speech no matter by whom exercised so long as it does not promote violence in any shape or form."

Bombay, 18-9-40

M. D.**Khadi Patrikas**

Several Khadi Patrikas are being published these days by the various branches of the All India Spinners' Association. I have not seen all of them. But of those that I have seen the Maharashtra Khadi Patrika alone has captured my attention. The rest, so far as I have seen them, are not up to much. If all the provinces will send me their respective Khadi Patrikas, I will gladly have them examined and send them the result. Besides these there is too the "Gram Seva Patrika" published on behalf of the Nalwadi (Wardha) Karyalaya which is always well worth reading. It is published in Marathi. Shri Vinoba is the inspiration behind it. As a rule, it contains at least one article by him. In my opinion no Patrika should be brought out for its own sake. They should be self-supporting, notwithstanding the fact that their readers are likely to be mostly workers of the publishing organisation. The latter will and must pay for the publications if they are really needed, since they will be getting back many times the worth of money spent on them in the form of useful knowledge.

The August issue of the Maharashtra Khadi Patrika is lying before me. One item out of it, viz. "One aspect of khadi", has already been reproduced in these columns. The Patrika is mostly in Hindi, partly in Marathi. Each issue is priced as. 2; the subscription for the year being Rs. 1/4-. It is printed on handmade paper. It is published from Chanda and can be had from the Khadi Karyalaya, Wardha.

The Patrika is filled with useful knowledge about khadi. The issue under review contains the following articles: "The thickness of yarn and width of cloth." "The care of slivers." "Some experiments of Gandhi Ashram Raniwa." "The curriculum of the Vastra Vidyalaya, Mool." "The village service scheme of the Gandhi Seva Sangh." "For spinners on the Yeravda and the Kisan Charkhas", "Dhanush Takli", "The arithmetic of spinning," "Organisational Notes." No student of khadi can afford to go without this Patrika.

Sevagram, 9-9-40.

M. K. G.(Translated from *Hindustani*)**For Subscribers**

Subscriptions for our three weeklies — *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati), and *Harijansvak* (Hindustani) — can be paid at the following places besides the Poona office:

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- (10) Shri Kanu Gandhi, Sevagram, Via Wardha.

MANAGER

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay on the 16th inst.:

The All India Congress Committee has given its careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting held in Poona on July 27, 1940, and to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha in August last. The Committee approves of and endorses these resolutions.

In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people, the Working Committee, even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 7th, which was subsequently approved by the A. I. C. C. at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognise India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation. This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany, against the will of a vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and man power for this purpose.

The All India Congress Committee cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion, and which would lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation, and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people. The Congress is pledged under Gandhiji's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the All India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the A. I. C. C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

The A. I. C. C. sympathise with the British people as well as the peoples of all other countries involved in the War. Congressmen cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill-will against them, and the spirit of satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them. But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom

to pursue its policy, based on non-violence. The Congress has, however, no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent resistance, should this become necessary, beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the A. I. C. C. desire to state this afresh, and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India. The Committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will, therefore, throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars, depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. To that end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world.

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HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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I WONDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"For some time you seem to have made it a point to strengthen your arguments in favour of non-violence by frequent but invariably vague references to the Holy Quran and the teachings of Islam. It is quite obvious that you only seek to impress the Muslims thereby. No doubt your right to preach your cherished doctrine is beyond all question. Similarly, it is quite understandable that you should pat the fifth columnist Mussalmans like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Abul Kalam Azad on the back. But can't you realise that nothing can offend the religious susceptibilities of a Mussalman more than to see a non-Muslim citing the scripture for his own purpose? Well, the Mussalmans have had thirteen centuries to know what the Quran teaches and to practise what it means. The Muslims, of course, do not need a Mahatma to interpret their own holy book. It would be better, indeed, if you take it from the Muslims what they have throughout the last thirteen centuries believed to be the teachings of their religion, rather than indulge in your own wishful interpretation. I hope you realise full well that you as well as your Muslim satellites have entirely forfeited the confidence of the Mussalmans. Your references to the Quran are futile except that they cause the greatest provocation to the Muslims. Muslims have always shown themselves self-respecting enough not to allow their holy book becoming an instrument in non-Muslim hands. Your flattering words about Islam are of no avail. The fact stands out that you are a non-Muslim. Hence the Quran cannot be the source of your ideas or ideals. You only turn to the Quran afterwards in order to popularise them among the Muslims. It is my friendly advice to you to stop forthwith all reference to the Quran. In the meantime I would ask you to read what Abul Kalam wrote before he reconciled himself to be the Quisling of Muslim India."

This letter is from an M. A. (Aligarh). He is a research scholar in the Muslim University. The letter was received some time ago. I kept it in my file so long, for I was debating whether it would serve the cause of unity to publish it. But having received another from the same friend more unbalanced than this one, I decided to publish the foregoing in order to enable me to expostulate with those who in Aligarh or outside hold views similar to the writer's.

I have sweet memories of Aligarh. I have more than once visited the great University. I have still associations with it. I think I am an honorary member of their club. I received the honour at the hands of the late Dr. Sir Ross Masood when he was Vice-Chancellor of the University.

As for the holy Quran, it was my Muslim clients and friends in South Africa who invited me to read it. They furnished me with Islamic literature. On my return to India, Muslim friends sent me copies of translations of the holy book. Among the senders was Dr. Mahomed Ali himself a translator, and the late Mr. Pickthall also a translator of the book. I was presented by the late Hakimsaheb Ajmal Khan with Maulana Shibli's translation. Have I changed or have the times so changed that it has become a crime for a non-Muslim like me to read and even dare to put his own interpretation upon the Quran? Many pious Muslims have remarked that I am a better Muslim than most Muslims in that I act in the spirit of the Quran and know more of the life of the Prophet than most Muslims. Whose testimony am I to accept — these Muslim friends' or the research scholar's and of those who think like him? I wonder.

The research scholar is right in imputing to me the desire to read my meaning into the Quran. Surely there is no harm in it so long as I remain absolutely faithful to the text and approach my task with a prayerful and open mind. My correspondent should know as a scholar that an interpretation of a life or a book is not necessarily correct because it has been handed down for generations. An error does not cease to be one after a given number of repetitions by a given number of men for a given number of years. The Biblical texts are still being corrected. And many good Christians believe that the Christianity of the West is a negation of Christ's central teaching. It is just possible that the research scholar's views about the qualifications required for reading and interpreting the Quran and his own interpretation are wrong, and that my being a non-Muslim is no bar to my reading the Quran or interpreting it. And it is not at all impossible that my interpretation may be found to be right. It will be an evil day if the reading and interpreting of religious books are to be confined only to those who wear particular religious labels. I ask my correspondent and his companions, as their friend, to shed what in my opinion is their gross intolerance and give the same credit to others for seeing truth as they claim for themselves. No one has a monopoly of truth. All truth represented by imperfect humans that we are is relative. We can each act according to our lights. God alone knows the reality. That being so, it behoves research scholars at least to be humble and tolerant. Fanaticism and

intolerance can neither conduce to research work nor advance the cause they represent.

Sevagram, 25-9-40

KHADI WEEK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a happy thing that the khadi week coincides with my pending visit to H. E. the Viceroy. I want the prayers of all who believe in the efficacy of prayer that the result of my visit may prove fruitful to India, the British people, and ultimately conduce to peace between the warring nations. I feel that though the issue raised by the A. I. C. C. resolution seems small it has in it great potency for the good of mankind.

'Khadi Week' is the name given by me to my birthday celebration. Birth and death are twins. I should be sorry if the annual celebration was forgotten with my death. Therefore, I have popularised the birthday celebration as Khadi Week. It enables me to deal with the event impersonally.

I shall strain every nerve to avoid a civil disobedience struggle. But it would be wrong for Congressmen to go to sleep while an effort for peace is being made. I hope no Congressman thinks that because I have undertaken command of the struggle, if it comes, the spinning and khadi conditions are waived. Those who do not strictly conform to these and other conditions will find themselves left out if civil disobedience faces us. Moreover, what will the millions do who will never have to court any kind of suffering? The constructive programme is as much for them as for the civil resisters. Indeed if it was confined to the latter only, the imprisonment of a few could never deserve to be called a national struggle. But voluntary suffering of even one person in the name of an organisation or the nation, if backed by their unreserved co-operation in all manner prescribed by the commander, must ensure success. Khadi and spinning are the visible symbols that all can show. I would therefore expect a phenomenal rise in khadi sales, spinning and village handicrafts during the celebration week. I may also mention that the A. I. S. A. having given up the policy of taking loans, it has become necessary to receive donations, if the work is not to be curtailed. The unexampled and unexpected rise in the wages of spinners has meant an increase of spinners. These cannot be provided for without more capital. Fortunately workers have come forward to collect funds for the A. I. S. A. I hope that there will be an automatic response to the appeal. All, whether Congressmen or others, should liberally support the appeal. The A. I. S. A. is a purely humanitarian economic institution. As such it has no politics, even though it has received its charter from the Congress. It is a purely autonomous body. All can, therefore, help it without any scruples. Khadi has no doubt a political, as it has an economic and humanitarian, significance. And viewed as a symbol of non-violence, even its political significance in no way detracts from its moral appeal. For genuine and

unadulterated non-violence can have no colour of party politics. And the Congress will cease to be a party label but will be universally acknowledged as a national institution having no quarrel with any party or nation.

Sevagram, 23-9-40

AN AMERICAN'S QUESTIONS

An American journalist had important questions to ask arising from the latest decision of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay — questions not merely political, but dealing with international relations and commercial and social intercourse.

"What is India's contribution towards making the world safe from Hitlerism?" was his first question. The reply was, perhaps as he had expected, short and sweet: "If the Congress succeeds in its non-violent effort, Hitlerism and all such isms will go as a matter of course."

"Don't you think," he next asked, "India should do something to make facts better known in America and thus promote the interchange of goods and ideas? What do you think should be done in this connection?"

"First let us take up goods. America has had her bit, irrespective of Indian conditions and India's wishes. So far as ideas are concerned, my unhappy experience is that anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has held undisputed sway, so much so that even the visit of an outstanding personality like Tagore produced little impression on the American mind."

"But why does not India endeavour to make herself better known in America?"

"If America really wanted to know what Indian opinion is at a given time, there is ample literature which is growing from day to day to which they have access. If you have in mind an Indian agency which should do propagandist work on behalf of India, again our bitter experience has been that imperialist propaganda that is carried on with much ability and perseverance and at a lavish expenditure is such that we can never overtake it, and the work of any such agency has up to now proved fruitless."

His next question was rather strange: "Why not have Indian people use Indian handspun cloth and keep her mills busy for the export of manufactured cloth and yarn? Don't you think that this would help the cotton-grower?" He evidently was thinking of a free India.

"I would not mind such a thing," said Gandhiji, "but it must be in order to supply the felt needs of the country which received our cloth. I have no idea of exploiting other countries for the benefit of India. We are suffering from the poisonous disease of exploitation ourselves, and I would not like my country to be guilty of any such thing. If Japan, say, as a free country wanted India's help, and said we could produce certain goods cheaper, and we might export them to Japan, we would gladly do so. But under my scheme of things all dumping of goods by one country in another, supported by her army and her navy, has to cease."

"Apart from export of merchandise what has India to give America, and in turn what does India expect from America?"

"I must correct your question for you. India sends no merchandise to America, she sends only raw material, and that is a matter for serious consideration for every nationalist. For we cannot suffer our country remaining an exporter of raw produce, for it means (as it has meant) extinction of handicrafts and art itself. I would expect America to treat India not as though India was a country for American exploitation but as if India was a free country, although unarmed, and deserving, therefore, the same treatment that America would wish at the hands of India."

"You are repeating, Sir, the message of Jesus," said the correspondent.

"I agree," said Gandhiji. "We are poor in technical skill, but as soon as you accept and consent to follow Jesus' teaching I would not have to complain of all the skill being monopolised by America. You will then say, 'Here is a sister country poor in technical skill, let us offer our skilled assistance not for exploitation, not for a terrific price, but for its benefit, and so for nothing.' And here let me say a word about your missionaries. You send them here for nothing, but that also is part of imperialist exploitation. For they would like to make us like you, better buyers of your goods, and unable to do without your cars and luxuries. So the Christianity that you send us is adulterated. If you established your schools, colleges and hospitals without the object of adding to the number of the so-called Christian population, your philanthropy would be untainted."

"As regards technical skill, I cannot afford to do what the Tatas are doing. They can afford to bring an American expert manager at Rs. 20,000 a month. But whilst they represent the spirit of adventure, they do not represent poor India. India has seven lakhs of villages which take in 90 per cent of her population. America has to think of these. America ought, if she will be of real help, to exercise her resourcefulness in this direction. And for that purpose America will have to cease to be the premier exporting country that she is. My views on national planning differ from the prevailing ones. I do not want it along industrial lines. I want to prevent our villages from catching the infection of industrialisation. American exploitation has added neither to the moral height of the exploited countries nor of the exploiting country. On the contrary it has impeded their march towards spiritual progress, and deadened America's real spirit of philanthropy. A phenomenon like the one that America witnessed cannot happen in India. I mean the destruction of tons of sugar and other agricultural products. You might have supplied other countries the sugar and the wheat or fed America's own unemployed."

"But," said the correspondent, laughing, "you could not have taken our pigs!"

"I know. But all do not think like me. Pandit Nehru wants industrialisation because he thinks that, if it is socialised, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialisation can eradicate them."

"We have seen what Germany has done to Belgium and to the other countries. You would still say 'non-violence'? And yet you ask the Congress to fight because it is in danger of extinction. England also is in such danger and therefore fights."

"Don't you see the obvious difference? England would have to out-Hitler Hitler in defeating him. We do not want to use any of the weapons used by those who would crush us. I would say to an aggressor: 'You may destroy my churches, my hearths and my homes, everything but my soul. I won't come to your country to destroy your churches, hearths and homes. I will not defend my country with your weapons. I will simply refuse to co-operate with you, refuse to owe any allegiance to you, in a word I will say 'no' to you.' He may take possession of India, but if I have my way, he will not impress a single Indian in his service."

"Then you must see another distinction. If we were fighting Government with Government's weapons, it would be the best chance for us to surprise the enemy and making their difficulty our opportunity. But we have been for over a year laying the utmost stress on non-embarrassment. It ought not to be turned against us. But we shall not use Britain's weapons, and that is how we shall help Britain against her will. I can understand the Viceroy's reluctance to surrender the reins of Government to us while he has to fight Germany; but I cannot understand the Government's desire to suppress the non-violent spirit of the nation."

"But you again speak like Christ on earth, and they cannot understand that language," said the correspondent.

"I must persist at the peril of my life. In my opinion non-violence is not an individual virtue, but a course of spiritual and political conduct both for the individual and the community."

Sevagram, 23-9-40

M. D.

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MORE ABOUT THE RESOLUTION

For the Masses

In my hurried notes last week on the A. I. C. C. resolution there were certain points that I omitted and would like to take up this week. What had pained Gandhiji most about the Delhi resolution and the Poona resolution was not only that we would contradict ourselves by paying non-violence as the price of independence, when we had had all along been declaring that we would win independence by non-violence; worse than that contradiction was the fact that the resolutions, if acted upon, would have been a sad betrayal of the masses whom for twenty years we had made non-violence-minded and whom we would now make war-minded. It is for the sake of them, he explained in his Hindi speech, that he welcomed the Bombay resolution. "For," said he, "the Congress strength is derived not from the members on the Congress registers but from the millions who have never entered the Congress but who feel that the Congress represents them. It is that character that makes the Congress speak for the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all. Throughout its history of over fifty years it has had not only Hindu presidents but Muslim and Parsi presidents, who made no distinction between different communities, and who proved that those who rendered the highest service to the nation and who desired its freedom could take charge of it. The Congress had been described by some of its critics as a fascist organisation. But if they admit that the Congress has no other weapon but non-violence, they disprove their charge. For Fascism, Nazism and Imperialism depend for their existence on violence. The Congress could not hold together without non-violence. Non-violence and satyagraha, its active principle, constitute the sovereign remedy which could be applied by all the minorities in the country, and which was for even the smallest minority a sure safeguard against the tyranny of the majority however big it might be. Non-violence was thus bound up with the very existence of the Congress, and to give it up would be to betray it and the masses for whom it stood."

A visitor recently asked Gandhiji if his re-entry meant that the Congress had become again non-violent at heart. "So far as I can say from things in the Punjab," said the visitor, "I think that, though there is a good deal of self-restraint, there is little non-violence."

Gandhiji replied: "I agree. The resolution is the result of several days' full-fledged debate among the members of the Working Committee. I may confess that many of the members have no independent faith in non-violence but they are trying to imbibe it. But you must know that the Congress is not merely the Working Committee, nor the A. I. C. C., nor the members on the Congress registers, but the dumb millions. They are all peace-loving, and we have to represent them truly. These millions, before the Congress identified itself with them in 1919, had taken no part in any violent or non-violent or even a so-

called constitutional fight. But they rose like one man on the 6th of April 1919. They took up peaceful rebellion as their *mantra*, and without any organisation, without any country-wide tour—for I had not then toured in the interior—they instinctively took up the call, and the Congress organisation became a peaceful rebel organisation. The Bombay resolution had these masses in mind."

No Threat

It is surprising that a paper should have accused Gandhiji of an intention to go to the Viceroy with the threat of civil disobedience. The very same paper published copious extracts from Gandhiji's speech from which the following are enough to prove that there was no such intention:

"There is one thing which is not mentioned in the resolution. In giving me the authority that the Working Committee has done, there is a reservation. I do not want to hurl civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of Government actions—actions beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, then the statement of the Secretary of State for India, and then the series of actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since.

The sum total of all these things has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice, being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled. It is there in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am using now, but you will see the meaning clear as daylight. In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy with a request that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him; I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced: We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. Left free to ourselves, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure you find that they respond, then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the Zamindars, from anybody high or low, you can have it; but let our voice also be heard. If you do so, it will be eminently honourable, it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you, although you are engaged in a life and death struggle, that you have given us this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you take this great step although you have limitless powers to choke our voice, and give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to tell the people of India not to join the war."

The Demand

While some have regarded the Congress demand as too difficult to be accepted, some have regarded it as too trifling. A talk that Gandhiji had with an ashram youngster may be summarised for the benefit of both. "If," asked the youngster, "the Congress demand is complete, it means that we

do not need Swaraj, and that we shall be content with the liberty of speech and the press."

"Our objective is Complete Independence, as you know. But do you know the means to attain it?"

"Carrying out the constructive programme."

"That is one of the principal branches of the tree. But what is the root?"

"Truth and non-violence."

"Well, then, we want the right to preach truth and non-violence."

"But will newspaper articles and speeches be enough for the propagation of truth and non-violence?"

"No, we have to do much more. But the right to preach truth and non-violence is threatened. The law seems to say that we may not tell people that they have every right not to co-operate in the war effort, and that it is their duty as a non-violent people not to co-operate thus."

"But you have yourself said that we can get Swaraj if we fulfil the constructive programme. Why then this trivial issue?"

"It is not a trivial issue, it is a concrete and all-important issue. If we surrender it, a time will come when we may have to surrender all, when we may have to forget even the name of truth and non-violence. To preach these is our birthright, and to forfeit it is to forfeit our existence."

"But what I am troubled about is the emphasis on mere speech and writing."

"It is the liberty we claim. How and when to use it and whether to use it or no is our concern. If we cannot stand a strong breeze, we shut the windows and even doors. But how should we feel if someone were to shut us up?"

"I see. But may it not be imaginary? If you ask a little child not to eat earth, it will eat it. It is the inhibition that is galling. Do you want to remove the inhibition?"

"The analogy is wrong, for the little child has no right to eat earth, whereas no one has a right to prevent us from enjoying free air. But let me take another example for you, as you are a child. Prahlad was ordered by his father not to take the name of Rama (God). He might have argued with himself, 'I lose nothing by not repeating the name of Rama, for Rama is in my heart.' But if he had resorted to this argument, he would have deceived himself. He did not do so, and he defied his father to do his worst, he was not going to give up repeating *Ramanam*. And because he braved the most fearful hardships and dared even death for that sacred right, we have today a living faith in *Ramanam*. If he had yielded, that faith would have vanished from the earth. Even so, if we give up our right to preach truth and non-violence, we give it up for ever."

"But abstract truth and non-violence no one prevents us from preaching."

"No principle exists in the abstract. Without its concrete application it has no meaning. And when I want to preach non-violence I want to preach it as an effective substitute for war, and thereby to be able to wean Britain and other warring countries from violence and barbarism."

Why for All?

"But," someone argued, "why do you claim that right for all? In your speech you said that you would speak as a conscientious objector, but that others might use any reasoning they liked — e. g. the financial or the imperialistic argument."

"I have no business to claim the right only for myself and for those who are conscientious objectors. For some other grounds may be as important as, if not more than, conscientious grounds; and if I may not be smothered, how can I suffer those others to be smothered? If, moreover, the liberty was restricted to conscientious objectors, we should compel a number of our people to be hypocrites, for they would take shelter under the conscientious argument. All that is necessary is the acceptance by all of the condition of non-violence. That cannot be relaxed."

A 'Columbus'

Twice during the past few days Gandhiji likened himself to Columbus—first after the last Wardha meeting of the Working Committee, and then in his speech at the close of the A. I. C. C. proceedings. On this second occasion he went into some detail in giving the comparison: "I do not ask you to appoint me your captain as a favour. I would entreat you to do a number of other things, but I do not entreat you to make me your captain. If you with eyes open and your minds clear feel that you should make me your captain, you may do so, not otherwise. For unless I have your minds and hearts with me, we cannot reach the promised land. I am in the same predicament as Columbus when he started on his voyage to discover India. Perhaps I am in a worse plight in that I have no chart and no compass which Columbus had. I therefore ask for your implicit obedience and discipline as the ship's officers and crew. We have to be an army in action tomorrow, and unless you give unflinching discipline, we shall be nowhere. A ship's captain never brooks indiscipline, and may even relieve the ship of the insubordinate crew."

It would be interesting for a moment to see the points of similarity and dissimilarity in the comparison. Columbus before he started on his voyage made himself admiral and assumed full powers as Gandhiji has done. His journey was perilous, and though he had a chart and compass, the journey was over uncharted seas. But the comparison ends there. The bulk of his 88 crews were criminals and vagabonds who had been given the choice between imprisonment and this perilous voyage. They were so indisciplined and wrong-headed that they did threaten to mutiny and even to push Columbus overboard some dark night. To control these men Columbus had to have recourse to deception, threats, promises! The very nature of our struggle makes these conditions impossible, and Gandhiji has promised in advance to make room for a better captain in case he fails, or even without, if people do not want him.

Sevagram, 23-9-40

M. D.

Harijan

Sept. 29

1940

SOME CRITICISM ANSWERED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. and my speeches before the meeting have come in for much criticism, if they have earned some praise. Of the criticism there are two items which I must attempt to answer. For they are of permanent interest. *The Times of India* of the 17th inst. in its temperate criticism takes me to task for my statement that 'the peoples of Europe do not know what they are fighting for.' It was bound to be resented. But truth, though seemingly harsh, has to be uttered when utterance becomes relevant, indeed imperative. I believe that the utterance had become overdue. I must say why I think that the warring nations do not know what they are fighting for. I had used the expression 'warring nations', not 'peoples of Europe'. This is not a distinction without a difference. I have distinguished between the nations and their leaders. The leaders of course know what they are fighting for. I make no admission that they are right. But neither the English nor the Germans nor the Italians know what they are fighting for except that they trust their leaders and therefore follow them. I submit that this is not enough when the stake is so bloody and staggering as during the present war. It is perhaps common cause that Germans and Italians do not know why English children should be slaughtered in cold blood and beautiful English homes should be destroyed. But *The Times'* claim probably is that the British people know what they are fighting for. When I asked the British soldiers in South Africa during the Boer War they could not tell me what they were fighting for. 'Theirs was' surely 'not to reason why'. They did not even know where they were being marched to. The British people would not be able to give me a more satisfying answer, if I happened to be in London and asked them why their soldiers were working havoc in Berlin. If the press accounts are to be relied upon, British skill and valour have wrought more havoc in Berlin than have the Germans in London. What wrong have the German people done to the British people? Their leaders have. Hang them by all means, but why destroy German homes and German civilian life? What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty or democracy? I assert in all humility, but with all the strength at my command, that liberty and democracy become unholy when their hands are dyed red with innocent blood. I hear the living Christ saying: "These so-called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain, for they disobey the central command

of my Father!" If my ears do not deceive, I have erred in good company, if I have erred at all.

And why have I uttered the truth? Because I am confident that God has made me the instrument of showing the better way. If Britain seeks justice, she must appear before the imperial court of God with clean hands. She will not defend liberty and democracy by following totalitarian methods so far as war is concerned. She will not be able to retrace her steps after out-Hitlering Hitler in war. The last war is a resounding lesson. Her victory, if attained, will be a snare and a delusion. I know mine is a voice in the wilderness. But it will some day ring true. If liberty and democracy are to be truly saved, they will only be by non-violent resistance no less brave, no less glorious, than violent resistance. And it will be infinitely braver and more glorious because it will give life without taking any.

Now I come to *The Statesman's* article of 18th September. I am sorry to say it is intemperate and written in anger. It is full of palpable mistakes (to use a mild word), no doubt unconscious. But I am not concerned with the intemperance of language. In the fierce heat of battle unknown before, the wonder is that the intemperance one sees sometimes is not much greater than it is.

Here is the cream of the heavy indictment:

"We have often expressed our view about the fundamental immorality and contradictory character of the doctrine. Non-cooperation is a method of war and not of peace....It carries with it a pretentious claim to spiritual value which involves sanctimonious insincerities and mass hypocrisy masking intensified hatreds..... A nation which accepted this doctrine would doom itself to slavery."

This is all contrary to the history of our own times in India. I claim that there is nothing immoral in non-violent non-cooperation. Violent resistance is itself non-cooperation, and it is immoral because of its violence. It becomes moral when it is non-violent. Non-cooperation with evil is a sacred duty. It is essentially spiritual because of its non-violent character. The adjectives used by the writer would be deserved if it was non-violent in name only. For the present argument I must take the genuine article. Now for the facts. Non-violent non-cooperation, however imperfect it was, has redeemed India at least somewhat from the slavery under which she was groaning. It has raised India from the slough of despond, and has brought her prestige which nothing else could have. I make bold to say that, if the non-violence offered had been not adulterated, its effect would have been still more visible. My greatest claim, however, is that it is this despised non-violent resistance which hitherto saved India from anarchy and red ruin. It is not yet entirely saved. If it is to be saved, it will only be by the non-violent method. I invite *The Statesman* writer to test the truth of my statement. He will have many infallible proofs in its support. A dispassionate study will enable him to serve both Britain and India.

On the way to Simla, 25-9-40

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH AT THE A. I. C. C.

[Here is, the full text of Gandhiji's English speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay on 15th September. It is revised by Gandhiji and is thus an authorised version. M. D.]

I know that you have listened to me with the greatest patience. I am specially grateful to you to-day, for the simple reason that I have said many things which may have displeased you. But it was never my intention to displease those whom I want to harness for the great work that lies before you and before me. I have to speak to you at length because I have to shoulder this burden. I have not come with a prepared speech at all. The thoughts will come as I proceed.

Let me begin with a thought which has been weighing with me for a considerable time. When the war broke out and I went to Simla to see the Viceroy I issued a statement the next day, not in a representative but in my individual capacity. A friend has now reminded me how good it would have been if I had simply hung on to that statement although I could not take the Congress with me; and on the eve of my shouldering this responsibility, he prayed that I should be guided by God to take up that original position and retire. I have very great regard for him. I have not forgotten that statement, nor have I any regret or apology to offer. If such a thing occurs — and history often repeats itself — and I happen to go to another Viceroy, I should make the same statement.

Although I spoke only for myself, deep down in me there was the Congressman speaking. The Viceroy also did not send for me because I was M. K. Gandhi. M. K. Gandhi has absolutely no place in his books. The man who wields the sceptre can have no room for individuals. He sent for me because he thought I would represent the Congress view and I would be able to carry conviction to Congressmen.

I withdrew from that position, not as an individual but as a Congressman, and because I failed to carry conviction even to a single Congressman. Happily you have got on the Working Committee men with sterling honesty who had the courage to tell me that, although it was my statement, they did not feel like accepting it. They added that they had had bitter experience behind them, and that therefore they would not be able to take that position. Thus you had the resolution that was passed by the Congress immediately after the war. And I agreed with the resolution as a representative, although I said to them that, if I could carry conviction, my original position was the best possible one to take up. If I had pressed the members of the Working Committee to accept my position, they would have done so, but it would have been only mechanical. The statement was not made to deceive the Viceroy or, for the matter of that, a single soul. It came straight from the heart. It was not a

theatrical display. It was the opening up of the secret recesses of the heart before the world, the Viceroy and the Congress. If these words of mine could not find an echo in their hearts, they would have been of no use whatsoever to the Viceroy, to the great English nation or to India. That still remains my sentiment. If I could not convince the Congress of my attitude, it would not carry us further. It would have been a wrong step to take, and hence it was not taken. With that background I approach this resolution.

I have made repeated statements that I would not be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hung in the balance, that I would not be true to my satyagraha, would not be true to non-violence, would not be true to the truth which I hold dear if I did so, and therefore could not do so. That very man now stands before you to shoulder the burden of satyagraha. Why? There comes a time when a man in his weakness mistakes vice for virtue; and virtue itself, when taken away from its context and from the purpose for which it was dedicated, becomes vice. I felt that, if I did not go to the assistance of the Congress and take the helm even if it be in fear and trembling, I would be untrue to myself.

I feel that in taking the step that we are doing we are rendering a great service not only to the Congress but to the whole of India. And we are rendering a service not only to the whole of India. History will record — and Englishmen will be able to grasp this statement some day — that we rendered help to the English nation, and they will find that we were true to our salt and had the same bravery and fearlessness of which the Englishman is proud and for which he is renowned. I, who claim to be a fast friend of the British people, will be guilty of unfriendly conduct if, under a false sense of modesty, or because people may think otherwise about me, or because Englishmen themselves will be angry with me, I do not issue a warning that the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vice, because it will kill the Congress organisation, and it will kill the very spirit which is exercising this restraint.

When I say this, I am speaking not only for the Congress, but for all who stand for national freedom — Muslims, Parsis, Christians and even those who are against the Congress, so long as they represent the aspiration of India, namely, unadulterated independence. I should be untrue to all of them, if at this time I said, 'no embarrassment to the British'. I must not repeat parrot-like 'no embarrassment'. Then that repetition would be just as useful for my salvation or for the guarding of my virtue as the repetition by a parrot of God's name which cannot bring him salvation, because it is only a mechanical and vocal effort without any intelligence behind it. Therefore, if I exercise that suppression at this critical moment in the history of the nation, it would be useless. I should be perfectly untrue to myself if I hid myself in Sevagram and said, "No, I have told you, 'no embarrassment'."

The language of this resolution is in the main mine. It appealed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I used to be the Congress draftsman. Now he has taken my place. He saw it was inevitable, if we were to be true to non-violent resistance to the extent to which we wanted to go. The Working Committee has accepted this phraseology deliberately, well knowing its implications. The result is this: If we can get a declaration from the British Government that the Congress can carry on anti-war propaganda, and preach non-cooperation with the Government in their war effort, we will not have civil disobedience.

I do not want England to be defeated or humiliated. It hurts me to find St. Paul's Cathedral damaged. It hurts me as much as I would be hurt if I heard that the Kashi Vishvanath temple or the Juma Masjid was damaged. I would like to defend both the Kashi Vishvanath temple and the Juma Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but would not take a single life for their defence. That is my fundamental difference with the British people. My sympathy is there with them nevertheless. Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen, or others whom my voice reaches, as to where my sympathy lies. It is not because I love the British nation and hate the German. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or the Italians are any worse. We are all tarred with the same brush; we are all members of the vast human family. I decline to draw any distinctions. I cannot claim any superiority for Indians. We have the same virtues and the same vices. Humanity is not divided into water-tight compartments so that we cannot go from one to another. They may occupy one thousand rooms, but they are all related to one another. I would not say, 'India should be all in all, let the whole world perish.' That is not my message. India should be all in all, consistently with the well-being of other nations of the world. I can keep India intact and its freedom also intact only if I have goodwill towards the whole of the human family and not merely for the human family which inhabits this little spot of the earth called India. It is big enough compared to other smaller nations, but what is India in the wide world or in the universe?

Let there be no mistake as to what I am about. I want my individuality to remain unimpaired. If I lose it, I would be of no service to India, much less to the British people, still less to humanity. My individual liberty is the same as the nation's, convertible with national liberty. I do not claim any greater liberty for myself. Hence my liberty is equal to the liberty of all of you and no greater. I feel that, if my liberty is at stake, yours is also at stake. I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and say that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war and in this fratricide that is going on in Europe. I admire the bravery. But what is the use of this bravery? I deplore the foolishness and the crass ignorance. These people do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look

at this war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want the Congress to do so.

The part that I would like to take is the part of peace-maker. If the British people in their wisdom had recognised the independence not of the Congress but of all India, and if other parties in India had also co-operated with us, we would have taken the honourable place of peace-makers between these nations. Such is my ambition. But today I know that it is a day-dream. But sometimes a man lives in his day-dreams. I live in mine, and picture the world as full of good human beings—not goody goody human beings. In the Socialist's language, there will be a new structure of society, a new order of things. I am also aspiring after a new order of things that will astonish the world. If you try to dream these day-dreams, you will also feel exalted as I do.

And now I come to our 'tin-pot' Congress—tin-pot in the estimation of others, not my own. If we do not take care, the Congress will disappear, and if the Congress disappears, the national spirit disappears. One after another Congressmen are being selected and jailed. It is not satyagraha to watch people being taken away. It is much better for all of us to rush into the jaws of the opponent. After all, as the Maulana Saheb once said, India is a vast prison. Let us get out of this slave-prison by breaking the prison bars. He said to the Sikhs at the time of the Nankana Saheb tragedy: "You may protect one gurdwara; but what about the vast gurdwara that is India? We have to deliver it from bondage." Those words ring true even today in my ears. If this liberty of the nation or the movement for freedom is likely to be choked, then I say that the virtue of self-restraint is going to become a vice. That virtue of restraint cannot be carried to the extent of the extinction of the national spirit wherever it may reside, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.

I do not want to hurl civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of Government actions—actions beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, the statement of the Secretary of State for India, and the series of actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since. The sum total of all these has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice, being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled. This is implied in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am using now, but you will see the meaning clear as daylight.

In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy with a request that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him; I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced: We do not want

to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. If we carry the people with us, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure, you find that the people help the war effort, we can have no cause for grumbling. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the zamindars, from anybody high or low, you can have it; but let our voice also be heard. If you accept my proposal, it will be eminently honourable, it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you, although you are engaged in a life and death struggle, that you have given us this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you take this great step, although you have limitless powers to choke our voice, and that you give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to tell the people of India not to join the war effort.

Let the people use any reasoning they like for refusal to help the war effort. My reasoning is the only one which will sit well on Congressmen's lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves to that reasoning. Those who have conscientious objection, as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are tired of British imperialism will use that argument. There may be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under this freedom of speech, provided, however, that they all accept non-violence, provided also that what they say is said openly and not secretly. These are the implications of my generalship. If these do not satisfy you, you must reject this resolution summarily. So long as you can preach non-cooperation with war effort in men and money, there should be no civil disobedience. But if you have not that liberty, there is no Swaraj but perpetual bondage. I would like the British people and the Viceroy to be able to tell the world that they have given the leaders of the Indian people liberty to preach to their people what they like. The British can then say to the world: "Judge us by our conduct. Here in India we are playing the game."

I do not mind the British not responding to the Delhi resolution. They may say, "At the present moment you cannot interfere with the management of affairs as they stand. Deliverance will come to you in its own time. At this critical juncture do not worry us." I will understand that argument. I will sympathise with it. I will hold my hand so long as there is no fraud or falsity in what they say. It is impossible for them to give us freedom. If freedom has got to come, it must be obtained by our own internal strength, by our closing our ranks, by unity between all sections of the community. It cannot descend from heaven, nor can it be given as a gift from one nation to another. I do not know whether I am representing the feelings of the members of the Working Committee, because I have not discussed these things with them. But you have to take me with all my limitations, with the workings of my mind.

The Viceroy may say, "You are a visionary." I may fail in my mission, but we will not quarrel. If he says he is helpless, I will not feel helpless. I will make good my position. I cannot sit still when I see Ram Manohar Lohia and Jaiprakash Narain in jail, than whom I do not know braver or straighter men. They have not preached violence, but simply carried out the behests of the Ramgarh resolution. It was a point of honour with them.

I have restrained myself, and will restrain myself. I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer civil disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. In this battle I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if the Government chooses, it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to seal my lips or restrain my pen. It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison, not because India will rise in rebellion. India will be wrong if it does so. My own instinct is that they will not be able to keep me in jail.

I will place my argument before the Viceroy. I may fail in my mission. But I have never approached a mission in despair. I may have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. I shall approach the Viceroy in the confidence and hope that he will understand the great reasonableness of the request of the Congress for full liberty to preach 'no war' in India. Everyone should have perfect liberty to preach by pen and tongue, 'We cannot aid imperialism, we cannot help spoliation.'

I shall strain every nerve to avoid satyagraha in your name. What shape it will take, when it comes, I do not know. But I know that there will be no mass civil disobedience, because mass civil disobedience is not required for this occasion. I have impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. I have no mysteries. I do not know how I shall lead you, what action I shall put before you. I hope that any action that we may take will be worthy of the Congress traditions and of the occasion.

I have often said that I do not know the Congress mind as I have buried myself in Sevagram. It is because of the Congress difficulty that I have dragged myself to Bombay, and immediately I am released from this duty you will find me in Sevagram. But I have got strength and resourcefulness enough to lead this battle, although I am buried in Sevagram. I shall do better and clearer thinking in Sevagram than anywhere else, simply because I have built up there an atmosphere for my growth. With the march of time my body must decay but, I hope, not my wisdom. I seem to see things more clearly with the advance of age. It may be self-deception, but there is no hypocrisy. Self-deception is good sometimes in that it helps one to remain cheerful and not to give way to despair. It will be, therefore, wrong of you to drag me from Sevagram; and I promise that I shall give a good account of my stewardship.

There are many parties in the Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is indis-

cipline in the Congress. I know it is inevitable in a mass organisation which is growing from day to day. If it is all indiscipline and no discipline, the organisation is on the downward path. Let it not be said of you that you come to the Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly sign the Congress pledge with violence in your breasts? I want complete obedience to the policy of non-violence. While the policy lasts, it is the same as though it was a creed, for so long as it holds good it is as good as a creed. My creed holds me for life; yours so long as you hold it. Resign from the Congress, and you are free from it. Let us be clear regarding the language we use and the thoughts we nurture. For, what is language but the expression of thought? Let your thought be accurate and truthful, and you will hasten the advent of Swaraj even if the whole world is against you. You will have won Swaraj without having to spend nine million pounds a day or without burning a single home. If you are true to your policy, I am sure that without doing any of these things you will build up the majestic edifice of freedom.

"Now for the violence party. Do not mix up the methods if you can help it. You have restrained yourselves for some years. Restrain yourselves for some more years. Ours is not a small battle. If you restrain yourselves, you will lose nothing.

"Freedom of speech and pen is the foundation of Swaraj. If the foundation-stone is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might in order to defend that single stone. May God help you.

SIKHS AND THE SWORD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will find in another column copies of correspondence between Master Tarasingh and myself. My letter was addressed to him as a friend. I had no wish to see it published as it certainly compromised him, as did also his letter to the Maulana Sahab. Master Tarasingh has turned to me for advice on several occasions, my relations with the Sikhs being of the friendliest nature. I flatter myself with the belief that on occasions I have saved the community against itself.

But Master Tarasingh asked me for permission to publish the correspondence which I readily gave. I would still have refrained from entering into a public discussion of it but for the fact that my advice is being grossly distorted, and that I have received a pressing letter from nationalist Sikhs who do not share Master Tarasingh's views and who accept the Congress non-violence and its discipline. In their letter they say:

"Your letter to Master Tarasingh is grossly misinterpreted in the Punjab Press and especially in the Akali circles. They say that you wrote to Master Tarasingh that the whole Sikh Panth is a believer in violence, hence useless and unsuitable to remain in the Congress. We think that your letter was a personal one and referred to Master Tarasingh or his party only. But the Akali party has raised a storm of agitation on this account."

My letter is absolutely clear. It applies only to Master Tarasingh and those whom he represents. It can apply to the whole of the Sikh community only if they accept Master Tarasingh as their undisputed leader. I knew when I answered the letter that at best he represented only a portion of the great community. I knew then that there were many nationalist Sikhs who are as much nationalist as I. My letter to Master Tarasingh lays down general propositions of universal application, though stated in connection with a concrete case which was put before me for advice. Shorn of its concreteness it simply means that (1) The Congress is pledged to a non-violent policy; (2) Therefore no one who does not believe in that policy can belong to the Congress; (3) The Congress is a purely nationalist, non-communal organisation; (4) Therefore no one with a communal bias should belong to it; (5) The Congress being a non-violent organisation and being a determined opponent of Imperialism, anyone belonging to it will have little hearing from Imperialist Britain so long as the Congress retains its policy and is 'at war with' Imperialism.

Those, therefore, who misrepresent my letter in the way they are reported to have done, cannot harm me, but deprive themselves of the services and advice of one who has been their faithful servant for practically twenty years.

Master Tarasingh has sent me an angry letter in reply to mine. As it contains no new argument, I refrain from publishing it in these columns. But it is necessary to correct one error. In my attempt to solve the Hindu-Muslim tangle I have been represented as having abandoned the Congress position as stated in its famous Lahore resolution on the communal question. That resolution is a sacred trust, and so far as I am concerned, when and if the time arrives for a solution of the communal problems, full effect will be given to the Lahore resolution. No non-violent solution is possible without the association of all parties concerned. I therefore urge Sikh friends not to come to hasty conclusions but to judge everything dispassionately. Anger is short madness, and it hurts those that are consciously or unconsciously betrayed into it.

On the way to Simla, 25-9-40

Home and Village Doctor

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

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CORRESPONDENCE

AMRITSAR, 9th August, 1940

Dear Maulana Sahib,

I feel that it is impossible to ignore reality of war. Independence is synonymous with power. Only nations that are fully organised and have a disciplined army are able to preserve their independence. We who are seeking to secure independence cannot afford to neglect the opportunity which the war offers of entering the army and learning both the meaning of sacrifice, unity, command and obedience and art of offence and defence.

The fate of nations is in the balance. I trust you will agree with me, as we claim to be arbiters of our own future, that we must do all we can to help the mobilisation of our man power and our resources, with one object only that, whatever the result of war, we may be able to attain and maintain independence.

I am, therefore, of opinion that we should not only do nothing to prevent recruitment but demand that India should be in a position to produce the modern armament in factories under Indian control only. To leave the responsibility of defence to Britain is to accept continuance of dependence.

It is Britain's interest, at the moment, to prepare India for her own defence. England is no more in a position to spare any force for Indian Defence. It is a rare opportunity for us to raise India from a position of helplessness to a position to be able to help herself. It is the interest to England to defeat her enemies by raising India to a position which England could never have contemplated before. It is in the interest of India to make the most of the opportunity which circumstances have created.

It is my considered opinion that, even if the Congress is compelled to have recourse to Civil Disobedience to exert moral pressure on the Government, it should do nothing to prevent recruitment to the army but confine its activities to spheres which do not infringe on the morale of our troops or dissipate our powers of defence.

In our present preoccupation of wresting power from Britain, we must not close our eyes to dangers internal and external to which our country would be exposed if England fails in the war. We must prepare ourselves for all contingencies. No other preparation can take the place of an Indian army, officered by Indians, ready to meet all eventualities.

I am writing to you to make the position of my community and my own clear. I am definitely of opinion that Sikhs should join the Army in as large a number as possible in the interest of their Motherland and their own. They can only then maintain their position in any Government. I cannot be a party to anything which is likely to weaken the position of my community. To be strong is the essence of independence.

In my anxiety to help the Congress and removing the last obstacle in the path of recruitment to the army I made a conditional offer to provide

a hundred thousand recruits in case a Congress-Government agreement was reached. The chances of an agreement appear to be far from encouraging, while the world situation is worsening. I therefore see no alternative but to support full and free recruitment of the Sikhs to the army. I am, therefore, inclined to give public expression to these views, unless otherwise advised by you and other friends.

Need I say that in all other matters you can rely on my full co-operation and support including Civil Disobedience?

I may add here that I have information that indiscipline is spreading in the Sikh army. There have been desertions and disobedience. Innocent people are suffering under wrong notions. Some of the deserters from the army have reached villages in the Punjab where they are committing murders and dacoities and are proving a terror to the countryside. This has alarmed us, and immediate action has to be taken. If we start civil disobedience without positively advising the army not to participate in such disobedience, the civil disobedience is apt to turn into military disobedience, which means bloodshed and mutiny. Under these circumstances civil disobedience will fail, and impending anarchy will be suppressed by the British with a strong hand, thus reversing the course of the progress of India.

I seek your advice and that of Mahatma Gandhiji, at this critical juncture, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter. I know Mahatmaji's views on non-violence, but I still hope he can give me valuable advice at this critical juncture.

Yours sincerely

(Master) TARASINGH

To Mahatma Gandhiji for information with the request that the Mahatmaji may kindly give advice immediately. TARASINGH

* *

Dear Sardarji,

I am glad you have sent me a copy of your letter to Maulana Saheb. As I have told you, in my opinion, you have nothing in common with the Congress nor the Congress with you. You believe in the rule of the sword; the Congress does not. You have all the time 'my community' in mind. The Congress has no community but the whole nation. Your civil disobedience is purely a branch of violence. I am quite clear in my mind that being in the Congress you weaken 'your community' and weaken the Congress. With your mentality, you have to offer your services to the British Government unconditionally and look to it for the protection of the rights of 'your community'. You do not suppose for one moment that the British will take your recruits on your conditions. They would commit suicide if they did. You have to be either fully nationalist or, frankly communal and therefore dependent upon the British or other foreign power.

This is the considered opinion of one who loves you and the Sikhs as he loves himself and in reality more. For I have ceased to love myself.

Yours sincerely

M. K. GANDHI

Sevagram, 16-8-40

RAJAJI'S POSTSCRIPT

My dear Gandhiji,

I had the advantage of reading the leading article of September 22nd in manuscript at Poona through the courtesy of Shri Chandrashanker. I quite understand why you wrote the article, but I wished I could stop its publication or add my remarks to it. Reading the article in print now I think I had better explain my position.

I do not feel that you exposed me to any ridicule. I was not worried over the attacks made at Bombay on the Poona resolution. I am not the least bit sorry for the Poona resolution. It expressed what we felt was the right thing to do under the circumstances. The British Government did not agree, and in consequence the proposal has failed. That, however, does not make any difference as to the validity of the reasons that led to it. Almost the entire body of intelligent public opinion in India welcomed the Poona resolution. You, of course, considered it wrong because it involved participation in war, be it even for the defence of India. There were some who feared that the resolution might be accepted by the British Government and involve us in co-operation with Britain which was distasteful to them. There are some people for whom the deciding consideration is success. They feel it a disgrace to make a proposal which is turned down. There are again some who desire the maturing of chaos in which alone they see hope for the future of our country, and they would oppose anything that would retard the progress of this fermentation of chaos. Barring these groups the vast body of enlightened opinion in the country enthusiastically approved of the proposal made at Poona, namely, that if Britain acknowledged the right of India to the status of an independent nation and set up a truly National Government composed of leaders of the various groups among the present elected legislators in the Central Assembly, the deadlock should stand resolved. You hold the view that the Congress should as from now work for the abolition of war. The fulfilment of our national goal is inextricably connected, according to you, with that mission. You are, therefore, of opinion that it is a grievous error to participate in the present war effort under any conditions. I believe also that the world should reach peace and abolish wars as soon as possible. But the pathway to it lies, in my opinion, in education in the highest sense in international co-operation and not in finding alternative weapons to defeat one another's ambitions and aims. Unlike you I do not feel glad that the British rejected our offer on the ground that it has saved us our pacifism.

I do not support the Bombay resolution because the Poona resolution was wrong. My support is based on the following grounds.

It is wrong for the British to declare that the Indian people were in a state of war against any other nation without asking them about it. War

does not mean only payment of some money and manufacturing munitions. It can easily lead up to all that is happening in London, and should be dealt with on that footing. Four hundred millions of human beings cannot be thrown into such a condition against their own will or without asking them. It is possible for us to recognise the justice of Britain's case against Germany without having to join in it and extend the tragedy beyond the necessary limits. America refuses to enter the war though it may give judgment in favour of Britain. We have not entered the Sino-Japanese war in spite of the justice of China's cause.

The Poona proposal sought to make participation consistent with self-respect and fruitful. But the proposal was rejected by the British Government. India is, therefore, entitled to refuse to participate in the war. But she is forced to contribute and participate on the basis that India is an imperial possession without any independent status or the right to choose between war and neutrality. The case for Britain is that the help taken from India is voluntary. This claim can be justified, or at least the objection can be reduced to the minimum, if those who preach non-participation are not suppressed by imprisonment. It could then be claimed that such Indian co-operation that comes in spite of such appeals against participation is truly voluntary. This much should be conceded to mitigate the offence of dragging the Indian people into the horrors of a modern war without their consent.

Madras, 23-9-40

C. Rajagopalachar

[Rajaji would not be Rajaji, if he took notice of ridicule. From his own standpoint his position is unassailable. But it therefore does not cease to be a denial of the last twenty years' past of the Congress. If the Poona gesture had received the response it deserved, from being peace-minded the Congress would suddenly have become war-minded — a feat which even Rajaji would have failed to perform. But all this is past. Nor is it relevant to my confession and Rajaji's postscript.]

On the train to Simla, 25-9-40

M. K. G.]

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SUNDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1940

[ONE ANNA

SINDH HINDUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Shamlal Gidwani writes a letter on the situation in Sindh from which I quote the following :

"Most of us Sindh Hindus have not been able to follow the advice you thought fit to tender regarding non-violence. We find that this advice is in direct conflict with the teachings of Lord Shri Krishna. We have also been advised by you to migrate somewhere else if we are not able to protect ourselves. This advice again we are unable to follow for practical reasons.

You know several of the reasons, and you have yourself mentioned some of them in your recent article in *Harijan* which we all greatly appreciate. You also know that Hindus in Sind, though only 27 per cent of the population, own fifty per cent of the land. We are scattered all over the province, and our population in some of the villages is between two to ten per cent. We pay nearly the whole of the income-tax revenue in the province; we contribute fifty per cent of land revenue and nearly the whole of the customs revenue. If we follow your advice, we shall be not only cowards but become landless and countryless. There is also a danger in our migrating to other provinces, for it will mean a public confession of the failure of a community to protect itself merely because an aggressive community thought fit to tyrannise over us and the protecting arms of law and order were not made available for us. That would again be a confession of the failure of democracy. On the other hand, what we feel is that, if you had advised the people of Sindh—particularly the Hindus—to train themselves in the use of arms, they would have been able to better protect themselves and would have been saved all the series of murders that had been wantonly committed on the Hindus in recent months."

At the same time that I received this letter, I saw in the papers that five Hindus were shot dead openly while they were pursuing their normal business. As usual the murderers have not been traced. Is this a plan of terrorism to drive the Hindus out of Sindh, or is it something else? Someone in Sindh ought to be able to answer the question.

Shri Gidwani does not subscribe to non-violence. He thinks that my advice is contrary to the teachings of Lord Krishna. He thinks, for (himself) very good reasons, that the Hindus cannot act non-violently. For equally good reasons he thinks they cannot migrate. But he would like me to advise them to defend themselves by arms. This is like asking a nature cure

physician to prescribe allopathic drugs. Can he be trusted to prescribe the right drugs? And what will my advice be worth when my own hands are incapable of wielding arms? Shri Gidwani should go to a physician who knows the business and will, on due occasion, run to the rescue and always be ready to give the necessary training. I have said that for those who do not believe in non-violence armed defence is the only remedy. But if I am asked to advise how it can be done, I can only say, "I do not know."

But Shri Gidwani is trifling with the crisis when he lazily looks up to me to guide Sindh Hindus on impossible terms. If he sincerely believes in the solution he has proposed, he must himself take the training at once and lead the terrified Hindus of Sindh along the path of armed defence. It is wrong for the leaders of Sindh to look for outside help. They should cease to write. They should seriously think out a plan of action, violent or non-violent, and follow it up firmly and bravely.

I venture also to suggest to the responsible Muslims of Sindh that their reputation is at stake. If they cannot stop those senseless murders of innocent people, history will find them guilty. They will never persuade anybody that they are helpless to deal with the mischief. Such acts are impossible without the silent sympathy of the society to which the perpetrators of murders belong.

Simla, 28-9-40

OCCASIONAL NOTES

"The Most Important Convert"

When Gandhiji issued on July 2 his 'Appeal to Every Briton' no paper in the British Isles published it, except in bits. In about a fortnight, however, *The Peace News* got the full text and published it with Mr. Carl Heath's appreciative commentary. But those British papers had much more room for the statement issued by the Working Committee on June 21, and indeed some of them hailed the "Indian Congress" as "the most important convert of all", in that it had "overruled its adored leader, Mr. Gandhiji." What they will now say about the Bombay resolution it is difficult to say. They may not regard it as a full reconversion, and may even describe it as "a virtue of necessity." Very much will depend upon our future conduct, for we are now pledged to "the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India," and to giving a lead in disarmament to the world.

The "Recantations"

In this connection a reference to those who have recanted their belief in pacifism is likely to be useful. Among the most prominent of these ex-pacifists are Dr. C. E. M. Joad and (Lord) Bertrand Russell. They have decided that "non-violence is no use *now* that Hitler is loose." Dr. Joad describes himself as a "utilitarian pacifist", and the onrush of Nazism has shaken his belief:

"If the Nazis win, then I know that all the things I hold to be important will not only be imperilled, as they are imperilled by war, but will certainly be destroyed. The Nazi regime has exorcised culture, burnt books, exiled artists, scientists, writers and philosophers, and made war upon the mind of man. It gags and muzzles its people; it taps telephones and opens letters; it sets spies and eavesdroppers to overhear and report upon the most casual conversation; it plants its secret police and their creatures in cages, restaurants, shops and even private households to arrest its citizens and imprison them without trial, or after a trial in a party court for offences hitherto unknown to any code of law."

The question is: how are these things to be met? By counter-violence? Most of the things are even now being actually done by those who want to extirpate the Nazi curse; and as the war advances it will be nothing short of a race in clever and successful brutality. Here is a report of the air raid on Mogadishu (Italian Somaliland):

"The Italians had collected in one park at least a thousand motor lorries, and their almost complete destruction represents a severe blow to enemy mobility and transport...Three waves of bombers were employed in the raid which lasted two hours. The attack was concentrated on the vehicle park and is described as having been very severe. The heaviest types of high explosives were used, and smoke from the burning machines rose into the sky. The pilots left fire behind them which one of them described as being like a furnace and the most amazing blaze he had ever seen."

In a recent broadcast talk Air Commodore A. Claud Wright explained the way in which the British have been able to maintain their air superiority, with the result that "the proportion of enemy aircraft casualties proved to have been brought down, in relation to our own casualties, varies from day to day, sometimes from 10 to 1, down to about 3 to 1, but the average is about 5 to 1." And a writer in *The Times* (London) makes out a case for "compulsory, universal pre-military training for all boys between 16 and 20, like that of the Finnish Youth." The scheme would be developed on a county basis, but "common to all would be the war games which give a boy the experiences and adventure for which he pines and the future soldier the appreciation of ground, distance, and cover that he needs." That is where the militarist is inevitably driven to. But the ex-Pacifist says: "Our first business is to win the war no matter what happens, and pacifism will not win the war." There is the weakness of the intellectual pacifist. The intellectual pacifist depends upon his intellect for his pacifist philosophy, and comes a cropper when faced with grim

reality. The intellectual pacifist is no better than the writer who is no pacifist but who said the other day: "Pacifism and disarmament are good in peace-time and not in war."

Beware of the Trap

It is this intellectual pacifism that has led to the defection of Joad, Russell and Co., and we, who have looked upon non-violence as our sheet-anchor, had lost hold of it for a moment and have grasped it again, have to beware of this intellectual pacifism. If our pacifism is merely intellectual, it will not serve the purpose. It will vanish at the first touch of reality. When there was no war those who have now recanted were among the front rank pacifists. When the war with all its horrors has come to their very door, they have ceased to be pacifists, forgetting that pacifism has no value unless it is tested in the fierce furnace of war raging around it. As Mr. John Todd has put it:

"Joad and Russell have made it very difficult for a popular pacifist movement ever to be formed again. But that is as it should be. We must throw over, I think, much of this facile (it is now revealed as such) intellectual propaganda. People must ask themselves, man for man, whether they know war is wrong absolutely. If they *start* always with intellectual reservations and arguments, the thing is useless. Pacifism is within us like the kingdom of God. Secondly, when we proceed to argument we must do so with imagination seeing clearly that about which we argue. But first we must know pacifism in our whole divine selves. We must live on creating and renewing again and again, remoulding the particular things of life as they come to us."

That is where "the living faith in God", on which Gandhiji places so much emphasis, comes in. Seeing non-violence as the only salvation with the eye of faith cannot come otherwise.

Resisting without Arms

Mr. Carl Heath in his commentary on Gandhiji's appeal has put his finger on the right spot when he says that in his appeal Gandhiji is

"suggesting no tame submission to tyranny, least of all as mere escape from the suffering of war. What he calls for is resistance to violent evil with all the force of man's free soul and bodily courage. But violence apart, Gandhiji is here supplying the strong and virile element modern pacifism too often lacks. It is no easy path that he offers. For the body it is a developed and corporate discipline; and for the soul it is an utter love of and faith in God." "If," he goes on, "there were in truth no other way of resisting tyranny and all the acts of evil and of cruelty, the man of courage would needs embrace the last evil of war. That is the pathetic belief of so many brave men...But the answer of the satyagrahi is that there *is* indeed another way, one that is not destroying but constructing. Beginning with a faith that sees the divine essence in men, evil concept and evil act are to be resisted both personally and corporately. Come what may, there can be no submission to evil, ruthlessness, tyranny and cruelty. All allegiance to the foreign invader must be refused whatever be the violence he may use. Does he

inflict wounds and death? These are met by the soldier without flinching. But the satyagrahi seeks to overcome by a love that is no sentimentalism, and like Christ is possessed by a deep concern for the thwarted life of God in the champion of wrong, and for the undoing of the evil will that rules him."

But it means a new life, a transvaluation of all values.

"This challenge of Gandhiji, if it can sink deep into the soul of Europe, will in acceptance transform all social existence. The tension of life, international and social, will begin to vanish. Humanity will be on the march to a new world and a *vita nuova*. Is this a dream? All such dreams are vain till men rise up in courage, and decide to answer 'yes' to the challenge of the great idea that one such dream contains."

But those who will share the dream must share the faith that inspires the dream.

No Room for Passengers

The ranks of the pacifists in London have thinned down following the defections. No news agent would accept *The Peace News*, and the total membership is less than one-third. But those with living faith are undaunted. Mr. J. Middleton Murry, who has assumed the editorship of the little weekly, says:

"There is no room for passengers in our movement. Thirty thousand people united in the determination to keep the basic human value alive are worth more than a million who have merely put their names to a pious declaration. The signing of a pledge 'I renounce war' is no longer a sufficient bond for a pacifist movement. Indeed in a period of total war it has an air of unreality and irrelevance. At such a time one might as well say 'renounce society'. That would at least give us a clue to our real purpose: for since we cannot live a human life without a society to live it in, it follows that our business is to create a society in which we can live—a society of peace in the midst of a society at war.... Membership must be recognised as demanding some real and continual sacrifice for the consolidation of the brotherhood itself. When we have knit a solid bond between ourselves we shall be better able to withstand the constantly increasing pressure of the war-society around us."

Inexpedient to Continue

When Gandhiji wrote his 'Appeal to every Briton', he requested the Viceroy to convey the contents to "the proper quarters", for it represented "his personal and humble contribution to Briton's cause". His Majesty's Government communicated their reply, through the Viceroy, that the policy advocated by Gandhiji could not be considered, "since in common with the whole Empire they are firmly resolved to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion." Gandhiji did not for a moment doubt their resolve, but he feared that Britain, to win the War, would have to adopt "with greater thoroughness the same work of destruction as the Germans, which would be an undignified competition." That consideration evidently did not weigh with them, for once war is accepted the consideration of dignity does not enter there. But while Gandhiji addressed his appeal on the highest ethical ground, he was not oblivious of the fact that the highest ethics necessarily meant the highest expediency. The events are fast proving it. A decisive military defeat of Germany, after the collapse of France, seems now out of

the question, and even a technical victory depends upon Britain's success in blockading the whole of Europe, including Britain's former allies and neutral countries—a ghastly, even if a possible, prospect. Captain B. H. Liddell-Hart, one of the foremost authorities on military science, urges a termination of hostilities on other but no less important grounds:

"As to peace, we must always remember that a long war tends to a bad peace. Britain has only won two wars decisively in a thousand years—against Napoleon and Kaiser—and, certainly, in the last case the 'fight to a finish' had bitter fruits. You may call me a defeatist, as some do, but I still insist that victory has less to offer than an indecisive war which ends with an agreed peace. The idea of complete and overwhelming victory is the greatest folly on earth; such victories only lead to bankruptcy, moral as well as economic. The frequent assertion that we must first 'win the war' before considering the peace is most fallacious. The object of war is to obtain a better peace, even if only from your own point of view. Hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire. As I emphasised in *The Defence of Britain*, if you concentrate exclusively on victory, with no thought of the after-effects, you may be too exhausted to profit by the peace, while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one, containing the germs of another war. This is a lesson supported by abundance of experience."

Sevagram, 24-9-40

M. D.

Interesting Parallel

Shri A. Choudhary, who has come to non-violence after much travail, sends the following interesting letter:

"Looking through some press articles about Trotsky after his recent murder, I came across the following remarkable fact. When the Bolsheviks captured power after the October revolution in 1917 the Soviet Government negotiated for peace with Germany. The German Government offered very severe terms. Trotsky thought that the moral effect of the revolution was so great that the German Government would find it impossible to move their armies against Russia. So, rather than submit to those terms, he declared that the Soviet Government considered war to be at an end and so would demobilise their armies, and actually proceeded to do so. The Germans continued to advance and later on they concluded a severer treaty.

Do you not think this to be an unconscious and partial realisation by the revolutionary leader of the possibility of resisting foreign aggression without an army? The cause of the failure is obvious. They had never consciously accepted non-violence or prepared for it. Trotsky's action amounted to non-resistance, not active non-violent appeal.

There are instances in the history of the Russian Revolution of unarmed masses or workers facing the military forces in face of rifle fire in the hope of winning them over and actually doing so. These I hold to be an unorganised and unconscious adoption of the non-violent technique, by the masses in the streets. But Trotsky's instance shows that a responsible revolutionary statesman, having nothing to do with non-violence, could, in the light of revolutionary experience, think the 'silly' course now advocated by you to be a possible one, and actually experiment with it.

Why should not we, with twenty years' tradition of non-violent action, not only experiment with it, but hope for certain success? I for myself have begun to believe that of all forms of non-violent action, resistance to foreign aggression is the easiest one, and the first one likely to be completely successful."

Simla, 28-9-40

Harijan

Oct. 6

1940

DISGRACEFUL IF TRUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent sends me a bitter letter which I reproduce after removing some choice adjectives which he has used:

"On the eve of your meeting the Viceroy on the issue of civil liberties, I hope this letter would be of some use to you.

At present hundreds of Australian soldiers are moving about in the city of Bombay. Like you, I have no prejudice against any man, whatever nationality or community he may be belonging to. But after observing the behaviour of these soldiers for a week, I am led to the conclusion or misconception that they do not belong to the 'human' race. I have solid reasons for saying so. The Britishers call Germans 'brutes' and their own soldiers 'brave', 'gallant', 'heroic' and what not; but the scenes I have witnessed tell a different tale.

Serious molestation is going on in Bombay by these 'soldiers'. They give a slap on the face of even the policeman. I would cite here some concrete examples, which would give you an idea of the extent to which this soldier menace is prevalent in the city of Bombay:

1. One soldier caught hold of a Gujarati girl and compelled her to dance with him in the ball-dance fashion on the open road. Seven other soldiers encircled the pair and made merry. It was on an unfrequented road.

2. Another bit a high school girl on her cheeks and left her in a blood pool.

3. Four soldiers were seen dragging away a 'Vaghari' woman in the evening near the Prince of Wales Museum.

4. About twenty soldiers came out of the Army and Navy Stores with brandy bottles in their hands, fully drunk. One of them removed his pants and became naked in the open road.

5. Harassing the taxi and victoria drivers has become too common now to describe. A batch of six to eight soldiers packed up in a taxi or victoria is an everyday sight throughout the city. They compel the drivers to take them round the whole city and pay nothing. I cannot imagine the torture of the poor horses carrying their overload.

6. They enter any hotels, eat, drink, enjoy, and leave without paying anything.

7. A traffic policeman was given a slap by a soldier, because he tried to prevent his car from proceeding further.

3, 4, 5, 6 were seen with my own eyes. The remaining were narrated by friends.

I hope you will let the Viceroy know with what 'stuff' they are fighting the war!! I do not mean to say that all the soldiers are like this, but what is going on in Bombay gives me to think."

I have several letters in confirmation of the general charge of indecent behaviour of these 'soldiers'. One letter says that a philanthropic lady had invited these and Indian soldiers to tea. The Indians responded. Of over 250 Australians invited about eight responded. The poor lady, it

is said, was frantic with grief, and phoned to know why her Australian guests had not turned up. 'They have gone out, they are not ready', was the answer.

When I was in Bombay I had heard of this wild behaviour. I was inclined to discount the stories that came to me of their alleged misbehaviour. Some of them were at the station when I took the train for Wardha. I mentioned to them the complaints that were brought to my notice. They promised to set things right. Evidently they had no influence over their companions. They did say to me they had not been in touch with one another before their enlistment.

Be that as it may, the menace should be sternly dealt with. I did mention the matter to H. E. the Viceroy. He promised to investigate. He admitted that the thing was serious, if it was true. I suppose colour prejudice is as strong in Australia as in South Africa. The coloured man is dirt. There shall be no equality between the whites and the coloured races. Thus runs the South African constitution. The white man thinks that a nation containing forty crores of people and ruled by one hundred thousand white men can only be treated as the Australian soldiers are reported to have regarded our girls, the victoriawallas, and even the Indian police. The war has made no difference in the behaviour of the white man.

Two questions emerge from the incidents, assuming them to have happened as reported. All the letters received by me cannot be inventions of fertile brains. What notice have the immediate authorities taken of the allegations? The Viceroy is but one man. If every ugly incident has to go up to him for redress, the system under which this has to happen is bad. There is gross indiscipline among the subordinates in so far as justice to the people is concerned. It is plain sailing when the power of the bayonet is to be exhibited. Then the Viceroy and the subordinate service can act as one man. The sinister inference from this phenomenon is that the subordinate service is the supreme authority and the Viceroy a mere figure-head. The most striking though painful illustration of the truth was furnished by the subordinate authority combining to break to pieces the Gandhi-Irwin pact. Had it not been wantonly disregarded by the subordinate service, history would certainly have been written differently. But there was no Irwin spirit behind the service. The question, therefore, is, in the present instance, what has the G. O. C. of the Australian contingent done with his men? Had he issued instructions to them as to their behaviour in the midst of a mild population? What did the Commissioner of Police do? What did the Collector do? And what did H. E. the Governor do?

The second question is equally important—what have the people done to protect girls from the barbarity to which they were exposed? What has the Mayor done to vindicate the honour of the women living within his jurisdiction? True, he has no executive authority. But he is not the mere chairman of the Corporation. His status

carries with it a dignity and prestige which should enable him to move the authorities concerned in the right direction. What has the Bombay Congress Committee done? What has the man in the street done? If the facts are correctly represented, they constitute a serious blot on everyone concerned. If there was public spirit, violent or non-violent, no one, white or brown, would dare to touch a girl against her will.

The matter demands thorough investigation.
Simla, 29-9-40

VICEROY-GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence that passed today between the Viceroy and Gandhiji on the Congress demand for freedom of speech has been released to the Press (Simla, September 30):

Viceroy's Letter

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks we have had on the 27th and 30th September and their outcome.

As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 18th September to ask that I should grant you an interview, and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All India Congress Committee, not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as a personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

In the course of these conversations the situation has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the question of free speech in time of war. On that matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way embarrassing His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be in a position to give full expression to their views in relation to the war effort, provided only that such expression was fully non-violent.

I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors—which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort.

You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of that nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in India, where in your judgment conditions were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India in

the present war, should be untrammelled in the expression of his views.

It emerged further from our conversation that, while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual works, in an endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment, you would regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome, to make it clear to you that action such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war effort, but to that embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state that they are anxious to avoid; and that it would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with the war effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

Gandhiji's Reply

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have your letter of even date. It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, meant just to satisfy the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others, who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war to which they were never invited and which they regard, so far as they are concerned, as one for saving Imperialism, of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war resister. I cannot claim greater freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

As I made it plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war. And since you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war effort, it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not interested in it. They make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India. Had His Majesty's Government recognised the freedom required in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the no-war party would have been placed on an equal footing so far as each worked fully non-violently.

As to the last paragraph of your letter, I wish to remind you that it was never contemplated to

carry non-embarrassment to the point of self-extinction or, in other words, stopping all national activities which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluding Great Britain. Indeed I hold that, if India were left free to make her choice which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have turned the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

I must, therefore, repeat that the Congress does still want to refrain from embarrassing the British Government in their war effort. But it is impossible for the Congress to make of the policy a fetish by denying its creed at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress has to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. But for fear of burdening this reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement on them as early as I can.

In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument. And though our ways seem to diverge for the moment, our personal friendship will, as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the strain of divergence.

As arranged I am handing our correspondence to the Press for publication.

'COME THOU IN A SHOWER OF COMPASSION'

This visit to Simla is unlike the three previous visits to these heights during the year since the outbreak of the war. Those visits were at the Viceroy's invitation. This one is at Gandhiji's request. On the previous occasions he came neither as M. K. Gandhi—'a private individual can have no place in a satrap's books'—nor as a plenipotentiary of the Congress. He came to represent as best he could the Congress position as he understood it. And indeed when he came at the end of June he had gently to remind the Viceroy that, though he was always willing to obey his summons, His Excellency had to know that the Wardha decision of the Working Committee had meant a complete political break between him and the Committee. This time he comes as the accredited guide and captain of the Congress, and also, as he made it clear in his letter of request, as Lord Linlithgow's friend, which the latter had always been good enough to permit him to call himself. In fact the Viceroy's prompt telegraphic reply to Gandhiji's letter was nothing less than an act of friendship. For he well might have said 'no', and Gandhiji would have understood it.

Again this visit is unlike the previous visits, in that Gandhiji came with no hurry in his mind to get back, and so when His Excellency asked for his programme he said he was at his disposal for as long as he liked, as his mission was his supreme work. He had come as a beggar knocking at the Viceregal door, and so he might not choose.

As the guide of the Congress he came indeed with a very simple and restrictedly concrete issue. But as Lord Linlithgow's friend, and as a friend of the British people, he had innumerable things to talk about, and he wanted to unbosom himself.

For while he had written frankly and freely during the past few months, he had deliberately left more things unsaid than said. Often enough his faith had been at breaking point, he had missed the ring of sincerity in utterances from great places, and he was sore distraught over happenings in the country.

He had unburdened himself at the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C., and yet I know that he had deliberately "half revealed and half concealed" the agitated soul within. He said he would submit to the Viceroy his interpretation of the sum total of the Government's activities beginning with the Viceroy's pronouncement, but he gave no inkling of the interpretation. In just a few measured phrases he had given his opinion about Col. Amery's speech, but he had not laid bare his soul.

And he had said nothing in *Harijan* about the distressing news from all parts of the country that his correspondents had been giving him—about arrests, exactions, savage behaviour of the Australian soldiers recently dumped into Bombay, and so on.

He had stored up that agony. On the train to Delhi he went into silence in order to do his writing for *Harijan*, and finished three articles in the wretchedly jolting carriage. We had little talk on the way. In Delhi friends showed him a summary of Col. Amery's speech throwing out a ray of hope for an understanding. But who knows? It may be as deceptive as the Blackpool speech which preceded the outrageous pronouncement that he made a day or two later. And the full text of the latest speech did indeed seem a revised edition—pitched in a lower key perhaps—of that pronouncement.

Who could say what was to be the outcome of the Simla visit? In the car that brought us up to Simla he finished part of the arrears of his sleep, and we talked somewhat desultorily. I asked him twice if he would not like to go off to sleep again. He said 'no.' And the stored up agony broke out in an unexpected and touchingly sweet way. Almost abruptly he asked me: "Mahadev, what is the meaning of *lukāye jāy*?" I knew the words of that life-giving song of our Poet, and he knew that I had translated the Bengali into Gujarati parallel tunes. I said: "The words mean: is lost, is missing." "Just repeat the two lines," he said. "I remember *Jivan jakhan shukūye jāy*, and what does the Poet describe as

being lost?" I gave him the substance of the two lines: "When the spring of life dries up, come thou in a shower of compassion. When sweetness lies hidden, come Thou in the Heavenly dew of song." And he beamed, as though sweetness and compassion had come to him. Then I repeated the last stanza and gave my crude translation of it: "When stormy passions rage within and blind me, O Thou sleepless Purifier! come in an awakening flash of lightning." "He is a *rishi* (seer), exclaimed Gandhiji, and we have no idea how much we owe to him." I was in a reminiscent mood. I reminded him how, in spite of his frail health, the Poet had come rushing from Santiniketan to the Yeravda jail where Gandhiji lay fasting for the Harijans, and how within a few hours of the Poet's auspicious entry in the prison the good news of the revision of the Premier's decision came, how we sat down to pray before Gandhiji broke his fast, and how I requested the Poet to sing this very song. It was a sacred memory. Gandhiji remembered the whole of the moving scene, but he did not remember the song. Since then he had heard the song from me more than once, and the thought, and even some of the words, had stayed with him, as he recalled them when he was thinking of his difficult mission.

As on reaching Simla I have found *Gitanjali*, let the reader have the Poet's authentic version:

"When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy.

When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song.

When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out from beyond, come to me, my lord of silence, with thy peace and rest.

When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door, my king, and come with the ceremony of a king.

When desire blinds the mind with delusion and dust, O thou holy one, thou wakeful, come with thy light and thy thunder."

And with the memory of the song the fear that the knock may not be heard fled from my heart. For after all the knock was to be made at no human door. And as the Poet has sung in another of his songs:

"If Thou speakest not, I will fill my heart with thy silence and endure it. I will keep still and wait like the night with starry vigil and its head bent low with patience.

The morning will surely come, the darkness will vanish, and thy voice pour down in golden streams breaking through the sky."

Simla, 28-9-40

M. D.

Postscript

Mysterious are the ways of God. After the above was typed and sent to the post, the following telegram was received from Shri Anil Kumar Chanda:

"Gurudeva dangerously ill. Being removed Calcutta tonight accompanied by Calcutta doctors."

To which Gandhiji immediately sent the following reply:

"Your telegram. May God pull Gurudeva through and keep him yet a while for humanity as He has done before."

Who knows when we were remembering the Poet and the debt humanity owed to him, as we were coming up to Simla, we were offering our prayers for his long life, though we did not know that he was so ill.

M. D.

Notes

The Breach

It is my firm conviction that British statesmen have failed to do the right thing when it was easy to do it. If India is wholly in favour of participation in the war, they could have easily disregarded any hostile propaganda. But the determination to gag free expression of opinion, provided it was not in the least tainted with violence, shatters Britain's claim that India's participation is voluntary. Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such aid as Britain would have got from India would have been an asset of inestimable value. The non-violent party would have played an effective part for honourable peace when the proper time for it was in sight, as it must be some day. I have been shown *The Times'* comment on the breach. I accept the compliment about my resourcefulness. But great as I believe it to be, I own that it has its limitations. There must be willingness on the other side. I regret to have to say I wholly missed it at the interview. The Viceroy was all courtesy, but he was unbending, and believed in the correctness of his judgment, and as usual had no faith in that of nationalist India. The Britisher is showing extraordinary bravery on the battle-field in a marvellous manner. But he lacks bravery to take risks in the moral domain. I often wonder whether the latter has any place in British politics.

Sevagram, 3-10-40

To Satyagrahis

Satyagrahis will not be impatient with me and argue with me or with themselves and say, "When will you give the word? You have had your interview with the Viceroy. You have got what many of us had told you you would get." Your telling me this or that mattered little. The attempt was worth making. I had told you that, even if I did not get what I wanted from the Viceroy, I would bring from Simla added strength for myself. Who knows that to have added strength is not better than weak success. But my wisdom will be tested by the manner in which I use the strength. Maulana Saheb has called the Working Committee for the 11th inst. I hope I shall be ready then with my plan of action. But whatever it is, it will be good only if it carries with it the united will of all Congressmen, if not the whole nation. Then the visible action even of one man will be enough for the purpose intended. Meanwhile please remember there is to be no civil disobedience, direct or indirect. Any breach of this will weaken the cause because it will unnerve your general who is susceptible to the

slightest indiscipline. A general in action has no strength but what is given to him by his people.

On the train to Wardha. 2-10-40

Illegal Levy?

"A problem has arisen at Alibag, the headquarters of the Kolaba District near Bombay, and I am afraid it exists in many other districts. I place the facts in detail and seek your advice.

Motor buses run from Alibag in three directions. There is no other means of travel. Each service is organized and conducted by a union of the bus-owners. The fare charged was and even today is less than what could be levied under the Government schedule.

Sometime in the third week of August the District Superintendent of Police, Kolaba, wrote a letter to all the bus-owners in the District. In this letter he intimated to them the decision of the District War Gift Committee to affix half anna War Gift stamp to every ticket issued to a bus passenger. He further asked them whether they were willing to do the same. In this connection it may be noted that the District Superintendent of Police is neither the chairman nor any office-bearer of the War Committee. Presumably he wrote this letter to bring pressure on the bus-owners who are under the control of the Police Department in every respect.

Since 1st September the unions increased the fare by half an anna per passenger irrespective of distance. They at times attribute this to the rise in the price of petrol. But in fact this half anna they have to credit to the War Gift Fund. In order to see that full amount is credited, the union account books are to be checked by the Police Office and account struck. Such are the facts. What could and should be done to resist this forcible levy exacted from every passenger? What should bus passengers who don't want to pay the extra levy do?"

This is a typical letter. In some shape or other things go on like this. I call it an illegal levy. Any passenger who will take the trouble can decline to pay the levy and tender the scheduled fare and demand a seat in the bus. If he is rejected, he has a cause of action. So far as I know, it is not the Government policy to compel people to give donations. There is legal compulsion enough for the purposes of the war. Even that is being carried too far and is causing resentment. But it becomes intense when to this legal levy is added the illegal one miscalled donations. It is indecent to legalise arbitrary exactions. It is doubly indecent to connive at illegalities. I can only hope that these will be stopped altogether. There should be no engineering of war contributions. If they are to be spontaneous, let the people send what they like to the appointed depots. This will be a true test of the strength of voluntary effort.

Simla, 29-9-40

A Christian Student's Complaint

An Indian Christian student from a Missionary college in Bengal writes:

"Missionary colleges are meant to be centres of preaching and conversion to Christianity. The Mission-

aries talk of the Bible, Christ and Christianity, but when any matter of national importance to India arises they are suprisingly reactionary. We have annual socials in our college. On the evening of 7th September one such was held, and the opening item in our programme was the singing of *Bande mataram* by a group of boarders. The Principal objected on the ground that it was difficult for Europeans to stand for ten minutes in honour of an Indian national song and that, if the practice of singing *Bande mataram* were allowed, it would mean official recognition of it by them as a national song which they do not care to give. No compromise was possible in spite of every argument on the part of the students. The students have called a strike. In the same way the Congress should also resort to satyagraha and non-cooperation, for Imperialist Britain will never understand our point of view."

Of late I have written a great deal against strikes by students. I do not know the name of the college. Had I known it, I would have sought verification from the authorities. Therefore I base my opinion on the assumption that the facts are correctly stated by my correspondent. If they are, I am happy to be able to say that this strike was thoroughly justified. And I hope that it was wholly spontaneous and successful. Whether the song is in fact national or not is not for the Missionaries concerned to determine. For them it is surely enough to know that their students recognise the song as national. Professors and teachers, if they are to be popular with their pupils, have to identify themselves with their activities and aspirations so long as they are not unhealthy or immoral.

Simla, 29-9-40

M. K. G.

Handmade Paper

Our purchases and sales of handmade paper for the month of September amounted to Rs. 542-8-9 and Rs. 1,245-2-3 respectively, bringing the total figures of purchases and sales from January 1 to September 30 to Rs. 15,975-6-3 and Rs. 13,375-10-9 respectively. Rs. 1,403-12-0 have been given for paper-cutting and envelope-making.

MANAGER

Gitanjali by Rabindranath Tagore. Price Re. 1 postage 2 As. extra. Available at *Harijan* Office.

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

TWO THOUGHT-PROVOKING LETTERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes thus:

"When you asked for the names of out and out believers in non-violence I wanted very much to send in mine, but something within compelled me to refrain. First because I felt there was lack of ahimsa in my personal conduct, and secondly because there was the opposite of love for the English in my heart. I rejoice when I read in the papers of the destruction wrought on London and Britain, and I inwardly want the British to be defeated in the war. I am impelled to confess this, for I could not deceive you."

The second letter is from South Africa. I take a few sentences from it:

"I am puzzled as to what should be the attitude of Indians at the present juncture. The 'white' races are so utterly callous in regard to 'coloured' people, and in spite of the war colour prejudice continues unabated. Why then should we give our lives for them? Quite recently an Indian student who returned here from Europe was telling us that in spite of the fact that the steamer was not crowded the British Company hesitated to give accommodation to Indians. Such treatment leads us and also the African people to believe that there is no difference between the Nazis, the Boers and the British, so far as we are concerned. If there were Nazi rule in South Africa, we could not be worse treated than we are today. Many of us think that the British are sweet-tongued but they pursue their own ruthless policy in spite of honeyed words, whereas Hitler would be more frank. He at any rate says exactly what he feels. Is there not truth in this? Anyhow we ought to know where we stand. Please tell us."

Though differently worded the two letters betray the same thought. It is difficult for those who suffer at British hands to shed either their dislike of, or a disinclination to help, them. But the present is a real testing time for ahimsa which alone can throw light on our path.

First of all we must distinguish between the British people and their policy. We must have full liberty thoughtfully and with reason to criticise the latter, but we may not dislike them. To err is human. All have their good as well as bad points. It is in human nature, even if we are in the wrong, to resent bitter, often unjust, criticism. But if we were lovingly shown our faults, we would perhaps be willing to listen. We must behave thus towards the British. Let us tell them where they are in the wrong, but do not let us wish

them any harm. We may demand a mental and heart change in their outlook, but we may not pray for their downfall.

Such an attitude is indispensable in satyagraha which demands that, while we may neither speak evil of wrong-doers nor wish them ill, we must at the same time show them the error of their ways and non-cooperate with them in their wrong-doing. The Congress has been trying to follow this great principle for the last twenty years. I believe that we have benefited greatly therefrom. Moreover there is no reason why we should wish the British to be defeated in this war. The writer from South Africa rightly says that there is not much to choose between the British and the Nazis. This is as clear as daylight in South Africa, in particular, where coloured races are treated as definitely inferior in every way. What more than this could the Nazis say or do? The defeat of the British would connote the victory of the Nazis, which, again, we do not and must not desire. Therefore we should be impartial. We are desirous of our own independence. For that there is no reason why we should want the destruction of Germany. We have to achieve as well as maintain our freedom through our own strength. We do not need British or any outside help for it. Those of us who have full faith in ahimsa believe that we can win it through non-violence and keep it thereby also.

There is, however, a section amongst us who believe in winning and maintaining our independence through force of arms. Their position is a difficult one. As a matter of fact we have still to gain our freedom. If we win it through violence, we will not do so by helping Britain in the war. For if we help the war effort, we really come more under their sway than we are today. And if in spite of our help they lose, we would then come under the rule of another foreign power. So that; if Britain and India were jointly defeated, we would, so to speak, be jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Moreover India has no enmity towards any nation. Hitler and others have no illusions. They know full well that India is not a willing partner in the war, that we are a slave country, and that our wishes do not count. It was really the Congress who raised this question because the Congress has adopted non-violence as its weapon. At the same time we have no quarrel with those who do not believe in non-violence. Each of us must go his own way. By doing so we shall know where India stands. If the Congress had not spoken out its mind, it would have com-

mitted suicide, that is to say, it would have given up its right to follow out its policy of non-violence. It is its duty to keep itself alive. Therefore the Congress has to take some action. What that action will be will shortly become known. I suggest to the two writers that they should try to rid their hearts of all anger and hatred. These are in reality signs of weakness. Non-violence is an active force. If they were to follow it, they would be active and they would be spreading the leaven of ahimsa. The Congress demand is not for itself only. It extends far beyond even India and embraces the world. Let us therefore wish well from the bottom of our hearts to all the warring nations.

Sevagram, 7-10-40 (*Translated from Gujarati*)

PHYSICAL TRAINING AND AHIMSA

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

Part of the course in physical training schools and gymnasia is a training in the use of the sword, the spear and similar weapons. The Congress volunteers are taught various kinds of drill, and in many places are given also the training I have mentioned. I have received a number of letters asking for my views on the subject from the point of view of ahimsa.

Before I proceed to state my views, it is necessary to mention an important fact, viz. that physical fitness is the only thing examined in case of candidates intending to be recruited for a violent army. Old men, women, and raw youth are not regarded as eligible. Nor are those suffering from disease fit to be chosen. And it is necessary to insist on this rule in selecting these recruits.

But the standard is quite the contrary for selecting recruits for a non-violent body. The chief thing to test is the candidate's mental fitness. And so such a body may have old men, women, raw youth, the blind and the lame, and even lepers, and it would bid fare to win. The ability to kill requires training. The ability to die is there in him who has the will for it. One can conceive of a child of ten or twelve being a perfect satyagrahi; indeed we come across such in daily life. But for such a child to be recruited for a violent army is out of the question. In spite of the best will in the world he cannot have the physical fitness.

But to say that lepers and children are eligible for a non-violent army is not to say that a non-violent person need have no regard for physical fitness. Ahimsa requires certain duties which can be done only by those with a trained physique. It is therefore most necessary to consider what kind of physical training a non-violent person should receive.

Very few of the rules applying to a violent army will apply to a non-violent body. A violent army will not have its arms for show but for definitely destructive purposes. A non-violent body will have no use for such weapons and will therefore beat its swords into plough-shares and spears into pruning hooks, and will shrink from the thought of using them as lethal weapons. The violent soldier will be trained in the use of violence by

being taught to shoot. The non-violent soldier will have no time for this pastime. He will get all his training through nursing the sick, saving those in danger at the risk of his own life, patrolling places which may be in fear of thieves and dacoits, and in laying down his life, if necessary, in dissuading them from their purpose. Even the uniforms of the two will differ. The violent man will wear a coat of mail for his protection, and his uniform will be such as can dazzle people. The uniform of the non-violent man will be simple, in conformity with the dress of the poor, and betokening humility. Its purpose will be just to keep him from heat and cold and rain. A violent soldier's protection will be his arms, no matter how much he takes God's name. He will not shrink from spending millions on armaments. The first and last shield and buckler of the non-violent person will be his unwavering faith in God. And the minds of the two will be as poles asunder. The violent man will always be casting about for plans to work the destruction of his enemy and will pray to God to fulfill his purpose. The national anthem of the British people is worth considering in this connection. It prays to God to save the King, to frustrate the enemy's knavish tricks, and to destroy him. Millions of Englishmen sing this anthem aloud with one voice standing respectfully. If God is the Incarnation of Mercy, He is not likely to listen to such prayer, but it cannot but affect the minds of those who sing it, and in times of war it simply kindles their hatred and anger to white heat. The one condition of winning a violent war is to keep the indignation against the enemy burning fiercely.

In the dictionary of the non-violent there is no such word as an external enemy. But even for the supposed enemy he will have nothing but compassion in his heart. He will believe that no man is intentionally wicked, that there is no man but is gifted with the faculty to discriminate between right and wrong, and that if that faculty were to be fully developed, it would surely mature into non-violence. He will therefore pray to God that He may give the supposed enemy a sense of right and bless him. His prayer for himself will always be that the spring of compassion in him may ever be flowing, and that he may ever grow in moral strength so that he may face death fearlessly.

Thus since the minds of both will differ as the poles, their physical training will also differ in the same degree.

We all know more or less what military training is like. But we have hardly ever thought that non-violent training must be of a different kind. Nor have we ever cared to discover whether in the past such training was given anywhere in the world. I am of opinion that it used to be given in the past and is even now being given in a haphazard way. The various exercises of *Hatha Yoga* are in this direction. The physical training given by means of these imparts among other things physical health, strength,

agility, and the capacity to bear heat and cold. Shri Kuvlayanandji is making scientific researches in the technique and benefits of these exercises. I have no knowledge of the progress he has made, nor do I know whether he is making his experiments with ahimsa as his goal. My reference to *Hatha Yoga* is meant only with a view to showing that this ancient type of non-violent training still exists, though I know that there is room in it for improvement. I do not know either that the author of this science had any idea of mass non-violence. The exercises had at their back the desire for individual salvation. The object of the various exercises was to strengthen and purify the body in order to secure control of the mind. The mass non-violence we are now thinking of applies to people of all religions, and therefore the rules that may be framed must be such as can be accepted by all believers in ahimsa. And then as we are thinking of a non-violent army, that is to say of bringing into being a Satyagraha Sangha, we can but build anew accepting the old as our foundation. Let us then think of the physical training required by a satyagrahi. If the satyagrahi is not healthy in mind and body, he may perhaps fail in mustering complete fearlessness. He should have the capacity to stand guard at a single spot day and night; he must not fall ill even if he has to bear cold and heat and rain; he must have the strength to go to places of peril, to rush to scenes of fire, and the courage to wander about alone in desolate jungles and haunts of death; he will bear, without a grumble, severe beatings, starvation and worse, and will keep to his post of duty without flinching; he will have the resourcefulness and capacity to plunge into a seemingly impenetrable scene of rioting; he will have the longing and capacity to run with the name of God on his lips to the rescue of men living on the top storeys of buildings enveloped in flames; he will have the fearlessness to plunge into a flood in order to rescue people being carried off by it or to jump down a well to save a drowning person.

This list can be extended *ad libitum*. The substance of it all is that we should cultivate the capacity to run to the rescue of people in danger and distress and to suffer cheerfully any amount of hardship that may be inflicted upon us. He who accepts this fundamental principle will easily be able to frame rules of physical training for satyagrahis. I have a firm conviction that the very foundation of this training is faith in God. If that is absent, all the training one may have received is likely to fail at the critical moment.

Let no one poohpooh my statement by saying that the Congress has many people who are ashamed to take the name of God. I am simply trying to state the view in terms of the science of satyagraha as I have known and developed it. The only weapon of the satyagrahi is God, by whatsoever name one knows Him. Without Him the satyagrahi is devoid of strength before an opponent armed with monstrous weapons. Most

people lie prostrate before physical might. But he who accepts God as his only Protector will remain unbent before the mightiest earthly power.

As faith in God is essential in a satyagrahi, even so is brahmacharya. Without brahmacharya the satyagrahi will have no lustre, no inner strength to stand unarmed against the whole world. Brahmacharya may have here the restricted meaning of conservation of the vital energy brought about by sexual restraint, and not the comprehensive definition I have given of it. He who intends to live on spare diet and without any external remedies, and still wants to have physical strength, has need to conserve his vital energy. It is the richest capital man can ever possess. He who can preserve it ever gains renewed strength out of it. He who uses it up, consciously or unconsciously, will ultimately be impotent. His strength will fail him at the right moment. I have often written about the ways and means of conserving this energy. Let the reader turn to my writings and carry out the instructions. He who lusts with the eye or the touch can never conserve his vital energy, nor the man who lusts after flesh-pots. Those who hope to conserve this energy without strict observance of the rules will no more succeed than those who hope to swim against the current without being exhausted. He who restrains himself physically and sins with his thoughts will fare worse than he who, without professing to observe brahmacharya, lives the life of a restrained householder. For he who lusts with the thought will ever remain unsated and will end his life a moral wreck and burden on the earth. Such a one can never be a full satyagrahi.

Nor can one who hankers after wealth and fame.

This is the foundation of the physical training for a satyagrahi. The detailed structure of the course can easily be built in consonance with this foundation.

It should now be clear that in the physical training of a satyagrahi there is no room for lethal weapons like the sword or the spear. For far more terrible weapons than we have seen are in existence today, and newer ones are being invented every day. Of what fear will a sword rid him who has to cultivate the capacity to overcome all fear—real or imaginary? I have not yet heard of a man having shed all fear by learning sword-play. Mahavir and others who imbibed ahimsa did not do so because they knew the use of weapons, but because in spite of the knowledge of their use they shed all fear.

A slight introspection will show that he who has always depended on the sword will find it difficult to throw it away. But having deliberately discarded it he is likely to find his ahimsa more lasting than that of him who, not knowing its use, fancies he will not fear it. But that does not mean that in order to be truly non-violent one must beforehand possess and know the use of arms. By parity of reasoning, one might say that only a thief can be honest, only a diseased person can be healthy, and only a dissolute person can be a

brahmachari. The fact is that we have formed the habit of thinking along traditional grooves and will not get out of them. And as we cannot take a detached view, we cannot draw the right conclusions and get caught in delusive snares.

If I have the time, I hope to present the reader with a model course of training.

Simla, 29-9-40 (*Translated from Gujarati*)

Harijan

Oct. 13

1940

HYDERABAD

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

"What do you say to the right of Hyderabad to the territories that have been taken away by the English under some pretext or other, e. g. Berar, Ceded Districts, Karnatak, etc.?"

This question demands an answer. So far as they have been taken away by the English the right accrues against the English. If I am asked as a matter of equity, I can only say that the people of the respective parts should be asked to make their choice. That is the only equity I know.

But I suggest that all such discussion is academic. If India, the geographical unit, gets independence, as it must some day, it means that every component part has its independence. If independence is won non-violently, all the component parts will be voluntarily interdependent working in perfect harmony under a representative central authority which will derive its sanction from the confidence reposed in it by the component parts. If independence is taken by force of arms, then the strongest power will hold sway over all India. And this may be Hyderabad for aught I know. All the big and the petty States will be free willynilly from the British yoke. They will each fight for their existence and succumb to the strongest who will be the Emperor of India. This presupposes unarmed millions lying prostrate at the feet of the combination of armed States. Many other things are, however, conceivable. The Indian part of the British army will probably have consciousness of strength and an independent existence. There may be Muslim arms, Sikh arms, Gurkha arms, Rajput arms and what not. They may fight among themselves or, having allied themselves to some nationalist party, may present a united front to the Princes. There may also be the descent upon India of the warring tribes from the Frontier to share the spoils or the sovereignty itself.

The Congress, if it still has anything of its non-violence left in it, will die in the attempt to establish universal peace in India. It is not impossible that all the warring elements will find it profitable in more ways than one voluntarily to surrender themselves to the moral authority of a central power. This means universal suffrage exercised by a disciplined and politically intelligent electorate. It also means a decent and permanent burial to communal and other discord.

But this may not happen. The existing state of things does not warrant an optimistic outlook. But I am a man of faith. And to faith all things are possible. But supposing the worst happens and there is anarchy in the land, if there is God upon earth as He is in heaven, then you may depend upon it that I shall not live to make any choice. I shall die in the anarchic flame whilst I am vainly attempting to still it with my tiny shaky hands. But if you ask me in advance whether I would face anarchy in preference to foreign orderly rule, either British or any other, I would unhesitatingly plump for anarchy, say, the rule of the Nizam supported by Chiefs become feudatory to him or supported by the border Muslim tribes. In my estimation it will be cent per cent domestic. It will be home rule though far, far from self-rule or swa-raj (स्व-राज). But you must let me repeat that, while I can write thus academically, if the reality faces me, my choice will be death or the rule of the people by the people for the people. This means the rule of unadulterated non-violence. So you see my non-violence is made not of cotton wool but of a metal much harder than steel and yet softer than cotton wool. You can compare it only with itself.

You will naturally then ask what place have the Princes in my scheme of things. Such a question should not arise if you had fully realized the implications of non-violence. For the Princes obeying the moral authority of a central body not sustained by arms will find an honourable place as servants of the people. No one will have any rights but what are inherent in a willing performance of one's duties. Thus H. E. H. the Nizam will then be the chosen servant of people. Only, then, his people will not be merely those confined willy nilly within his present borders but may be all India. You must not dismiss this as a utopian scheme. I claim to be a practical man. If the Congress proves true to its policy, what may seem today to be an airy nothing may tomorrow become an agreeable reality. In my scheme there is no waste of either human talent or creative effort. Let me quote here my cable to H. G. Wells in reply to his on the Rights of Man:

"Received your cable. Have carefully read your five articles. You will permit me to say you are on the wrong track. I feel sure that I can draw up a better charter of rights than you have drawn up. But what good will it be? Who will become its guardian? If you mean propaganda or popular education, you have begun at the wrong end. I suggest the right way. Begin with a charter of Duties of Man, and I promise the rights will follow as spring follows winter. I write from experience. As a young man I began life by seeking to assert my rights, and I soon discovered I had none—not even over my wife. So I began by discovering and performing my duty by my wife, my children, friends, companions and society, and I find today that I have greater rights, perhaps, than any living man I know. If this is too tall a claim, then I say I do not know anyone who possesses greater rights than I."

Sevagram, 8-10-40

Notes

Thanks

I am grateful to the numerous senders of birthday greetings from India as well as remote parts of the earth. Many have this time also sent me strands of yarn some of which is of great fineness, strength and evenness. Needless to say I shall make the wisest use of all these (to me) precious gifts for they betoken a labour of love for Daridra-narayan. Some have sent monetary gifts either for Harijans or for the A. I. S. A. All these have been sent to the proper quarters.

Sevagram, 8-10-40

'A Stab in the Back'?

I have read Sir Sikandar Hayat's reported speech on the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and myself. I was sorry for it. Where is the stab in the back when everything is done openly after full discussion and with the utmost consideration for the party affected? He is a bad advocate who overproves his case, and I promise that Sir Sikandar will be proved as such. Sir Sikandar says that ninety-nine per cent of the Punjab is for participation in the war. No doubt he is a popularly elected member of the Punjab Assembly and he is the undisputed Premier of the Punjab. Nevertheless it is a big claim that he puts forth for the Punjab. Sir Sikandar's cause will lose nothing by being true to facts. And the facts are that the Punjab has been one of the best recruiting grounds for the British rulers. This does not necessarily prove that the Punjab is the most patriotic of the provinces. In this vast country of ours there are many professions. Soldiering is one of them. These professionals will lend their services to whomsoever will pay them good wages and enough practice for their profession. Therefore, in my opinion, Sir Sikandar can prove no more than that the Punjab has the pride of place so far as the recruiting ground for the British is concerned. But the Punjabi soldier is as much interested in the issue as the black soldiers trained by General Franco were interested in his politics or in his ambition. They served him because of the pay and the practice in the use of arms which he offered them. But politically speaking, if Sir Sikandar can claim that ninety-nine per cent of the Punjab is for participation in the war, it can be claimed with much greater force perhaps that ninety-nine per cent of the seven provinces where the Congress has an overwhelming majority are against such participation. Only I do not want to advance any such argument. I suggest that those who want and those who do not want to participate in the war may follow their respective courses without being acclaimed as patriots. It may well be left to the historian of the future to pronounce judgment.

Australian Soldiers

The Mayor of Bombay has sent me a letter complaining of my reference to him as if he had neglected his duty as the first citizen of Bombay. He tells me too that he acted in the promptest manner possible and entered into correspondence

with the Government. As a responsible citizen he could not rush to the Press or inform the public what he was doing. All this is creditable to the Mayor. I know him to be businesslike and anxious to render service without fuss. But it is strange that he has read a meaning into my writing which the context shows I could not have meant. I have put to him the same question that I have put to all the other parties concerned. Surely I must not be taken to have cast any reflection on any single one of them. For aught I know they might have taken effective steps without my warning. When a series of complaints came to me from various sources I was bound to draw attention to them and show how, from a private citizen to the Governor, the various units in a society would be expected to act in emergencies of the character described by me. The latter might, if not handled effectively and in time, give rise to a first class crisis ending in an exhibition of racial passions of a most undesirable type.

I am happy, therefore, to note that almost all parties seem to have acted as they should have. A college girl, who was among the first to complain to me, tells me that, whilst there is no doubt about the general truth of the complaints, the improper behaviour stopped after a few days. She tells me that it had stopped altogether before my writing appeared in the Press. Whilst, therefore, I am not sorry for what I wrote, as I should have in the public interest, it gives me as much pleasure to note that the mischief was nipped in the bud, as it had caused me pain to give publicity to it. I am no believer in a hush hush policy. Such incidents, if they are not to be repeated, demand publicity and an effective and immediate remedy.

Jaipur

Seth Jamnalalji is trying to cut his way through a thick forest of difficulties in Jaipur. He had thought that after a settlement, to which he had contributed not a little and which had brought much credit to the State and freedom from embarrassment, he would have fair weather and smooth sailing. But such was not to be the case. In Raja Gyan Nath he has to face a Prime Minister who, according to Sethji, is thoroughly unreliable and reactionary. He has failed to give any satisfaction to the long-suffering ryots of Jaipur. He has put back the hands of the clock of progress, and there is an agitation for his removal and the appointment of a Minister who would be responsive to public opinion. It is the duty of the Paramount Power to see to it that when it imposes a Minister on a Prince, it gives one who would be sympathetic to public demands. It is time to remove him when he is more autocratic than the Prince in whose name he is supposed to administer the State.

Sevagram, 9-10-40

M. K. G.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 5-10-0 Postage 8 As. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4.

The Power of Non-violence by Richard B. Gregg. Rs. 2+7 As. postage. Available at *Harijan* office-Poona 4

FASTING IN SATYAGRAHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I note that in connection with the imminent satyagraha the possibility of my fasting has been hinted at in the papers. Pandit Malaviyaji has a soft corner for me. He is always deeply concerned about my health, my politics, and my morals. We have differences of opinion, but our love cheerfully stands the strain. The day before I left Sevagram for Simia I received a letter from him, urging me to avoid at all cost the reported fast.

I have to admit that there is a certain measure of truth in the report. I have told my friends of the Working Committee of my premonition that I may have to undertake one more fast during my life, and that this may even take place sooner than I had thought. But the fact is that so far as I can remember I have never undertaken a single one of my public fasts with any premeditation on my part. All my fasts have come to me on the spur of the moment, gifts from God as I have called them. Their results have been invariably good. And in any event I have no regrets regarding them. I hope, therefore, that readers will entertain no anxiety on reading these lines. If God has a fast in store for me, it will surely come and it will bring good in its wake. In all things His will be done.

Now what is the place of fasting in satyagraha? Nowadays quite a number of fasts are undertaken in the name of satyagraha. Many of the known fasts have been meaningless, many may be said to have been impure. Fasting is a fiery weapon. It has its own science. No one, as far as I am aware, has a perfect knowledge of it. Unscientific experimentation with it is bound to be harmful to the one who fasts, and it may even harm the cause espoused. No one who has not earned the right to do so should, therefore, use this weapon. A fast may only be undertaken by him who is associated with the person against whom he fasts. The latter must be directly connected with the purpose for which the fast is being undertaken. Bhagat Fulsinghji's recent fast was such a one. He was closely connected with the people of Moth village; he had served the Harijans of the place too. The wrong that was being enacted was done by the villagers to the Harijans. When every means of obtaining justice had failed there was no option left for a man like Fulsinghji except to resort to fasting. He did and succeeded. Success or failure depends entirely on the will of God and is not relevant to the issue under discussion.

All my public fasts have been of this category. Out of all of them perhaps there is most to be learnt from the Rajkot one. It has been roundly condemned by many people. Originally it was pure and necessary. The blemish crept in when I asked the Viceroy to intervene. Had I not done so, I am convinced that its result would have been brilliant. Even as it was, the result was a victory for the cause. Because God wanted to open my eyes, he took the bread out of my mouth, so, to speak. The Rajkot fast is thus a useful study for

the satyagrahi. In regard to its necessity there is no doubt, assuming that the principles for fasting which I have laid down are accepted. The important thing to note about it is how a pure undertaking can become tainted owing to lack of watchfulness on the part of the doer. There can be no room for selfishness, anger, lack of faith, or impatience in a pure fast. It is no exaggeration to admit that all these defects crept into my Rajkot fast. My selfishness lay in the fact that inasmuch as its being given up depended on certain conditions being fulfilled by the late Thakore Sahab, I had in me the selfish desire for the realisation of the fruit of my labour. If there had been no anger in me, I would not have looked to the Viceroy for assistance. My love should have deterred me from doing so. For if he was really as a son to me, why should I have complained about him to his overlord? I betrayed want of faith in that I thought the Thakore Sahab would not be melted by my love and I was impatient to break the fast. All these shortcomings were bound to make my fast impure. It would be irrelevant here to ponder over the many results of the Rajkot fast, and I therefore refrain from doing so. But we have learnt how infinitely watchful and prayerful he who fasts has to be and how even a little carelessness can damage a good cause. It is now apparent that in addition to truth and non-violence a satyagrahi should have the confidence that, God will grant him the necessary strength and that, if there is the slightest impurity in the fast, he will not hesitate to renounce it at once. Infinite patience, firm resolve, single-mindedness of purpose, perfect calm, and no anger must of necessity be there. But since it is impossible for a person to develop all these qualities all at once, no one who has not devoted himself to following the laws of ahimsa should undertake a satyagrahi fast.

I should like readers to note that I have not here dealt with fasts undertaken for bodily or spiritual purification. Nature cure doctors should be consulted for the former. The greatest of sinners can undertake the latter. And for this type of fast we possess a veritable mine of literature. Fasts for spiritual purification have really been forgotten in our day. If they are ever undertaken, they are either purely imitative or merely, for the sake of tradition, and we cannot therefore derive the benefit from them that we should. Those who want to go in for a satyagrahi fast should certainly possess some personal experience of fasts for spiritual purification. Fasts for ridding the body of impurities are also beneficial. In the end, of course, there is only one basis of the whole ideal of fasting, and that is purification. Sevagram, 8-10-40

(Translated from *Hindustani*)

Autobiography

Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

Gandhiji's *Satyagraha in South Africa* Rs. 4-8- + 9 As. Available at Harijan Office—Poona 4

MORE ABOUT THE SIMLA VISIT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and myself announcing the breakdown in the talks, I have said in my letter that I would make a public statement covering matters not referred to in my letter.

Before I do so I think it is necessary for my purpose to say a few words regarding Lord Linlithgow. He is straight in his talk, always deliberate, and economical in his language. He is never equivocal, never leaves you in doubt as to his meaning. He conveys the most unpalatable decisions with a calmness and courtesy; which, for the moment, make you think that you have heard no harsh or hard decision. He listens to your argument with a patience and attention I have never known any other Viceroy or high functionary to show in an equal measure. He is never ruffled and never discourteous. With all this, however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision on the matter under discussion already made. He takes care not to let you think that it is so, but there is no doubt about it that his decision is unchangeable. He is not receptive. He has amazing confidence in the correctness of his judgment. He does not believe in a gentleman's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact British satraps decided that there should be no more such pacts. Whatever they wanted to do, they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter. He and I have become friends never to be parted, be the differences between us as great as they can be.

Holding such an opinion about the Viceroy, it pains me to have to relate what I must of my impression of the talks which have ended in a divergence which, in my opinion, was wholly avoidable. Acceptance of my proposal would have been no less beneficial to England than to India.

I went to Simla in the capacity of a representative and as a friend. As a friend I presented him with my doubts as to certain acts of the British Government. To have them dissolved was necessary to enable me to determine my mental attitude which to me is more than any visible act. I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy, and then the Secretary of State, of want of agreement by the Congress with the Princes, the Muslim League and even the Scheduled Classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom was more than unjust to the Congress and the Indian people. I told the Viceroy that these three represented class or communal interests, whereas the Congress represented no particular class. It was a purely national organisation striving to represent India as a whole; and therefore the Congress had always maintained that it would abide by the verdict of a national assembly elected on the basis of the broadest franchise. It had further declared its intention to abide by the vote of the separate Muslim electorate, so far as special

Muslim rights were concerned. Therefore it was wrong to speak as if Muslim rights needed special safeguards as against the Congress. The same thing applied to the Sikhs.

The Princes of the present day were a creation of the British Government to subserve British interest. As against the plea that the British were bound by special treaty obligations, I contended that the Congress did not ask the British Government to disregard them. Only they could not be used to bar Indian progress, and it was wholly wrong to expect the Congress to produce an agreement with them. The Princes were not like other parties free to conclude any agreement with the Congress even if they wished. Moreover, the treaties, if they oblige the British Government to protect the Princes, equally compel them to protect the rights of the people. But it has been abundantly proved that the British had rarely interfered with the Princes purely on behalf of the people. If they had been as careful of the peoples' right as they were bound by the treaties to be, the people's condition would not have been as miserable as it is today. Had they been true to the treaties of their own making, the people of States India should be more advanced than those of British India. I cited some telling illustrations of this neglect of duty.

The introduction of the Scheduled Classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress, and that the Congress is infinitely more capable of guarding their interests than the British Government. Moreover, the Scheduled Classes are divided into as many castes as the Caste Hindu society. No single scheduled class member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes.

I had sought the interview with the Viceroy to see if my interpretation of the British argument had any flaw. I failed to get any satisfaction on the points raised. The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion. I can have no grievance about his disinclination to enter into any argument. He had every right to rely upon the fact that that was a matter of high policy not admitting of argument. There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world which gives them their strength and isolation from surroundings and facts. They do not want to be too frank. They politely refuse to enter into embarrassing argument. They leave you to draw what inferences you like while they continue to maintain their inflexible attitude. I suppose that is what is meant by the steel frame. For me, this side of British policy has been the least attractive. I had hoped, against the warning of friends, that I might be able to break through this steel wall of reserve and get at the naked truth. But the imperialist Britisher is firmly fixed in his saddle.

Nevertheless, I will not accept defeat. I must strive to have the truth admitted by the British people that the bar to India's freedom lies not in the Congress or any other party's inability to

produce an agreement which is in its nature impossible, but that it undoubtedly lies in the British disinclination to do the obviously right thing.

The unreality of the British reasons for refusal to treat India as a free country was not my only grouse. I drew the Viceroy's attention to certain irregularities in the prosecution of the war policy. There was agreement between us that there should be no compulsion as to war contributions. He has promised to examine all cases of hardship and all other difficulties. My purpose was to leave no ground for misunderstanding and to fight, if there was to be a fight, only on well-defined issues and without bitterness. I want to enter upon the fight with the hope that its very fairness will compel the recognition that India deserves better treatment, not merely from the British but from all the nations of the earth.

Lest it might be said that the Congress fights because it has failed to get power, I told His Excellency in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest. It seeks no power save for the whole nation. Therefore he will have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a Cabinet composed of representatives of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition so far as the war effort is concerned and so long as the machinery of Government has to subserve Imperialist ends. The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right of existence, i. e. the right of self-expression which, broadly put, means free speech. This the Congress wants not merely for itself, but for all, the only restraint being complete observance of non-violence. I hold that that condition answers all the difficulties by whomsoever raised.

Sevagram, 5-10-40

A RIGHTEOUS FAST

Shri Viyogi Hari has written an account for *Harijansevak* of a fast recently undertaken by Bhagat Fulsingh on behalf of water-bereft Harijans in a village in Hissar District. The following is a summary of it:

Moth is a village composed of 300 houses of Rangar Jats (Mussalmans) and 200 of Caste Hindus and others. Most of the village is owned by Sir Chhajju Ram who recently gave permission to the Harijans to construct a well for themselves on a piece of common ground. The Harijans in this locality are hard put to it for their drinking water-supply. A water carrier usually pours water into their vessels from a respectful distance, and in return for this service the Harijans give him either a quarter or half a seer of grain. The well was begun to be made nearly four months ago, but owing to the strong opposition of Caste Hindus and Mussalmans its construction had to be abandoned. The Harijans could get no redress in spite of efforts at persuasion by Punjab leaders and the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

On 2nd September last Bhagat Fulsingh went to the village and tried his utmost to get the obstructionists to listen to reason. But even his appeals on humanitarian grounds fell on deaf ears. He therefore resolved to fast, if necessary to death. He was turned out forcibly from the village on the fourth day of the fast, but continued it in a neighbouring village where he was received with affection. Shri Viyogi Hari, who saw Fulsinghji on the 15th day of the fast, says that his face was beaming with joy and there was no anger or bitterness visible. The fast was impelled by a firm religious conviction. Fulsinghji wanted those in sympathy with him to try to win over the Rangars and others with love so that they might feel that they were as blood brothers. He advised no one who was angry to go to Moth. Those who went there should carry no weapons, not even a stick, and it would be better for only those above 50 years of age to go. No harsh words were to be used. In this way alone, he felt, they would help him and also help the cause of communal unity which was so essential in these troublous times. He was confident that God would see him through the trial.

And indeed his wonderful faith did save him and the hearts of the obstructionists were melted. Permission for the well work to be continued has been obtained. Fulsinghji was carried in a doolie and broke the fast in Moth. One of the Mussalman brothers who had helped to evict him gave him the orange juice with which he broke it. The incident is a proof of how no-anger can conquer anger. Fulsinghji has appealed to the villagers to lift entirely the existing ban on Harijans in regard to drawing water. Let us hope his appeal will go home.

It is interesting to know that Fulsinghji was a Patwari, a native of a village in Rohtak District. Like most officials of this type he used to take bribes until he came under the influence of the late Swami Shraddhanandji when he took a vow to refrain from doing so in future and actually resigned his post. On resignation he sold all his property and thereby restored to every man his due. The sum total was Rs. 4,500, and to the man whom he had actually beaten when he was a Patwari he offered a public apology. Bhagatji runs a boys' school in one of the villages in his district, while his daughter is conducting a girls' school in another place.

Sevagram, 6-10-40

A. K.

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[ONE ANNA

AN ACCEPTABLE SACRIFICE

In a few chosen phrases Gandhiji has explained why he has selected Shri Vinoba as the first satyagrahi. It is impossible to improve on that thumb-nail sketch. But it may not be inappropriate to add a few more facts about his busy life, in which all the twentyfour hours of the day have been given to activity of prayerful service which alone, in his opinion, can take one to self-realisation. It is this that makes of his sacrifice "a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God".

Within three years of his joining the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati he was invited by Shri Jamnalalji to be at the head of the only branch of the Ashram at Wardha which he had opened. Vinoba's services were lent by Gandhiji, and when he went there he chose as his co-workers people who were pledged to a strict observance of the vows. In 1923 he threw himself heart and soul into the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha movement, and distinguished himself as a model prisoner. After a visit to Nagpur Shri Rajagopalachari wrote about Shri Vinoba :

"Look at Vinoba, gentle as an angel, whose soaring spirit has reached the heights of scholarship, philosophy and religion, and yet whose humility is so genuine and successful that no official who does not know him can discover his greatness. He breaks his stone metal according to the 'class' the jailor has put him in, and no one knows the physical torture he silently bears. But we at the prison gate who heard about the treatment accorded to him gave way to an involuntary shudder."

In the same issue of *Young India* 17 years ago I wrote a long article about him from which I condense the following:

"You may stay days and days with him without knowing him, and even when you know him you only begin to know him. You meet with a reserve which you cannot easily break. He does not talk much, rarely does he say anything about himself. And yet if you could get at the bottom of his profound depths, you are sure to exclaim, 'Nowhere have I struck such treasures.' I do not think there is anyone in the C. P. Jails today who can be compared to Vinoba with his sturdy asceticism, his profound religious and philosophic learning, his matchless power of penance and self-discipline, and a rare humility which probably is a product of all the rest. We hear of the grim determination of the child Dhruva to realise God, the simple faith, unbending before all odds, of the boy Prahlad, and of the rare strength of the lad Nachiket as marching to the God of Death to be devoured up, and

we wonder what these spiritual prodigies must have been like. You see Vinoba and you will not find it difficult to imagine any one of them doing the things they did.

In 1917 when Mr. Andrews was at the Ashram I remember Gandhiji describing to him Vinoba in these terms: 'He is one of the few pearls in the Ashram. They do not come, like others, to be blessed by the Ashram but to bless it, not to receive, but to give.' He devoted the first eight months in the Ashram to self-discipline — giving eight hours in the kitchen and doing scavenging work. Not a thought crossed his brain that his scholarship would rust away.

Early in his life he decided that a life of brahmacharya is essential to a life of service. His father wanted him to be a barrister or a big chemist for which he wanted to send him to Germany. He was set to learn French, therefore, so that it may be useful to him abroad. But on leaving home, apparently to appear for his intermediate examination, he left for Benares, and it was long afterwards through the C.I.D. that his father learnt that he had fled there. He devoted all his time to a study of Sanskrit, especially the Gita and the Upanishads. Though Gandhiji said that he had gone to the Ashram to give and not to receive, this is what Vinoba said in a talk: 'Only I can know what I have got in the Ashram. It was an early ambition of mine to distinguish myself by a violent deed in the service of the country. But Bapu cured me of that ambition. It is he who extinguished the volcano of anger and other passion in me. I have been progressing every day of my life in the Ashram. Every year I have been making one of the *Mahavratas* my own.'

In one of his articles in *Maharashtra Dharma*, a Marathi monthly issued by him from Wardha, he thus explained Samarth Ramdas', and incidentally his own, philosophy of life:

'We sleep, we walk, we work, we live and we die. All these are passive processes. Do we have sleep, or does the sleep devour us? We live because we cannot die, and die as soon as we cannot exist. Panini has said *swatantrah kartu* — the 'subject' is independent. But there is no independence in any one of our acts. None of our acts is, therefore, active, it is all passive. Is that life worth living? Shri Ramdas Swami wanted to teach independent action — all action in the active mood, not in the passive; he wanted to die to flesh before his death, he wanted liberty, and therefore he left home and all, and told the youth of the world to resort to life in the hermitages in the prime of their youth. He practised the *Bhagawat Dharma* in his childhood and youth, like Prahlad, and set an example to Maharashtra.'

And look at his way of study. 'I have read a lot of Sanskrit,' he says, 'but I have not read the *Shakuntal*. The speech of the gods, which is the name of Sanskrit, is for freedom—*Moksha*—not for intellectual delight and luxury. I learnt Sanskrit not to read *Shakuntal*, but to learn the Gita, Vedas, Upanishads, Brahmasutras; for things that make for freedom of the soul, and not for poetry and literature. Philosophy and mathematics are my subjects, not literature.'

That was what I wrote 17 years ago, and the interval has been but a demonstration of the way in which he has translated his principles into practice, pressed all his philosophy and mathematics into the aid of the constructive programme which he has believed to be the external symbol of non-violence. He has trained under him students who are masters of the science and art of khadi-making, he has trained workers who have been content with a miserable pittance to bury themselves in villages working the constructive programme, and he has given, as Gandhiji has said, an ideal servant to the lepers. 'Proficiency in all action' is the Gita's definition of yoga, and everything that Vinoba has done proves that he is one who has mastered that yoga. An ideal spinner, both on the wheel and the takli and with both the left and the right hands, he is an ideal village worker. Though highly intellectual, the villagers feel completely at home with him and are enraptured by his simple perfervid eloquence full of telling homely parables and illustrations. He has produced a Marathi translation of the Gita in parallel verse which reproduces the haunting music of the original in an amazing degree, and over a hundred thousand copies of it have been sold in Maharashtra. While carrying on in the village of Pavnar the experiment of the standard spinning wage, he found time to devote five hours each day to the study of the Quran in the original, and when yesterday Gandhiji asked him to repeat *Al Fateha* before the Maulana he did so with a pronunciation and intonation which the Maulana said were flawless.

It is to such a one that the honour has come of being the first satyagrahi in a campaign that Gandhiji will strive to make the most unsullied from the point of view of non-violence. To be chosen for the honour is a great thing; to have been chosen without having ever desired it is greater still.

Sevagram, 16-10-40

M. D.

Andrews Memorial Fund

(Received at the *Harijan* Office)

Shri Shankar, Kumbakonam	Rs. 3
„ Madhavdas Nenumal, Badin	5
An admirer, Bombay	15
Shri V. P. Limaye, Poona	100
Through Shri Nanabhai Bhatt, Ambla	10
Shri M. S. Desai, Gadhsisa	5
„ Ghelabhai Hathibhai, Bombay	10
An admirer, Baroda	50

Total Rs. 198

THE LIBERTY WE WANT

Unser Kampf (Our Struggle) is the title fashioned after Hitler's "*Mein Kampf*" (My Struggle) of a book by Sir Richard Acland, M. P., a baron belonging to a distinguished English family that has fought on the side of the people the battle for their liberty. In this *Penguin Special* the author pleads for "a complete change in our hearts", if England is still to be turned back from the road to ruin. "If we have to fight for twenty years, we can fight, we can pay, we can face the sacrifice," say some of the war-mongers. But Sir Richard Acland asks: "Who is going to pay? What are the sacrifices going to be? What guarantee have we that they will be worth while? Is there no other way?" And *pace The Times of India* which expressed its surprise the other day at Gandhiji's statement that the British people did not know what they were fighting for, Sir Richard Acland asks:

"For what are we asked to make these sacrifices? What is the moral stimulus which is to drive our people on to bear these sacrifices? We are fighting against something which is hellish enough in all conscience, and that will carry us a long way. To oppose this thing our people will suffer much. But is this enough? What, after all, are we fighting and sacrificing for?.....If we could be quite certain that all this suffering would bring us something which would be worth while, and if there was no other alternative but to endure it, then there is no doubt that as a people we could face it. But nobody has yet given us any sort of assurance that all this suffering is going to lead to anything better than we know today."

He suggests a new and a better way, a 'new morality' by which humanity can be saved from this hedious massacre, and he appeals to every Britisher to throw in "the whole of your strength, the whole of your mind, the whole of your courage" to work along the new way he has tried to show.

His new way consists in throwing overboard monopoly capitalism; in throwing away the hypocritical claim that "we are fighting from the bigness of our hearts in order to restrain aggression and restore Poland, when we have done nothing to restrain aggression or to restore Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania or Albania;" in disarming and accepting and enforcing the principle of common ownership by means of an international organisation working out the manufacturing costs of different commodities and directing various Governments what commodities to concentrate on, what to export, and what to import; in banishing all armies, navies, and air forces owned by *individual* countries; in having an international armed force; in a new Cabinet with a changed heart and determined to carry out the new plan, and having achieved self-purification (I am using a word familiar to us) to appeal to the Germans to stop the War.

I will not go into the details of this plan, not at any rate in this article. Two details I will mention. The author declares:

"We cannot persuade the people of Germany that we are fighting to free Europe unless we set out at once to free India. They all believe we are fighting to preserve our Colonial possessions and theirs unless we set out at once to transfer these possessions to the only people who have any right to them. They will believe we are fighting to hold them in military subjection unless we set out at once to create a system in which no one can hold anyone in military subjection. They will believe we are fighting to impoverish the workers of all Europe for the benefit of our financiers and industrialists unless we set out at once to create a system in which no industrialists or financiers can impoverish any workers."

Let us back our words and ideas by deeds and they will surely have effect, says the author. How, he asks, did Hitler succeed when he set out to rearm Germany and make her master of Europe? Because he had vision, he had will, and the courage to translate his thought into deed. It may have been a task directed to dire results. But, "can we not find, for good, the same courage in the face of difficulties which he found for evil? If not, what are the chances of defeating him?"

For India he suggests the appointment

"as Secretary of State and as Viceroy two men who are known to be determined that British economic and political control in India shall end at the earliest possible moment. Community problems in India no doubt present difficulties which are very useful to those who do not desire to abandon our control. But in the hands of men determined that they should be solved and backed by a Government equally determined, they would be overcome. The fact must be faced that the new Viceroy would have to encounter the fierce opposition of all those Indians who enjoy the highest regards of the present order, just as we should at home. This opposition would have to be overcome."

How is the "new morality" to begin, who is to disarm, who is to start the process of self-purification? "What we need now is the adoption," says the author, "in our public and political life, of those elementary ethical principles to which we have long paid lip-service in our churches. Our change of heart must be translated into action at once...If we cannot persuade all men at once to accept our new morality, at least we shall make sure that the destiny of our nation and of mankind is in the hands of those who do accept it, and not in the hands of those who do not." And then he goes on to suggest a number of concrete measures to be adopted—two I have already mentioned—by the new Government, and an appeal to be made by it to the German people. Two small paragraphs from this suggested appeal I shall allow myself to quote:

"All arms in the exclusive possession of separate nations we desire to destroy. We ask you to send your people to us to watch us destroy our own arms. We ask that our people shall come over to watch you destroy yours."

And:

"If we beat you, what shall we gain? You will fight again, and your youngest children, those on

whom all your hopes are fixed, will die as we and you are dying now. If you beat us, what will you gain? We shall fight you in the future, and our youngest children, on whom we fix our hopes, will die in killing yours."

But a Government with a changed heart has yet to come into being. To do so Sir Richard suggests no rebellion, no violently aggressive propaganda. What part will you play, the author asks every Briton.

"Will you take your part in the struggle to create the will for this early peace and this new world? Will you this week persuade ten more people to understand the position in which we find ourselves? If you mean to take the courageous course, then take courage. *Reject the taunts of those who will tell you that you are diverting the nation from its war effort.*"

This last sentence in Sir Richard Acland's appeal is worth noting. There is no question of diverting the nation from its war effort, no question of embarrassing Government, to use the phrase we are using here—for there is no violence there. Accord to us the same liberty to work for a new order as that you are exercising in order to march the nation to its doom.

Studied in this light the Bombay resolution and Gandhiji's mission to the Viceroy were but a corollary to his appeal to every Briton, which has a close parallel in Sir Richard's appeal (made, by the way, in point of time, slightly earlier than Gandhiji's appeal, for his book was published in February 1940.)

When we come to think of it, it is not only a right we claim, it is a sacred duty we have to perform. For if we do not speak out, if we do not proclaim against the ruinous process, we are being guilty of abetting the crime and the outrage that the present order and the war that is being fought to bolster it up constitute.

Sir Richard Acland describes in a chapter on 'Liberty' how the Conservative Party that happens to rule Britain is "chiselling away into our liberties"; how by various potent means—the Law Courts, the Police, and the Army—they are depriving men of their liberties; how in fact the resources of those who are interested in maintaining the present order are being used to curtail the liberties of those who are opposed to that order.

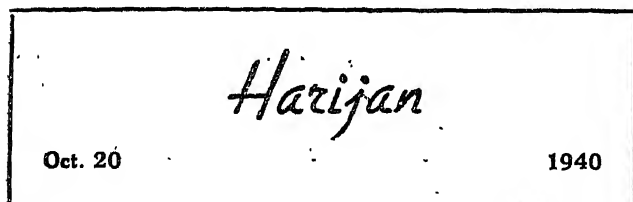
That, some of our reactionaries here will say, makes it clear why in India we cannot expect to enjoy more liberty than people in England. It does not follow so easily. The Conservative Party is elected there by a majority of their own people, and speaks and acts in the name of the people. Here the Government is an alien imposition with no right but that of force to speak on behalf of our people. There may be some excuse there for the 'chiselling away' into the people's liberties. Here there is none whatsoever. Day in and day out the pretence is being maintained and proclaimed to the world that India is with Britain in this War with a shamelessness of which the only excuse is a violent war. Are we to go on believing when we are told by one interested in maintaining

the present order that "at least 99 per cent of the people" of the Punjab want to participate in this war?

Sir Richard's book is the expression of the righteous indignation of a soul who is outraged by the action of a section of his countrymen. What the Congress claims is the liberty to exercise its right, or as I have shown, to perform its duty to speak out against Indians being drawn into a war which has no purpose for them and which means the moral and material ruin of the nation. If the right is not accorded, the duty has to be performed, cost what it may. And all matters of duty are matters of conscience.

Calcutta, 3-10-40

M. D.



A BRITISH ENDORSEMENT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Stephen J. Thorne, Secretary to the Society of Friends, sends me the following letter:

"We, a group of Friends, want to send you our deep gratitude for your impressive appeal to every Briton to adopt the way of non-violence and bring about a cessation of hostilities. We drew together immediately on receiving the short version of your statement, and were later able to obtain a fuller text.

You have received through the Viceroy the response of the British Government to your proffer of help, a response that from your knowledge of the situation you will easily understand. To most Britons the call to throw down their arms in a moment of supreme national peril and in face of imminent aggression is indistinguishable from cowardice and reason; it is an invitation to save their lives by the surrender of principles of liberty and justice that are dearer than life itself. But to those of us who in the peace movement share your faith in non-violence, you present a tremendous challenge. Few of us are fully prepared to stand up to it; and we are conscious of our own failure to convince our fellow countrymen of the value and practicability of this "more excellent Way". The technique of non-violent resistance as you have practised it is little understood in the West; especially in its positive and reconciling sense; and for that reason apart from any other, your appeal has not yet met with any wide response.

Though the British Government's reply must have been disappointing, we are anxious to make full use of your offered help. Your appeal gave expression to a spirit that is moving, we are certain, in the hearts of men all over the world. We believe that it would be a step forward if you were willing to address a further message to certain of the spiritual leaders of the world, urging them to act together in taking hold of the situation before the winter brings fresh disaster.

We hope you will maintain the closest contact with us, sending direct the full text of anything you may say in the days ahead.

Your friends sincerely,

HORACE G. ALEXANDER PERCY W. BARTLETT

ANNA BIDDER

W. MAUDE BRAYSHAW

ROBERT DAVIS

A. RUTH FRY

CARL HELTH

ELIZABETH FOX HOWARD

JAMES H. HUDSON

FRANCIS E. POLLARD

J. CUTHBERT WIGHAM ALEXANDER C. WILSON

PS. The Council of Christian Pacifist Groups associates itself with this letter, and looks forward to an early opportunity of discussing the deep issues involved."

I am thankful to the signatories for their support of my appeal. I can assure them that immediately I see the psychological moment I shall act up to the signatories' expectation that I should address the spiritual leaders of the world. It is quite evident that the very thoroughness of the Nazi method makes them think that nothing but counter-violence can check the terror. I have suggested that counter-violence can only result in further brutalisation of human nature. Drastic diseases require drastic remedies. In this instance nothing but non-violence can cure Nazi violence.

Sevagram, 16-10-40

Two Points of View

The publication of the correspondence between the Mayor of Bombay and H. E. the Governor on the behaviour of the troops from Australia and New Zealand is proof of the fact that the Mayor lost no time in writing to H. E. the Governor, nor did the latter in responding to the Mayor's warning. It is also a striking illustration of the same thing appearing contrariwise when looked at from different angles of vision. The English mind excuses in soldiers many things which would be inexcusable in an ordinary citizen. In India the soldier is regarded as a nuisance to be tolerated. His pranks are hardly appreciated. It is therefore a matter of pity that the paragraph defending the behaviour complained of should have found place in a letter which is otherwise admirable as showing prompt attention to the Mayor's studiously courteous and temperate letter. The sheaf of correspondence received by me does not show that my correspondents took the behaviour lightly. The girls who came in for the attention of the troops were too pure not to resent the molestation which fell to their lot. I have never been able to understand why the art of killing should receive indulgence which men going through harder trials than soldiers never claim nor receive.

Sevagram, 16-10-40

M. K. G.

Autobiography

Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*
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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have had three days' discussion with the Working Committee. During it I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience in so far as I was able to envisage it. Although I have sole charge of the campaign I could not think of taking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co-workers with one through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I must admit that it was not plain sailing for me. There was stubborn dissent from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I fear I failed. They will, however, yield obedience so far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely centred round the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I disclose this part of the discussion to show that my plan will fall short of the expectations of those whom the dissenters represent. I would simply say to them, "Wait patiently and see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your reason rebels against it, you will serve the cause by seceding and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight, brave and stimulating in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by preaching from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organisation becomes like an army. It matters little whether one person offers civil disobedience or many. The rest have to render such support as they may be called upon to do."

The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that too of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to listen to him or not.

But much will depend upon what the Government wish to do. In spite of all attempt to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him or read anything written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to invite any trouble, though they hold themselves in readiness to cope with every trouble that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinoba various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risks. The idea is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be despised and ridiculed by the non-believer in it. In truth, while the effect

of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to falsify many that have been hazarded. How far I shall be able to present an example of unadulterated non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected? He is an undergraduate having left college after my return to India in 1916. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialised as very few have. He believes in universal spinning being the central activity which will remove the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Ashadevi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts. Shri Vinoba has produced a text-book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made scoffers realise that spinning is the handicraft *par excellence* which lends itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionised takli-spinning and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best mind of Islam he gave one year to the study of the Quran in the original. He therefore learnt Arabic. He found this study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims living in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would rise to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a young man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though an utter stranger to medicine this worker has by singular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their care. Hundreds owe their cure to his labours. He has now published a handbook in Marathi for the treatment of lepers. Vinoba was for years Director of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha. His devotion to the cause of Daridranarayan took him first to a village near Wardha, and now he has gone still further and lives in Pavnar, five miles from Wardha, from where he has established contact with villagers through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of history. But he believes that real independence of

the villagers is impossible without the constructive programme of which khadi is the centre. He believes that the charkha is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous satyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the lime-light on the political platform. With many co-workers he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart belief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out and out war resister. But he respects equally with his own the conscience of those who, whilst not being out and out war resisters, have yet strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover the Congress has declared that it will avoid all avoidable embarrassment to the Government consistently with its own existence. For that reason too I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail, as I must, if we do not represent the Congress, let alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted co-operation which is ceaseless prosecution of the constructive programme. It is not vocal co-operation that is required. It is co-operation in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spinning, complete disappearance of untouchability, and increasing friendliness between communities, and an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life. Unless rock bottom justice and equality pervade society surely there is no non-violent atmosphere. Above all, there should be no civil disobedience but what is sanctioned by me. This is peremptory obligation binding on every Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no co-operation. The representative character belonging to Vinoba and me is then challenged. And I can say with confidence that, if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near Independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost nothing and will find that they had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through truthful and non-violent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface it is incredibly narrow — the right to preach against war as war, or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold

either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British if their pretension that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies, however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free. Non-violent Congress cannot wish ill to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms since it seeks to gain her own freedom not through arms but through unadulterated non-violence. And the Congress vanishes if, at the crucial moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violent means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that right, all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win Swaraj through non-violent means.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no desire, therefore, to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that, if they will win Swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

This right of preaching against participation in war is being denied to us, and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose, all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike as on previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly, I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next He will make clear to me when the time for it comes. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the Earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

Sevagram, 15-10-40

WAR RESISTERS

Political Conscience

In the very first issue of *Harijan* this year I referred to two cases of "political pacifists" which had come up before the Appellate Tribunal for conscientious objectors. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, the chairman of the tribunal, contended that the law could not give protection to any but those who belonged to the category of the "honest, conscientious pacifist, that is to say, the man who objects to war as a thing evil in itself. That was the intention of the statute, not to protect every form of conscientious objection." Mr. Fenner Brockway, who appeared for the objectors, relied on the statements of the Prime Minister and Labour Minister in the House of Commons on the implications of the statute. The term "conscientious objector" was not defined in the statute, but the Prime Minister had said that the Act was meant to exclude "only shirkers", and the Labour Minister had said that "Conscientious objection is not defined in the Act, and local tribunals have to use their own judgment in deciding whether an application, on whatever ground it is based, is or is not of a conscientious nature." In reply to a question: "Can the Minister say that he agrees that this House, in giving the right to conscientious objectors, meant to do so on all those grounds — ethical and political?" the Minister replied: "That is still the idea." Mr. Fenner Brockway was obviously on very strong ground when he relied on these statements, and contended: "The pacifist's supreme loyalty is to his conception of God or of the universe. The socialist's supreme loyalty is to the workers of all lands with whom he feels a unity, equivalent to the unity which a patriot feels with his nation. To a political objector it would be morally wrong to kill his fellow-workers in the interests of the possessing class. It is a matter of conscience to him no less than to the pacifist."

The question which then had only an academic importance has now a live importance, inasmuch as the Government, if they will honestly face the issue, have to dispassionately consider the case of the Congress. The Labour Minister, as I have shown above, said that the law in England protected both the objectors—the ethical and the political. In India the case for the political objector is infinitely stronger. The British political objector has objection to the war policy of his own Government, a Government which, legally speaking, he has been responsible for having brought into being. The political objector here is opposed to the present war in that it has been imposed on the country by a Government which owes no responsibility to it. In fact the term political objector is rather inappropriate to the objectors here, for it is as much a matter of conscience to have no part in killing as to have no part in killing which is thrust upon one against one's will. It is even possible that the intensity of the conscientious objection in the latter case may be very much greater than in the former. As a matter of fact *all* objectors in India

are conscientious objectors; only the "ethical" ones have a double objection.

Dr. Dadoo

News has come from South Africa of the imprisonment, under the Emergency Regulations, of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, for publishing a statement calculated "to incite a section of the public — non-Europeans — to resist or oppose the Government on a measure relating to the state of emergency as a result of the war", the measure being the recruiting of members of the public for the Army. This is the statement issued by Dr. Dadoo:

An Appeal to All Non-European People of South Africa

"You are being asked to support the war for Freedom, Justice, and Democracy. Do you enjoy the fruits of Freedom, Justice and Democracy?"

What you do enjoy is — Pass and Poll Tax laws, segregation, white labour policy, low wages, high rents, poverty, unemployment and vicious colour bars.

European recruits receive 3/6 per day. White internees receive 1/- per day (Beer Allowance). What? Yes! You are expected to give your life for 1/- a day.

We answered the call in 1914-1918. What was the reward? Misery, starvation and unemployment. This time we must demand: The right to live as human beings; the right to work in skilled trades; recognition of African trade unions; the abolition of the white labour policy; the abolition of all anti-colour legislation; full rights of citizenship. Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed."

The leaflet, thus, is not an implacable opposition to the war but is a demand for certain elementary rights of democracy, before the non-European community can respond to the call. Even with regard to the war, it merely points out certain glaring injustices to the non-European participant.

The imprisonment of Dr. Dadoo is a triple wrong. First, because his leaflet was no unconditional opposition to the war. Secondly because it in no way infringed the provision of the Emergency Regulations of which the object was "to prevent opposition to a particular measure of the Government and not the Government's war policy as a whole." Thirdly it is one more case of glaring injustice to the Indians inasmuch as the European community enjoys the freedom, thanks to the neutrality party led by General Hertzog, of opposing the war policy as a whole.

As a matter of fact, as Mr. Bloom, Counsel for defence, pointed out the Europeans there do something much worse. He said: "If Europeans are allowed to go about the country preaching rebellion and talking of future storm troopers, it surely cannot be held that it is an offence for non-Europeans to voice their desires for equal rights, the abolition of poll tax, the right to vote and to own property."

But evidently the law in South Africa respects the European and is no respecter of the non-European. Indeed if this objection is raised, it is alleged to arouse or aggravate feelings of hostility against the Europeans!

This 'Democratic' Empire

Dr. Dadoo merely mentioned some of the wrongs under which the non-Europeans in South Africa were labouring. As it was, the Bishop of Johannesburg was unconsciously supporting Dr. Dadoo when within a few days after the action against Dr. Dadoo he said in the course of a sermon:

"Let us think of this issue as it affects our own country. Do we in this country believe in the infinite value of the individual? Are our social and economic arrangements designed to give each individual a real opportunity of self-government?..... Our policy is based on fear, fear of economic competition, fear of racial admixture. We talk of trusteeship. But if we are trustees, we are false to our trust. Neither for his health, nor for his food, nor for the care and nurture of his children, do we make adequate provision."

Very like Nazism

And the same issue of *Indian Opinion* as published the Bishop's sermon, publishes from *The Sunday Times* (South Africa) the report of a case in which a European policeman and a South African constable were let off with a fine of £50 and £25 respectively (12 months being the period in which to pay the fine) for having caused the death of a bushman, "by hitting him with a sjambok and stick over the face and head and to have kicked him or struck him with the spoke of a wheel as a result of which he sustained broken ribs. It was also alleged that they tied his hands above his head at 7-30 in the evening and fastened them to a tree, and that every 15 minutes they threw water over him until 2 o'clock the following morning. They were also accused of burning him because they allowed him to remain close to a fire when he was either so frozen that he was unable to feel the burns or too powerless to move. Crown evidence stated that the following day Elias was forced to run 15 miles alongside the police horse, during which time he fainted three times and coughed up blood. He was brought to hospital on June 2 at Grootfontein in a hopeless condition and died on June 9 of tetanus."

The offence, let it be remembered, was committed by policemen whose function it is to guard the person and property of the citizens, and was therefore graver than the same offence if it had been committed by anyone else. But £50, to be paid within 12 months, is the price that a white policeman has had to pay for brutally causing the death of another human being. But in a "democratic Empire", for which those belonging to the Empire are called upon to fight, a dark-skinned bushman is no human being, and his murder costs the murderer nothing more than the death of a £50 worth dog, caused by accident, would have cost him. The case is on a par with that of the I.C.S. magistrate, Alexander of Bareilly who imposed a sentence of whipping on a lad of 14 for shouting objectionable slogans at recruits, and who executed the sentence personally in the court with his own hands, depriving the accused of all redress by a court of appeal.

Sevagram, 16-10-40

M. D.

Untouchability In Kotah

News comes from a worker in the Rajputana Harijan Sevak Sangh that the Maharaja Sahab of Kotah has recently rescinded a section of a law relating to Harijans. The writer says this section was never used, so far as he knows, until recently when the magistrate of Kotah fined a sweeper for keeping buffaloes. The sweeper appealed, and His Highness thought it undesirable to keep such a section on the statute book. The fine was remitted.

The section says that no sweeper may keep a cow or a buffalo, nor sacrifice buffaloes without permission. No sweeper may on occasions of marriage or mourning or any festival or festivity use ghee for frying or take out a bridal procession through public streets.

The sweeper cannot be arrested without a warrant under this section. But a warrant may be issued. It is a bailable offence, not compoundable. A fine up to Rs. 50 may be imposed. Any magistrate is entitled to try such cases.

It is a question whether to congratulate the Maharaja for the removal of the atrocious prohibitions against Harijans or to demand why he slept over the atrocity for so long. It is said that such prohibitions are common to most States of Rajputana. If so, it is to be hoped that the States concerned will follow the example of Kotah. May I also suggest that the statute books of the States should be purged of all indefensible restrictions against Harijans?

Sevagram, 15-10-40

A. K.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT

The Working Committee issued the following statement at Wardha on the 13th inst.:

The Working Committee met at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi and listened to the account of his talks with the Viceroy and the plan of campaign in so far as he has been able to envisage it. The Working Committee approve of what he has done, and repeat the instructions given to Congressmen and Congress Committees by the A. I. C. C. at its last meeting in Bombay, that they should give him the fullest possible co-operation in all that he may require or expect them to do.

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HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1940

[ONE ANNA

To the Reader

(By M. K. Gandhi)

You must have seen through my press notice that the publication of *Harijan* and the other two weeklies had been suspended. In it, I had expressed the hope that the suspension might be only for a week. But I see that the hope had no real foundation. I shall miss my weekly talks with you, as I expect you too will miss them. The value of those talks consisted in their being a faithful record of my deepest thoughts. Such expression is impossible in a cramped atmosphere. As I have no desire to offer civil disobedience, I cannot write freely. As the author of satyagraha I cannot, consistently with my professions, suppress the vital part of myself for the sake of being able to write on permissible subjects such as the constructive programme. It would be like dealing with the trunk without the head. The whole of the constructive programme is to me an expression of non-violence. I would be denying myself if I could not preach non-violence. For that would be the meaning of submission to the latest ordinance. The suspension must, therefore, continue while the gagging lasts. It constitutes a satyagrahi's respectful protest against the gag. Is not satyagraha giving an ell when an inch is asked for by the wrong-doer, is it not giving the cloak also when only the coat is demanded? It may be asked why this reversal of the ordinary process? The ordinary process is based on violence. If my life were regulated by violence in the last resort, I would refuse to give an inch lest an ell might be asked for. I would be a fool if I did otherwise. But if my life is regulated by non-violence, I should be prepared to and actually give an ell when an inch is asked for. By so doing I produce on the usurper a strange and even pleasurable sensation. He would also be confounded and would not know what to do with me. So much for the 'enemy'. I, having made up my mind to surrender every non-essential, gain greater strength than ever before to die for the defence and preservation of what I hold to be essential. I was therefore wrongly accused by my critics of having advised cowardly surrender to Nazism by Englishmen when I suggested that they should lay down external arms, let the Nazis overrun Britain if they dare, but develop internal strength to refuse to sell themselves to the Nazis. Full surrender of non-essentials is a condition precedent to accession of internal strength to defend the essential by dying.

But I am not writing this to convert the English to my view. I am writing this to suggest to you that my surrender to the framers of the gagging ordinance is an object-lesson to you, the Reader, in satyagraha. If you will quietly work out in your own life the implications of the lesson, you will then not need the weekly aid from the written word in *Harijan*. Even without your weekly *Harijan* you will know how I shall myself work out the full implications of giving an ell when an inch is wanted. A correspondent pleads with me that on no account should I suspend *Harijan*, for he says his non-violence is sustained by the weekly food he gets therefrom. If he has really done so, then this self-imposed restraint should teach him more than a vapid continuation of weekly *Harijan*.

One word as to the practical question. You are a subscriber to one of the weeklies. I do not know when, if ever, they will be resumed. You are entitled to

the return of the unused balance of your subscription. On receipt of a post card from you to the Manager Harijan, Poona for a refund, a money order for it will be sent to you. Those who do not ask for a refund will have their paper sent to them if it is resumed. If it is not, the unused balance will be spent in covering any loss that may be caused in winding up. And then the balance, if any, will be sent to the Harijan Sevak Sangh for use in the service of Harijans. If *Harijan* is not resumed within six months, it will be deemed to have been finally wound up. Meanwhile good-bye.

Sevagram, 31-10-40

WHY SUSPENSION

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the press on 24th October :

On the 18th inst. the Editor of *Harijan* received the following notice from the District Magistrate's office, Poona :

"I am directed by Government to advise you that no account of incidents leading up to satyagraha by Vinoba Bhave and no report of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Delhi.

I would like to bring to your notice that this is in your own interest to avoid prosecution under rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules."

Thereupon I entered into correspondence with H. E. the Viceroy. Correspondence is still going on. But it is necessary for me to take a decision today for, if I did not, there may be waste of public money. In view of the reply hitherto received I have no course left open but to suspend publication of *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijan-sevak*. I cannot function freely if I have to send to the Press Adviser at New Delhi every line I write about satyagraha. It is true that the notice is only advisory, and that therefore I am not bound to act up to it. But the consequence of disregard of advice is also stated in the notice. I have no desire to risk a prosecution against the Editors. The three weeklies have been conducted in the interest of truth and therefore of all parties concerned. But I cannot serve that interest if the editing has to be done under threat of prosecution. Liberty of the Press is a dear privilege, apart from the advisability or otherwise of civil disobedience. The Government have shown their intention clearly by the prosecution of Shri Vinoba Bhave. I have no complaint to make against the prosecution. It was an inevitable result of the Defence of India Rules. But the liberty of the Press stands on a different footing. I am unable to reconcile myself to the notice which, although in the nature of advice, is in reality an order whose infringement will carry its own consequence.

I am sorry to have to disappoint the numerous readers of the three weeklies. Next week I shall be able to let the public know whether it is to be merely a suspension or an indefinite stopping of the three weeklies. I shall still hope that it will be merely a suspension and that my fear will prove to be groundless. But should it prove otherwise, I may inform the public that satyagraha is independent of press advertisement. If it is real,

it carries with it its own momentum; and I believe the present satyagraha to be very real. It will go on. I will not be provoked into any hasty action. I am still not ready with the next move. But as I have said in my previous statement, every act of civil disobedience is complete in itself. This press notice shows how effective it has been. Every act of repression adds strength to the reality. Satyagraha thrives on repression till at last the repressor is tired of it and the object of satyagraha is gained. Whether, therefore, I take the next step or not and when I take it is a matter of no consequence to the public. Let those who sympathise with it follow implicitly the instructions I have issued. I believe, and my belief has been tested repeatedly, that a thought deliberately thought and controlled is a power greater than speech or writing and any day greater than steam which is husbanded and controlled. We see the latter every day carrying incredible weights even across steep precipices. Thought power overcomes much greater obstacles and easily carries greater weights. But let me give a practical hint to the non-believer in the power of thought husbanded and controlled. Let everyone become his own walking newspaper and carry the good news from mouth to mouth. This does not mean what boys used to do in the past, viz. trumpeting about bits of news. The idea here is of my telling my neighbour what I have authentically heard. This no Government can overtake or suppress. It is the cheapest newspaper yet devised, and it defies the wit of Government, however clever it may be. Let these walking newspapers be sure of the news they give. They should not indulge in any idle gossip. They should make sure of the source of information, and they will find that the public gets all the information that they need without opening their morning newspaper which, they should know, will contain garbled, one-sided information and therefore not worth the trouble of reading. For it may be that even the public statements such as I am now issuing may also be stopped. It is the condition of life under an autocratic Government, whether foreign or indigenous.

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Issue of Vols. I to VIII of *Harijan*, with certain exceptions, can be had from us for 3 As. per copy (including postage).

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